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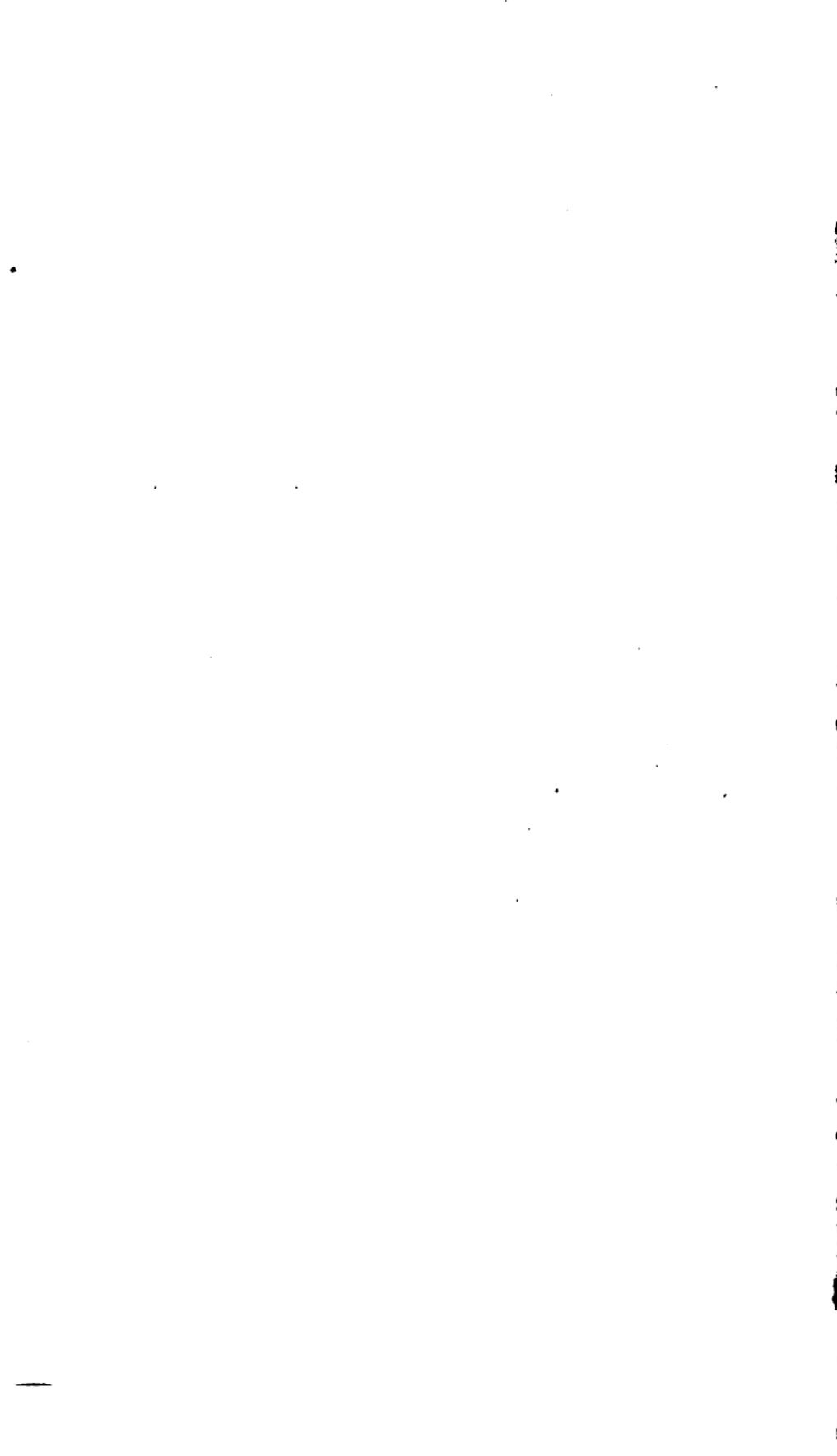
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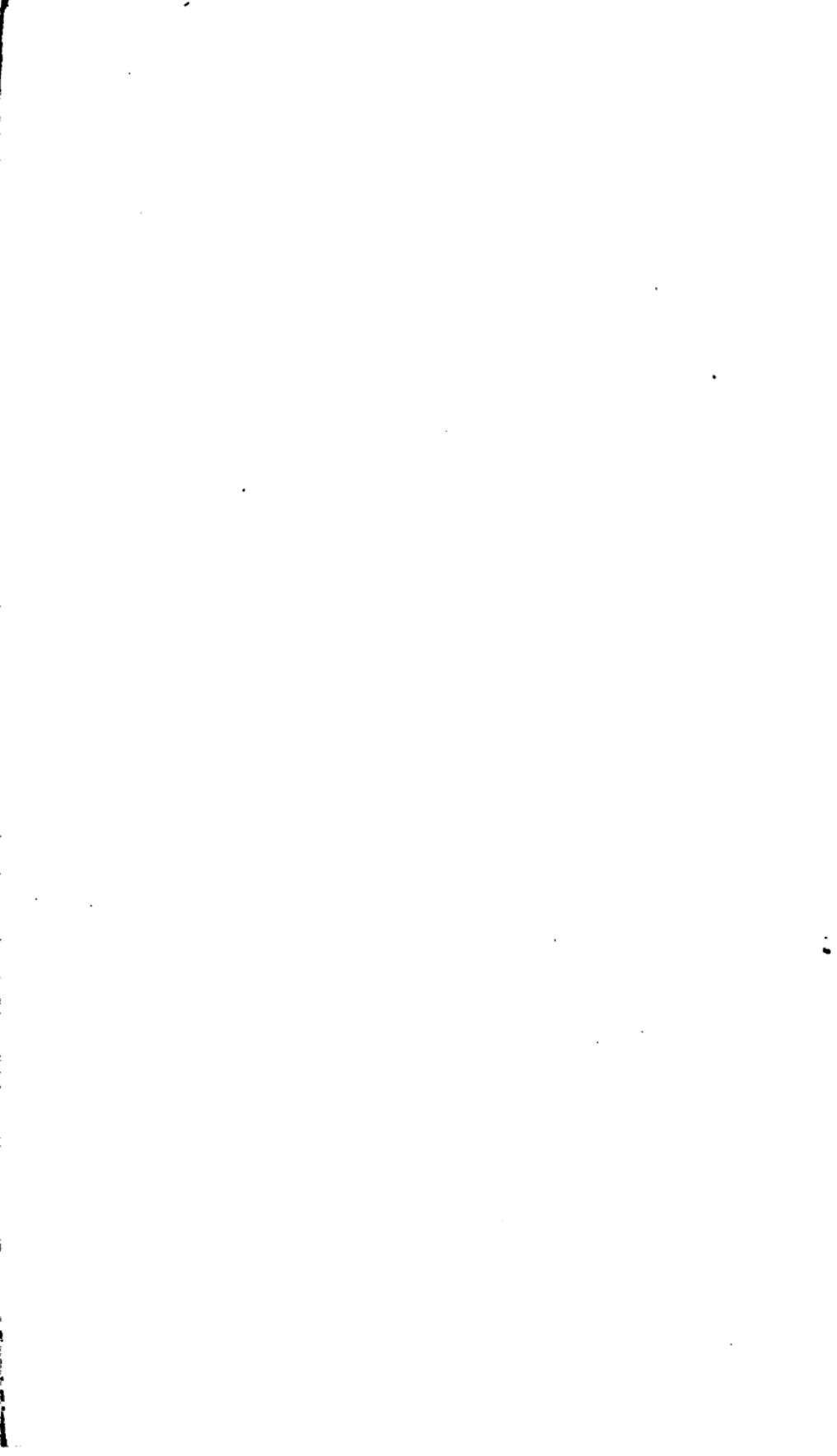
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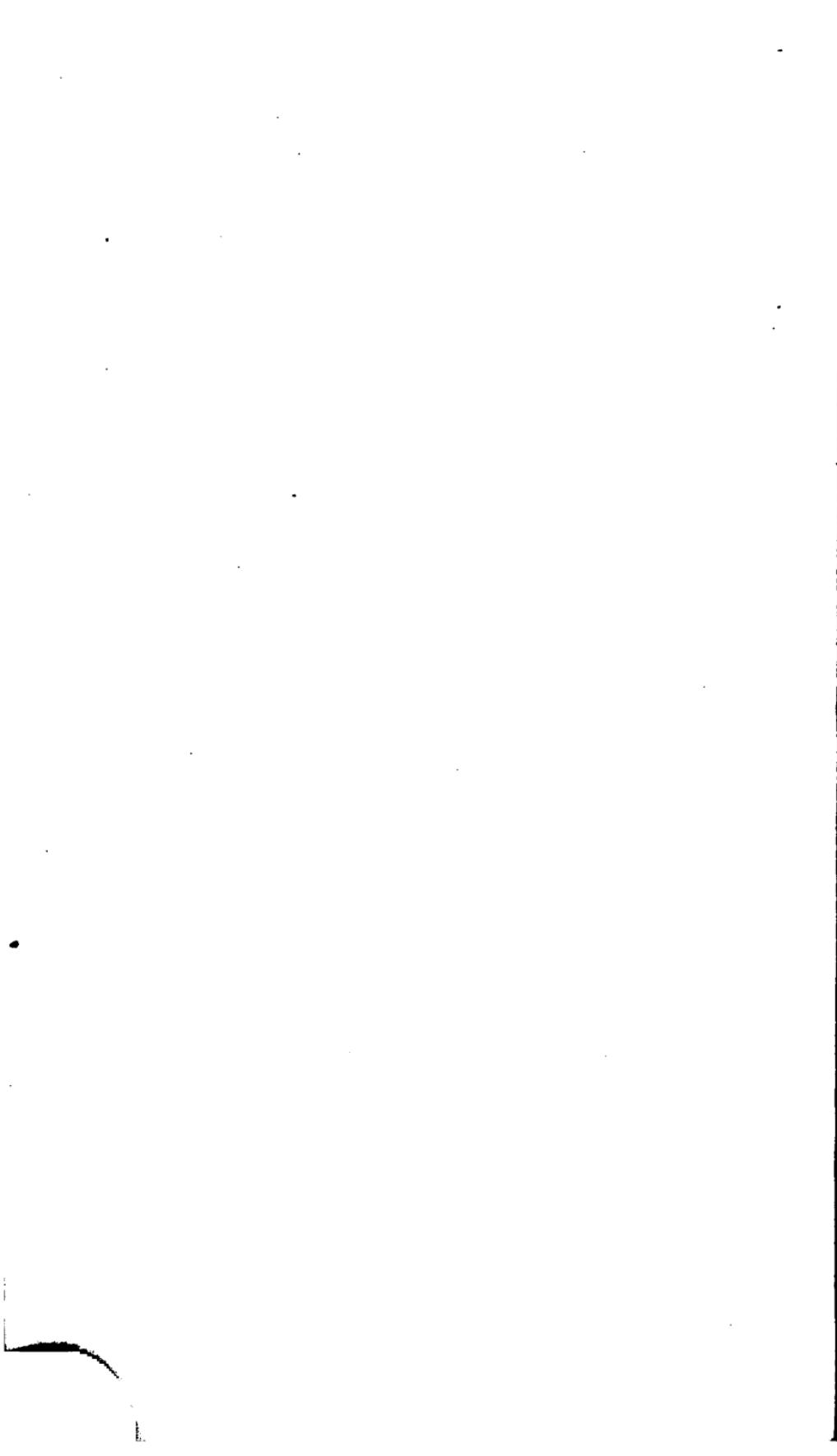
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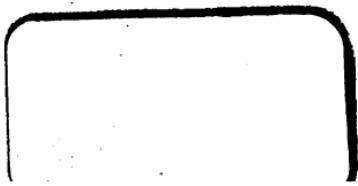
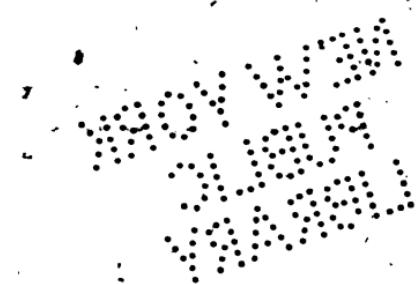


THE
MODERN PART
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FROM THE
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Modern History:

BEING A
CONTINUATION
OF THE
Universal History.

History of the TUSCAN STATES.

S E C T. I.

Containing a Description of Tuscany, including Florence, Pisa, Leghorn, Sienna, Stato de gli Presidii, Patrimony of the Church, Lucca, and the twelve ancient Tuscan Cities.

THE grand dutchy of *Tuscany*, as it is now called, *Description* excepting a few detached pieces lying in the territories of *Tuscany*, *Modena*, *Genoa*, and *Lucca*, extends from North to South about one hundred and sixteen miles, and about eighty from East to West. It is bounded by the *Mediterranean*, or *Tuscan Sea*; by the ecclesiastical state; by the dutchy of *Modena*, and the country which anciently formed the exarchate of *Ravenna*; and it naturally abounds with grain, lemons, oranges, all other fruits, oil, and wine of an excellent kind. The face of the country is beautifully variegated by hills and dales, and the soil so rich and fertile, that it requires but little culture. It must however be admitted, that many places in *Tuscany* are altered for the worse, since the decadence of the *Roman* empire.

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empire. Its populousness made it then the natural glory of *Italy*; but being depopulated by the irruptions of barbarians, the want of cultivation has rendered some of the low-lying places, particularly about *Pisa*, *Volterra*, *Chiusi*, and *Massa*, unhealthy.

TUSCANY abounds in stones and minerals; but skill is wanting to work them in some places, particularly at *Volterra*. Its salt-works, however, are in good order; and alabaster, sulphur, and chalcedony are found in many places^a. *Massa* produces *lapis lazuli* and *borax*; amethysts are found at *Piom-bino*: jaspers at *Barga*; black slate, iron ore, excellent marble, and cornelian, at *Stazzema* and *Seravezza*. Quick-silver is found in the neighbourhood of *Sevegliani*; and even mines of silver have been discovered near *Galena*. Other places of this delightful country produce alum, manna, and honey, all excellent in their kinds. The hot springs of *Tuscany* were choaked up by the barbarians. The famous countess *Matilda* in 1113, repaired and made use of them; but the succeeding ages of barbarism again choaked them, till about twenty years ago they were discovered at the foot of mount *St. Giuliano*, not far from *Pisa*, and being again rebuilt, they are at this time vastly frequented for their medicinal virtues. Other places of *Tuscany* are famous on the same account; but each spring differs from another in its quality, appearance, and degrees of heat or cold. The same may be said of the baths, many of which in *Tuscany* are esteemed of singular efficacy in the cure of diseases.

THE *Arno* is the principal river in this country. It receives into it the *Sieva*, the *Pesa*, and the *Elsa*, and falls into the sea a little below *Pisa*. The source and course of the *Ombrone* is through the *Siennese*.

Power and revenue of the great duke. THOUGH the modern *Tuscany* does not comprehend the whole of the ancient *Etruria*, yet its great duke is a sovereign prince, and a powerful one too, especially in *Italy*. He is grand-master of the order of *St. Stephen*, the privileges of which somewhat resemble those of *Malta*: his ordinary income amounts to about three millions of piaftres a year. His militia is regimented; his standing army consists of two regiments of dragoons, and three regiments of foot; but, upon occasions, it is said that he can bring into the field thirty thousand men, and fit out twenty ships of war, besides gallies and galleasses. The whole dutchy is now governed

^a English Translation of *BUSCHING's Geography*, vol. iii. pag. 118.

by a regency, at the head of which is a governor, who resides at *Florence*, and lives with great magnificence. It is certain, that during the present war in *Germany* the great duke has drawn considerable supplies of men from his *Tuscan* dominions, and they are reckoned inferior to few of the German troops.

A. D. 1762.

THE chief district of *Tuscany* is that of *Florence*, where the excellent genius of the inhabitants for agriculture, notwithstanding the disadvantages they lie under in point of government and liberty, has rendered their country almost a garden. *Florence* itself, the capital of *Tuscany*, is delightfully situated in the midst of fertile well cultivated hills and vallies, and divided by the *Arno*, which has there over it four stone bridges, into two unequal parts. The streets are paved with very broad stones, that look like fragments of polished rocks, so that they are generally clean: many of them, however, are crooked, and so narrow as not to afford room for a carriage to pass. The cities of *Rome*, *Genoa*, and *Turin*, excel *Florence* in the number and splendid appearance of their palaces, the beauty of those of *Florence* being greatly diminished by the paper windows which are every where in use. *Florence* is said to contain seventeen market-places, seven fountains, six columns, two pyramids, one hundred and sixty public statues, forty-four parish churches, thirty-seven hospitals and charitable foundations, twelve priories, fifty-four convents, and twenty-four ecclesiastical fraternities. The number of the houses is computed to be nine thousand, and that of the inhabitants seventy thousand. The present trade of *Florence*, besides the produce of the ground, lies in its manufactures of woollen and silk stuffs, which are carried on by the principal citizens, even the nobility here not disdaining to be traders, and sometimes shopkeepers. The *Florentines* boast greatly of their *Accademia della Crusca*; a society of learned men, instituted for purifying their language, as metals are purified by the crucible. In the year 1753, an academy of agriculture, consisting of one hundred persons, was instituted at *Florence*, and owed its original to the abbot *Ubaldo Montelatici*.

THE city of *Florence* itself, next to *Rome*, is, with regard to antiquities and curiosities, the best worthy of a stranger's visiting of any in *Italy*. Its archiepiscopal cathedral is said to be half as large again as *St. Paul's* at *London*; and some of its palaces yield to none in *Italy*. Several of its churches and public buildings are likewise extremely magnificent. The chapel of *San Lorenzo*, though it makes no great appearance on the outside, will, if ever it is finished in the manner

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it has been begun, be by far the finest in the world. Its works were carried on without interruption from 1604 to the death of the last great duke of the house of *Medici* in 1737. But it is not our purpose to dwell on the particulars of this and the other celebrated structures in *Florence*. It would however be unpardonable to omit mentioning the old ducal palace, which contains the greatest and finest collection made by one family, and within one roof, in the world, of ancient and modern sculpture, painting, and curiosities of every kind, both natural and artificial. In an octagonal room of this palace stands the celebrated statue of *Venus*, called by way of excellency the *Venus of Medici*, of ancient Greek sculpture, with many others of equal merit. This palace contains likewise in it an immense quantity of plate and jewels, ancient and modern; and *Florence* is celebrated for several excellent libraries.

Pisa.

THE territory of *Pisa*, the next *Tuscan* state, affords all the comforts of life. Its cattle and vegetables are very fine, and it produces plenty of corn and wine. The city of *Pisa*, like *Florence*, is divided by the *Arno* into two parts; but tho' very spacious and extensive, it does not contain at present above sixteen or seventeen thousand inhabitants, though formerly they were computed at one hundred and fifty thousand. The *Pisans*, when free, were a commercial people, and extremely tenacious of their liberties. The form of their government was republican; and the wars between them and the *Florentines*, who at last subdued them, were long and bloody. The convenience of their situation and harbour for the several powers who had claims or territories in *Italy*, was the reason why, after they had lost their independency as a people, they never could recover it; and with their independency their importance dwindled. Their neighbourhood to *Leghorn*, which is now the chief port in the *Mediterranean*, tho' formerly of little or no note for trade, has likewise contributed greatly to the decay of *Pisa*, which is now remarkable for little more than the shells of its ancient magnificent buildings, it being the place where the gallies are built, and the residence of the knights of *St. Stephen*. Between *Pisa* and *Leghorn* is a canal sixteen *Italian* miles in length.

Leghorn.

LEGHORN, or *Livorno*, lies within the ancient district of *Pisa*. It stands in a marshy country, which, with the assistance of canals cut at a vast expence, is now cultivated, though the air is unwholsome, and water scarce. The city is well fortified, and contains forty thousand inhabitants, half of whom are Jews, who, notwithstanding the heavy taxes they pay, are rich, and carry on a vast trade. *Leghorn* is a free

free port, and to this freedom the greatness of its commerce is owing. It has two harbours, the outward and the inward: the latter contains the duke's gallies, and the other trading ships; but ships of great burthen must lie out of the mole which forms the harbour, moored to pillars and large iron rings. The light-house of Leghorn contains thirty lamps burning in one lanthorn, and standing on a single rock in the sea; it is equally curious as useful. *Aqua* and *Vada* likewise lie within the district of *Pisa*; but their soil and air is so unwholesome, that they are very thinly inhabited.

THE district of *Sienna* is the third in *Tuscany*. The *Siennese*, *Sienna*, like the other *Tuscan* states, were once free, and struggled hard for their liberties, but are now subject to the grand duke. The city of *Sienna* is pleasantly situated in a wholesome air, and of large circumference, though its inhabitants are not in number above seventeen thousand. They are however noted for their politeness and elegance, many of the *Tuscan* nobility chusing *Sienna* for their residence; and it is thought that the *Italian* tongue is spoken here in its greatest purity. It is an archiepiscopal see, and its Gothic cathedral is crusted within and without with marble. Its pavement is extremely curious, and well preserved; but the university, which was founded here by *Charles V.* is on the decay, though the *Jesuits* college contains a good number of students. The great dukes of *Tuscany* have indulged the inhabitants in retaining some forms of their republican constitution, though the spirit of it is abolished.

THE district of *Sienna* is large, and great part of it, especially that which is called the *Maremma di Sienna*, and which runs seventeen *Italian* miles along the sea-coast, is unhealthy and thinly inhabited. It contains however several bishoprics, and a considerable number of castles, forts, towns, and villages. *Monte Pulciano*, and *Monte Alcino*, though both bishoprics, are small places, but famous for their wines.

THE *Stato de gli Presidii*, lying on or near to the sea-coast, *Stato de gli Presidii*, consists of a chain of forts, and formerly belonged to the *Siennese*; but is now subject to the king of the *Two Sicilies*. The most considerable place it contains is *Orbitello*, which is strongly fortified, and has a good harbour. *Piombino*, which makes a figure in the following history, stands on a rock in the sea; but, though it has a citadel and a palace, it is now an inconsiderable place. *Porto Longone* is a small fortified port; and *Porto Ferrajo*, a fortification likewise, belongs to the great duke of *Tuscany*. The other fortified places in this district are *Telamone*, *Monte Argentaro*, *Porto Ercole*, *Monte Filippo*,

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Filippo, and *Porto St. Stefano*. All which are mentioned in history, both ancient and modern.

THE churches patrimony, part if not all of which lies within the antient *Etruria*, or *Tuscany*, is bounded on the North by the *Venetian* territory; on the East by the *Adriatic*; on the South-east by the kingdom of *Naples*; on the South by the *Mediterranean*; and on the West by the grand dutchy of *Tuscany* and the *Modenesa*. Its extent from North to South is about two hundred and forty miles. Its greatest from South-west to North-east is one hundred and twenty *English* miles, and its smallest about twenty.

St. Peter's patrimony. A DESCRIPTION of the papal dominions, a small part of which is considered as belonging to the modern *Tuscany*, does not come within our present design. It is sufficient to say, that the state of the church is naturally one of the richest and most powerful in *Italy*, and the revenues would be immense, were it not for the oppressions of its government, which appropriates the labour of the poor inhabitants to itself; so that nothing but idleness and wretchedness, excepting among the *Bolognese*, who still retain some of their ancient privileges, is to be seen through the whole. The cause of this misery is, that the popes, who at the time of their election are advanced in years, generally give their dominions up to be preyed on by their rapacious needy relations, who, considering the short remainder of their kinsman's life, make the most of them.

Lucca.

LUCCA is the only state in *Tuscany* that can be said to have preserved, or rather recovered, its liberties; and the blessings of freedom are discernable all over the republic. Though no more than thirty *Italian* miles in circumference, it contains, besides the city of *Lucca*, one hundred and fifty villages. The number of inhabitants are computed at one hundred and twenty thousand, and the soil is improved to the utmost. This little territory is bounded towards the South-west by the *Tuscan Sea*; and on the land side it is in a manner inclosed, all but a small tongue that stretches to *Modena*, by the grand dutchy of *Tuscany*.

THE government of the republic is lodged in a *gonfalonier*, whose power is much the same with that of the doges of *Venice* and *Genoa*. He is assisted by nine counsellors; but the power of all the ten continues but for two months, during which time they live in the state palace, and at the public expence. They are chosen out of the great council, which consists of two hundred and forty nobles; but even this council is changed by a new election every two years.

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The revenues of the republic are about four hundred thousand scudi or crowns, out of which they maintain five hundred men by way of regular force, and seventy *Swiss*, as a guard to their acting magistrates.

THE situation of the city of *Lucca* is in a plain, terminating in most delightful eminences, adorned with villas, summer-houses, corn-fields, and plantations of every kind; so that nothing either for use or pleasure is here wanting. The city, which is three *Italian* miles in circumference, has regular well-lined fortifications; and its streets, though irregular, are wide, well paved, and full of handsome houses. The number of its inhabitants are computed to be above forty thousand; and they carry on large manufactures, chiefly of silk stuffs. *Lucca* has a bishop, who enjoys several extraordinary privileges; and its cathedral is *Gothic*.

TUSCANY was formerly famous for its twelve cities; the *Twelve* ancient names of which were *Veii*, *Volsinii*, *Clusium*, *Perusia*, *cities of Crotona*, *Aretium*, *Falerii*, *Volaterræ*, *Vetulonii*, *Russellæ*, *Tarquinii*, and *Cære*^b. The modern names are *Bolsena*, *Chiugi*, *Tuscany*, *Perugia*, *Cortona*, *Arezzo*, *Civita Castellana*, *Volterra*, *Cerveteri*. The ancient *Veii* is thought to be the modern *Scrofano*, lying within twelves miles of *Rome*. *Vetulo* lay near *Piombino*, and the place on which it stood is now called *Bagni di Roselle*; and the *Tarquinii* is supposed to be the modern *Cornetto*; but of the three last places no vestiges remain.

SEVERAL of those towns maintained their liberties and independency for a long time after the reign of *Charles the Great*, and still make a figure in history. The territory of *Perugia* contains the lake of *Thrysimene* (now called the lake of *Perugia*) famous in ancient history for the defeat of the *Romans* by *Hannibal* near its borders. *Perugia* at present contains three churches, which are worth seeing, three colleges, an university founded almost five hundred years ago, and two academies for the fine arts. Several people of quality reside in *Perugia*; and its ancient territory, before it fell under the dominion of the church, was not inconsiderable.

CORTONA, or as some call it *Crotona*, lies in the territory of *Florence*; and, though formerly of great importance to that people, who deprived it of its independency, though not of all its privileges, is now remarkable for little else than being the seat of a bishop immediately subject to the pope, and for the literary meetings of its inhabitants, which are called *notti Corytaneæ*, or, *Cortonean entertainments*.

^b *CLUVER.* *Introd. ad Geograph.* pag. 137.

AREZZO now belongs to *Florence*, and is frequently mentioned in the following history for the noble struggle its inhabitants made in defence of their liberties, and for their generous attachment to the *Florentines*, as long as the terms on which they submitted to that state were observed. It is likewise a bishop's see, and is situated on a declivity, surrounded by a lovely fertile valley: but both its churches and houses are now gone to decay, though it still preserves some remains of ancient grandeur.

CIVITA CASTELLANA, the capital of the ancient *Falisci*, is now a small mean looking town, in *St. Peter's* patrimony, situated on a high steep rock near the confluence of the rivers *Triglia* and *Tevere*. It contains many marks of antiquity. Its bishopric is joined to that of *Orta*, and a stupendous bridge is built from the city to an opposite mountain.

VOLTERRA lies in the territory of *Pisa*, and though standing on a mountain its air is unwholesome. It is said to contain twenty-five churches, chapels, and oratories, and about twenty convents and religious fraternities, and yet upon the whole it is a poor desert looking place. It is likewise a bishopric, and contains copper mines, which are not worked.

CERVETERI likewise lies in *St. Peter's* patrimony, and is a place now so inconsiderable, that it is scarcely mentioned in the maps. Some authors are of opinion that *Orta* was one of the ancient *Tuscan* cities, and that it ought to stand in the room of *Veii*.

The HISTORY of FLORENCE.

S E C T. II.

Containing the History of Florence at the time of the Decadence of the Roman Empire; the Character of the Florentines, and the other Tuscan States; and the Revolutions of the Florentine Government to the Year 1277.

THE Etrurians, or *Tuscans*, of whose country *Florence* Observation is now the capital, were the parents of the *Roman* religion, learning, and policy; and that city, with its territory, ever since the revival of literature in *Europe*, has been so distinguished in arts, in sciences, and at certain periods in arms, that old *Rome* cannot be said to have owed more to the *Etrurians*, than modern *Europe* does to the *Florentines*.

THE ancient history of *Florence* is blended with that of *Rome*, nor know we of any author who has treated of it separately. We shall therefore commence this history from the year 408, when the *Florentines* instituted a festival-day in Festival commemoration of the great overthrow given by *Stilicho*, the instituted general of the emperor *Honorius*, to the *Goths* in the *Fesulane* at Flo- mountains near *Florence*, and which delivered that city from rence. those barbarians. The barbarians, however, again gathering head, about the year 414, *Florence* and its territory were again depopulated, and for some years after the *Florentines* bore their share in that general devastation which overspread all *Italy*; nor is the reader, in such indiscriminate scenes of ruin, to expect any particular history of this country. All we know is, that *Alaric*, the *Gothic* king or general, led a fresh First ir- body of those barbarians into *Italy*, and the emperor *Hono-* ruption of *rius* gave his consent that they should pass in a friendly man- the Goth ner to the confines of *Gaul*. The barbarians appear to have into Tv- been Christians; for the imperial generals treacherously took cany. advantage of their high veneration for *Easter-Sunday* to attack them on that day, which the *Goths* thought ought to be sacred from blood, and suffered themselves at first to be cut in pieces, rather than fight. At last, roused by the impiety of the Imperialists, they fell upon them with such fury, that they gained a com-

a complete victory; and, instead of continuing their march towards Gaul, they took possession of Tuscany. Stilicho was sent against them; but, having himself an eye to the empire, he protracted the war, without driving the barbarians from their new habitations. That great general being taken off, through the jealousy of Honorius, the Goths spread themselves all over Italy, and plundered Rome itself. Upon the death of *Succession of the barbarian kings.* Alaric, they chose Athaulphus, his kinsman, for their leader; and having again plundered Rome, and ravaged Tuscany, they broke into Gaul. Athaulphus then married Placidia, the daughter of the emperor Theodosius, and sister of Arcadius and Honorius, whom the Goths in their first irruption into Rome had led away captive. On the death of Athaulphus, she was married to Constantius, by whom she had Valentinian, who succeeded to the Roman empire after the death of the emperor Honorius.

Irruption of the Hunns under Attila. THE next irruption of the barbarians into Italy was more dreadful than all the preceding ones. They were com-

A. D. 447. *Huns.* Their original habitations were near the *Palus Maeotis*; and their devastations were so inhuman and rapid,

that Theodoric, king of the Goths in Italy, joined his forces with Aetius, the emperor Valentinian's general. A battle succeeded, in which one hundred and sixty thousand men on both sides are said to have been killed; amongst whom was Theodoric, whose death so greatly dispirited his subjects, that though Attila lost the victory, he still maintained his footing

in Italy. Having recruited his army from Pannonia, he laid siege to Aquileia, and, after besieging it for three years, he took and levelled it to the ground. He then made himself master of Vicenza, Verona, Milan, and a great number of other cities; but was diverted by Leo, bishop of Rome, from attacking that capital. Upon the death of Attila, the Vandals broke into Italy, and renewed all the ravages of the Goths and the Hunns, under their leader Genseric. Odoacer was the

fourth barbarian prince who made himself master of Italy and of Rome, and is said to have been king of the Turalingi and dals, and the Heruli. The seat of the Roman empire was now at *Constantinople*; and the emperor Zeno engaged Theodoric, king of the Goths in Italy, to march against Odoacer, whom he defeated and killed at Ravenna, and thereby Theodoric became king of Italy, which now suffered more than ever by the fury of the barbarians². The chief scenes of their ravages being

² LEONARDI ARETINI Hist. Flor. p. 15.

about Florence and in Tuscany, whose particular history is swallowed up in that of their barbarism ; so that we know little of it till the time of the *Longobards* under their king *Alboine*. This prince made himself master of Tuscany, and almost all Italy. Having killed *Cunimund*, king of the *Gepidae*, another of those barbarous nations that then ravaged all the continent of Europe, in single combat, he married *Rosemund*, *Cunimund*'s beautiful daughter, and made a drinking-cup of her father's scull, out of which he forced his queen to drink. The queen dissembled her indignation ; but applied for revenge to two officers. One of them had been affronted by the king, and she knew the other to be deeply in love with herself ; and admitting them into the royal bed-chamber, they *Death of murdered Alboine*, and she made her escape to Ravenna. *Alboine*.

A KIND of an anarchy succeeded amongst the barbarians in Italy for about ten years. Each head of a clan, or family, seized the city or principality that was most convenient for him ; nor does it appear, in history, to what particular barbarian the government of Tuscany fell during that time. It is however certain, that the *Longobards*, or *Lombards*, were masters of Italy, Rome and its territory excepted, for two hundred and four years, till they were displaced by *Charles the Great*, who is said to have restored Florence, and Tuscany in *barians* general, to a respectable condition, after they had suffered *conquered* more than any country in Italy from the fury of the bar- by *Charles* barians. Some writers have been of opinion, that, during the *the Great* reign of barbarism in Italy, Florence was intirely levelled to the ground, and deserted by its inhabitants.

WE are not, however, to take for granted all the invectives published against those northern masters of Italy, who perhaps, in fact, were less barbarous than the *Italians* themselves ; at least, they were much less so than *Charles the Great*, who conquered them. The remains of antiquity, still extant at Florence, prove that it never was utterly demolished ; nor is there any likelihood of its being new-peopled. The legislation of the barbarians, as they are called, (the *Longobards* in particular) was the wisest and the most civilized of any other people, and tended rather to population than devastation. The ravages they were obliged to commit, proceeded not so much from their own dispositions as from the treachery, the folly, and ingratitude of the imperial court and officers. Though brave and warlike in the field, they knew little of the art of besieging ; and the nobility and chief land-holders of Tuscany soon learned to immure themselves, their families, and attendants in castles and fortifications, by which they were commonly safe during the ravages of war. The natural fertility

tility of the country sufficed for their subsistence, while the barbarians were generally at war amongst themselves. No sooner, however, did those ravages cease than the antient inhabitants resumed their former habitations; and it is more than probable, that all that *Charles* did for *Florence* and *Tuscany*, was his giving their former inhabitants a farther security, by repairing the fortifications of their cities.

Institutions ABOUT the year 773, *Charles*, or, as he is called, *Charles of Charles magne*, having been crowned and confirmed king of *Italy* by the pope, the governments of the several states there began in *Italy*. to recover some degree of consistency. The original families of *Italy*, and the descendants of the various clans of barbarians who had inhabited it, were now blended into one common mass; and the foederal laws, which were of *Gothic* original, and then prevailed all over *Italy*, gave the leading men or magistrates of each state a degree of authority very little subordinate to that of supreme. All that *Charles* required were certain tributes, or what we call *reddendos*, as marks of his sovereignty; and he left them, in other respects, to make the best of their situation and natural powers. Of those states, the most eminent were *Pisa*, *Florence*, *Perugia*, and *Sienna*, and each had a separate manner of cultivating its interest.

Character The *Pisans* applied themselves to maritime affairs, being the only maritime city in *Tuscany* that was left standing. The *Florentines*, *Perugians* turned themselves to agriculture, to which they and the other *Tuscan* states. were encouraged by the fertility of their soil. The *Siennese* had a rich nobility, which maintained them in affluence: but the *Florentines* were distinguished over all the other inhabitants of *Tuscany* by industry, their knowledge of the civil arts, and their uncommon strength of genius. For some time those states lived in great harmony with each other; but that was soon interrupted by the disputes between the popes of *Rome* and the emperors of *Germany*. The empire, which was originally founded in *Germany* by *Charles* the Great, for the protection of the *Roman* pontificate, had almost proved its ruin; and ignorance and superstition, which daily gained ground after the establishment of that empire, both in *Italy* and elsewhere, did not leave an option for any state to be neutral, farther than as its intestine divisions prevented its being of much service to either party. Such was the condition of *Tuscany*, which, in this quarrel, suffered perhaps more than she had done from the barbarians. The emperor, *Frederick II. of Germany*, put to death, by various tortures, many

the emperor of the *Tuscan* nobility, who had taken part with the see of *Rome*; and they, in return, had their revenge upon his party.

FREDERIC however prevailed, and at last brought the ~~who sub-~~ Florentines into a state of subjection, by banishing that part ~~jeets the~~ of the nobility which opposed him. It is from his death that, Floren- properly speaking, the history of Florence ought to commence. times. The remembrance of his tyranny inspired the Florentines with such an aversion to monarchical government, that from thenceforth Florence became a republic. The people took ~~They erect~~ the direction of affairs upon themselves; and the wisdom, ~~themselves~~ spirit, and steadiness with which they proceeded upon their ~~into an in-~~ new model are almost incredible ^b. They first recalled, and ~~dependent~~ reinstated in their former conditions, the nobility that ~~Frede-~~ state. ric had banished, and thereby more than balanced the interest of their antagonists. They next made choice of twelve magistrates, who, on account of their pre-eminence, were called Antiani. They divided their city into six wards, from which were to be elected their magistrates, and all their public officers. They instituted a militia out of those wards, properly regimented, which militia was to oppose any factious attempts of their nobles at home, and to repel all attacks from abroad. Florence now rose to be an independent government, and every one of its magistrates was a patriot. Their first war was with the Pistoians; who though they had been reduced, like the Florentines, to a state of slavery by Frederic II. yet still continued their attachment to the German emperors. This raised the jealousy of the Florentines, who looked upon the Pistoians as the enemies of their liberty, so high, that, notwithstanding all the opposition the imperial faction made, ~~with the~~ they invaded the territory of the Pistoians, and defeating their Pistoians, army, drove it within the walls of their city. The Florentines, ~~whom the~~ returning victorious to their capital, chased from thence all the ~~subdue.~~ remains of the imperial faction who had refused to serve in the Pistoian war. Those exiles fled to Sienna and Pisa, and excited the magistrates of those cities to a war with the Florentines, who soon after restored the party who had been exiled from Arezzo, another city of Tuscany, for their opposition to Frederic. After this they entered into an alliance with four other states, some of whose names are little known at this time, Lucca, Miatenentia, Urbino, and Alsum, now Palo. The consequences of this confederacy were, that the Florentines, in the same year, brought two armies into the field; the first against the Mugelli, whom they defeated; and the other against Mantaria, which last city they took in a winter campaign, and levelled to the ground. That same year they entered into an alliance with the Genoese against the Pisans.

^b LEONARDI ARETINI, Hist. Flor. p. 19.

Their farther successes.

NEXT year they wasted the lands of their enemies about *Pavia*, and took the place by the help of warlike engines. While the *Florentines* were besieging *Pavia*, their allies of *Lucca* were defeated by the *Pisans*, who were returning home with a vast number of captives. When the *Florentines* heard of the defeat of the *Lucquese*, they instantly resolved to rescue their confederates ; and a strong detachment from their army was sent for that purpose, which overtook the *Pisans* near the river *Hera*. A bloody battle ensued, in which the *Florentines* were victorious, and filled with *Pisans* the fetters in which the *Lucquese* had been dragged before. After this, the *Florentine* noblemen, who had been exiled, chose *Guido Novello* for their head, and marched against *Florence* as far as *Fighini*. Being opposed by the *Florentines*, the nobles made themselves masters of *Fighini*, which the *Florentines* besieged. A treaty was then proposed and concluded, by which the nobles were re-admitted to the city ; but *Fighini* was demolished, and its inhabitants were incorporated with the citizens of *Florence*.

They defeat the Sienese,

THIS expedition being thus gloriously finished by the *Florentines*, before they returned home they marched to the deliverance of their confederates the *Palonesi*, who were then reduced to great distress by the *Siennese*, who were defeated in a bloody battle by the *Florentines*. So many great successes in one campaign, gave vast spirit to the citizens of *Florence* ; and next year they obliged the *Pistoians* to sue for peace, and to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance against all the enemies of *Florence*, and likewise to recal to their city all who had been exiled from it on account of their aversion to the *German* emperor. Next year the *Florentines* undertook an important expedition against the *Siennese*, who were obliged to sue for peace, which was granted them on condition of their never again entering into war with *Alfium*, and of their never sheltering or favouring the enemies of *Florence*. The *Florentines*, after that, marched against *Bonetium*, which they instantly reduced. They then marched against *Volterra*. Their quarrel with the *Volterrani* was on account of their taking part with the *Pisans*, and the other enemies of *Florence*. The art of war was then very imperfect in *Italy* ; and the *Florentines*, in a kind of bravado, advanced their standards to the foot of the lofty eminence on which *Volterra* is situated ; upon which the *Volterrani* made a tumultuous sally, without any head to conduct them. At first they were victorious ; but the *Florentines* recovering from their consternation, drove their *Volterra* enemies back into their city, which they entered along with

and take Volterra.

the fugitives. All fighting was then at an end: the women and clergy threw themselves at the feet of the conquerors, who generously stopt all hostilities, and contented themselves with obliging some of the factious noblemen to leave the city, whose government from thence became republican. This expedition was begun and finished in a few days. The *Florentine* army then marched against the *Pisans*, who were so terrified by its successes, that they shut themselves up in their capital, and sent ambassadors to negotiate a peace, which they obtained, but upon hard terms, and they were obliged to give hostages for the performance. The *Florentines* then returned triumphantly home; and the same year, which they called the year of victories, they erected in their city a magnificent town-house, and other noble edifices, for the administration of public justice, which till then had been confined to the houses of their several magistrates.

NEXT year, at the request of the people of *Urbino*, the *Good faith* *Florentines* sent a body of five hundred horse to their assistance. ^{of the Florentines in} These, in their march, halted at *Arezzo*, where the *Gibelins*, ^{rentines in} or imperial faction, possessed the government; but no sooner ^{their wars.} did the *Florentine* horse arrive there than the *Guelphs*, or the papal faction, which the *Florentines* favoured, ran to arms, and drove the *Gibelins* out of the city. The news of this coming to *Florence*, the government there thought that their general *Guido*, surnamed *Guerra*, or the Warlike, had exceeded his commission, by committing hostilities in a city with which they were at peace; and they immediately sent an army, which obliged the *Guelph* faction at *Arezzo* to re-admit the expelled *Gibelins*. This delicacy of the *Florentines* in observing good faith, effected a reconciliation between them and ^{Truce with} the *Arezzians*, who put themselves under the protection of *Arezzo*. *Florence*; and a truce was concluded between the two people for five years, during three of which the *Arezzians* obliged themselves to chuse a *Florentine* for their chief magistrate, who always was a foreigner. The same year the *Florentines* made a league with the *Siennese*, by which it was agreed, that ^{with Sien-} neither people should harbour the rebels of the other; but be ^{na-} obliged to expel them, upon requisition: and thus the affairs of the *Florentines* seemed to be in a tranquil situation ⁴.

THEY did not, however, long continue so. The emperor *Frederic* left two sons, *Conrade* and *Manfred*; the first *Conrade* legitimate, the latter illegitimate. But *Manfred*, notwithstanding the disadvantage of his birth, possessed so many natural endowments, that his father at his death left him the

Death of Conrade. principality of *Tarento*, about the year 1253; while his legitimate brother *Conrade*, having been crowned king of the *Romans*, assumed the imperial dignity, and marched from *Germany* to take possession of his *Italian* dominions. By the papal intrigues and power, *Innocent IV.* then being pope, he was kept out of the possession of *Naples* and *Capua*; and while he was endeavouring to reduce them to his obedience he died, as is said, by poison administered to him by *Manfred*, on the twenty-second of *May*, 1254, leaving only one son, called *Conradin*, who was then in *Germany*, under the tuition of his mother *Elizabeth of Bavaria*. While *Conrade* was on his death-bed, he had committed the care of his son and his concerns into the hands of his wife and her relations. *Manfred*, who was a very ambitious prince, resenting this, struck in with the Holy See; and, stripping young *Conradin*'s guardians of all their authority in *Italy*, he usurped the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*; but pretended he held them only till young *Conradin* should be of age. Soon after this, *Manfred*, having gained his ends, broke with pope *Innocent*, who died not long after, and was succeeded by *Alexander IV.* in the year 1255. Both parties prepared for war, and both were powerfully supported; but cardinal *Oetavian*, the papal general, being of the house of *Ubaldi*, was thought to have favoured *Manfred* so much, that the pope intirely lost the kingdom of *Naples*.

The Pisans break their league with the Florentines. THIS success of the *Gibelins* so greatly elevated the *Pisans*, that they broke their lately contracted league with the *Florentines*, and, invading their territories, they committed vast devastations. Upon this the *Florentines* and the *Lucquese* joined their forces, and gave the *Pisans* a total defeat upon the banks of the *Arno*; no fewer than three thousand *Pisans* being made prisoners. The consequence of the victory was, that the victors marched to the very gates of *Pisa*, and forcing the *Pisans* into a shameful peace, obliged them to deliver up the town of *Matrona*, with a large compass of the sea-coast; to give the *Florentines* the freedom of their city; and to make use of *Florentine* weights and measures. Notwithstanding those successes, *Manfred* daily gained such ground, that the *Florentines* thought proper, all of a sudden, to make themselves masters of *Boneti*, and partly to dismantle it; while the people of *Arezzo* did the same by *Cortona*.

Manfred gains ground.

IN the mean while, the nobility of the *Gibelin* faction, within *Florence*, took advantage of the absence of their army, and began to enter into cabals for restoring themselves to all their former power. The *Florentine* magistrates in vain admonished them both of their duty and their danger; for the mal-

malcontents disclaimed their authority, and kept themselves shut up in their houses. The family of the *Uberti* were, at *Factions* this time, at the head of the *Florentine Gibelins*; and the *people, or rather the republican party, resented their contumacy so much, that they ran to arms, broke into the palace and Gibe- of the *Uberti*, and, after killing some, forced all the *Gibelins* to take refuge in *Sienna*, where they found shelter. This was *Italy*. a direct violation of the league between the *Florentines* and the *Siennese*, which had been concluded three years before; and the *Florentines* sent two eminent lawyers, *Albicio Trinci- vello* and *Giacomo Gerardi*, to complain of their breach of faith. The *Florentine Gibelins*, however, had made so strong a party in *Sienna*, and the dread of *Manfred's* power was there so great, that the ambassadors could obtain no satisfaction. Upon which the *Florentines* declared war against them.*

THE *Florentine exiles*, dreading the consequence of this declaration, sent a nobleman of the *Uberti* family, one *Farinata*, and several other persons of consideration, to implore *Manfred's* protection and assistance. Those ambassadors, being admitted into that prince's presence, made him a most pathetic speech, which *Manfred* seemed to attend to; but all they could obtain was a single squadron of *German* horse, whom they were to carry with them to *Sienna*. His coldness, at a juncture so promising to his interest, is imputed to his apprehension that the *Siennese* and the *Florentine exiles* were less in his interest than in that of his nephew *Conradin*. The assistance he proposed was so little proportioned to the exigency, that the deputies at first were for declining it; but *Farinata* was of a contrary opinion: "Let *Manfred*, said he, *Magnan- give us the squadron, and we shall soon manage matters so, mity of that, if he has within him one spark of royalty, he will send their greater reinforcements.*" This magnanimity brought the *general* deputies over to *Farinata's* sentiments. They waited upon *Manfred*, and, with great expressions of joy in their countenances, they gave him thanks, and accepted of the proffered aid.

While this deputation was in dependence, the *Florentines* *Their war* had actually entered the territories of *Sienna*, and over-ran with the whole country to the very gates of that capital, which *Sienna* they blocked up. The deputies, returning with their *German* squadron, resolved at once to attack the *Florentine* army; but the attempt carried with it so desperate an appearance, that they thought proper to prepare the *Germans* by plying them with liquor for the whole night before the intended attack, which was made with so much fury next morning, that

the *Florentines* were thrown into disorder; and a total rout must have ensued, had not their commanders rallied them, and shewn them, that the small handful of *Germans* were unsupported by other troops. Upon this the *Florentines* took courage, drove the *Siennese*, who had made a sally, back to their city, and, cutting in pieces every one of the *Germans*, they treated *Manfred's* standard, which they took, with particular ignominy. It appears, however, that they made no farther attempt upon *Sienna*; but returned home in a few days, though the summer was but half gone.

Effect of Manfred's resentment. As *Farinata* had foreseen, the above⁴ loss and disgrace enraged *Manfred* so much, that, upon a fresh application made to him by the *Florentine* exiles, he ordered one of his generals, *Jordano*, to put himself at the head of fifteen hundred of his best cavalry, to march to the assistance of the *Siennese* and the *Gibelins* of *Florence*. This seasonable reinforcement gave fresh spirit to that cause, and a kind of an universal league was formed to support it. For no sooner did the *German* auxiliaries arrive upon the *Siennese* territories, their time of absence being limited only to three months, than the people of *Pisa*, and of several neighbouring cities, declared for the *Gibelin* party, and a general rendezvous of the confederate troops was held at *Sienna*; from whence they prepared to proceed to besiege *Alcino*, a town allied with *Florence*, but with all the *Siennese* territories intervening. This resolution being published, put the *Florentines* under great difficulties, not daring to carry their troops to such a distance from their city against so powerful a confederacy. Treachery is said to have mingled in their deliberations. The gravest and most experienced of their nobility and military officers were against marching their army; but their magistrates and common people being of another opinion, the nobility resolved to go in a body to lay their sense of the situation of the public before their magistrates, and they chose *Teclaris Adamar* for their spokesman. *Aretino*, the *Florentine* historian, has recorded an excellent speech which *Teclaris* made on this occasion against their marching, founded upon the short time the *German* auxiliaries were to be in the field, and upon the expediency of guarding their own city, and at the same time harrassing the territories of *Sienna* by incursions and inroads, which would oblige them to remain at home. All the answer he received was, that, if he was afraid to march, he might have his dismission: and, to put an end to all farther debate, the magistrates, with the approbation of the people, imposed a fine upon all who should

⁴ LEONARDI ARETINI Hist. Flor. p. 26.

dare to oppose the march of their troops. The only difficulty now remaining was how to guard against the faction of the *Gibelin* party in the city, during the absence of the army; but at last it was resolved to force them to serve in the army. After this, the *Florentine* magistracy gave notice to their allies of *Lucca* and *Arezzo* to be in readiness to join them about four miles from the city of *Sienna*, which the *Florentines* flattered themselves would fall into their hands by an insurrection of the *Guelph* inhabitants, who disapproved of the war. *Jordano* and the *German* auxiliaries had not yet left *Sienna*; and ordering the gates to be shut, he remained for some time within the city, which confirmed the *Florentines* in their opinion that an insurrection would happen. But *Jordano* having disposed every thing for a furious attack, and ordering the gates to be thrown open, he advanced against the *Florentines* at the head of his *German* cavalry, and was followed by the *Siennese* and all the *Florentine* exiles. The *Florentines*, not expecting such an onset, were put into confusion; but their horse behaved so bravely, that the success of the battle was for some time doubtful, till the *Gibelin Florentines*, whom they forced along with them, declared for the enemy; and the *Florentine* cavalry, not even knowing how to trust one another, abandoned the foot. It was the custom in those days for *European* armies (the same prevailed in *England*) to carry along with them a chariot, or rather a stage, most magnificently decorated; and in the middle was fixed their chief standard, which they considered as the palladium of their state. The *Florentine* foot, finding themselves abandoned by *who are* their cavalry, flock'd round their standard, embraced it with *totally de-* tears of affection, and performed miracles in its defence; but *feated by* all was to no effect. The disciplined *Germans* cut every man *the Sien-* of them to pieces, to the number of three thousand, who *neſe*. fought round their standard, and made four thousand prisoners in other parts of the field, besides taking the camp, baggage, and equipages of the *Florentines*.

It is incredible what horror, grief, despair, and distraction, *Divisions* overspread *Florence* upon this news. It was then that the *of their* effect of popular rashness, inspired by success, eminently ap- *magis-* peared. The great things the *Florentines* had done, were by *tratos*. the common people and their magistrates, who were chosen out of the common people, ascribed to their valour alone; and they looked upon the nobility, who were, in general, men of a liberal education, and of sentiments far above what were common in that age, as so many dead weights upon their state, and obstacles to their courage. They treated their grave remonstrances as so many pleadings for cowardice, and

their lessons upon civil and military conduct as 'attainable by the meanest capacity. In proportion as their presumption had been great in prosperity, their despondency was despicable under adversity ; and, without consulting aught but their own fears, they abandoned the city : some of them removing to *Lucca*, and others to *Bologna*, at both which places they were most hospitably received and entertained ; and about the middle of *October*, 1260, the *Florentine* exiled nobility re-entered *Florence* without the least opposition. Their return put an end to the popular government of *Florence*, which had lasted for about ten years.

The Gibe-
lins get
possession of
Florence,

FROM that time the *Florentines* changed their masters. *Guido Novello*, a *Gibelin* nobleman, was put at the head of their civil, and *Jordano* of their military affairs. Public justice was administered in *Manfred's* name. The inhabitants were obliged to swear allegiance to him, and the *German* soldiers were paid out of the *Florentine* treasury ; while the houses, estates, and goods of all who had left the city, were confiscated or demolished. This revolution, however, was far from removing the apprehensions of the *Gibelin* party, who sent a fresh deputation to *Manfred*, intreating him to prolong the continuance of *Jordano* and his troops at *Florence* ; but all they could obtain was a few months. While this passed, the city of *Arezzo* was miserably divided between the *Guelph* and the *Gibelin* factions ; and, by *Manfred's* orders, a general congress of the heads of his party was convoked at *Empoli*. The subject of their deliberations was, in what manner *Manfred's* interest could be best strengthened in *Tuscany* ; and the general opinion was, that *Florence* ought to be demolished to the ground. *Farinata*, whom we have mentioned above, was the only member who had the courage to oppose this barbarous resolution. The speech he made on this weighty occasion was full of dignity and resolution, and coming from a person of his exalted character and known courage, startled the assembly so much, that *Florence* was preserved ; and *Jordano* being recalled, the whole power of the state, civil and military, was committed to *Novello*, who, besides the ordinary troops kept up by the *Florentines*, had under his command a thousand mercenary horsemen. The first use *Novello* made of his power was to attack the territories of the *Lucquese*, for having received the *Florentine* fugitives. Having destroyed the plain country, and taken some castles, he laid siege to *Lucca* ; but that city was well provided for a defence, and the *Florentine* fugitives within it behaved

with so great valour, that, the rainy weather coming on, he was obliged to raise the siege, and return to *Florence*.

His retreat gave the *Lucquese* and the *Florentine* fugitives time to deliberate; and they resolved to implore the protection of young *Conradin*, who remained still in *Germany*, under his mother's protection. Two *Florentine* knights, *Simon* ^{son to} *Frederic II.* *Donati* and *Bonacursio Adimar*, were intrusted with this embassy; and when they arrived at *Conradin*'s court, which was extremely sensible of *Manfred*'s perfidious proceedings, they found it disposed as they could have wished for: but the prince's tender age proved an insurmountable obstacle to their success, and they were obliged to return to *Lucca*. Next year, *viz.* 1262, the *Florentines* there found means to surprise *Segni*; upon which *Novello* once more invaded the territories of the *Lucquese*, and, being joined by the *Pisans*, he defeated the *Lucquese* and the *Florentine* fugitives, who were far inferior to him, in a pitched battle, which put into the hands of *Novello* the greatest part of the territory of *Lucca* without the walls of that capital. Those misfortunes obliged the *Lucquese*, many of whom were of the *Gibelin* party, to enter into a secret treaty with *Novello*; one article of which was, that the *Florentine* fugitives should be expelled from the territories of *Lucca*, and that there should be a firm union between the *Lucquese* and the *Florentines*, with a general release of prisoners on both sides. The fugitives had suspected nothing of this treaty, when, all of a sudden, they had orders to evacuate the *Lucquese* territories, which they were obliged instantly to do, with their wives and children, and to retire to *Bologna*. They were followed by great numbers of the *Arezzians*, who could no longer resist the arms of *Novello*. It is amazing that this sudden reverse of fortune, by which a people, who, but a few days before, were little less than sovereigns, was reduced to a state of exile and beggary, did not damp them, or at least prevail upon them to apply for some mitigation from their countrymen. But the enthusiasm of party had touched their brains, and indeed those of all the *Italians* in general; and it is hard, at this time, to decide upon the merits of the two parties that then divided *Italy*, and the greatest part of *Europe*. The *Gibelins* could not bear with the upstart insolence of the bishops of *Rome*. The *Guelphs* could not endure the tyranny of the emperors and of *Manfred*, and perhaps they considered the pope as a power far less formidable than either of them. Such seems to have been the sentiments of the exiled *Florentines* of the *Guelph* faction, who considered their country as being subdued by *Manfred*, and they disdained to live as slaves in states where they had reigned

reigned as masters; but their fortune was on the eve of a new revolution.

The Florentine exiles assist the Modenese Guelphs. *MODENA*, like the other parts of *Italy*, was torn between the two factions of *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*. The exiled *Florentines* were now considered as soldiers of fortune, and the *Guelph* faction in that city invited them to their assistance. The exiles cheerfully obeyed the call, and drove the *Gibelins* out of *Modena*. They were rewarded by having the money and effects of the expelled party divided amongst them, which, being very considerable, enabled them to make a very handsome appearance. The fame of their good fortune soon reached *Tuscany*, and others of their party joined them.

Reggio, which lies in the neighbourhood of *Modena*, was pretty much in the same situation; and the *Guelphs* there had likewise taken arms against the *Gibelins*, who were headed by one *Casca*, a man of gigantic stature, and of such amazing strength and activity, that he carried an army in his own person. It was owing to him that the *Gibelins*, on all occasions, worsted the *Guelphs* in *Reggio*; and the latter, in imitation of those of *Modena*, called in the adventurers, who flew to their deliverance. Being admitted into the town, a dreadful conflict ensued in the market-place, where *Casca*, as usual, bore down all before him, till he was attacked and killed by a chosen band of *Florentines*, with the young *Foresius Adimar*, who was general of the expedition, at their head; and who is said, by some writers, to have killed *Casca* with his own hand in single combat, after a desperate engagement. The conquerors received the like rewards here, but in greater abundance, as at *Modena*; and now the exiles began to be of great consequence in *Italy*, where affairs took an unexpected turn.

Succeſſion of the popes.

POPE *Alexander IV.* was obliged all this time to keep himself shut up in *Viterbo*, not daring to trust himself amongst the *Romans*. Upon his death, he was succeeded by *Urban IV.* a Frenchman, who had been a shoe-maker at *Troye* in *Champagne*. Seeing that the power of *Manfred* and the *Germans* threatened the extinction of the papal power in *Italy*, and perceiving that the young *Conradin*, who had then only the title of duke of *Austria*, was too weak to reduce *Manfred*, or to recover the kingdoms he had usurped, he bestowed, as far as he could bestow, the kingdom of *Naples* upon *Charles of Anjou*, brother to *Lewis the Saint*, and king of *France*. *Charles* accepted of the compliment, and made preparations to take possession of his kingdom. In the mean while pope *Urban* died, and was succeeded by *Clement IV.* who, like his predecessor, was intirely in the *French* interest, and confirmed the

the grant his predecessor had made to *Charles of Anjou*, though in evident prejudice to the rights of young *Conradin*. *Saint Lewis*, it is true, seemed to make some difficulty in agreeing *Charles of Anjou* to strip an unoffending minor of his property; but the pope *Anjou* got the better of all his scruples, and *Charles* embarked at *crowned Marseilles* with thirty gallies, and arrived at *Rome* in the year ^{king of} 1265, where he was solemnly crowned king of *Naples* and *Naples*. *Sicily*, but upon very advantageous terms to the Holy See, and received the important dignity of a *Roman senator*.

WHEN we write the history of *Florence* at this period, we *Brave* ex-write that of the brave *Florentine* exiles, who refused to sub-^{plots of} mit to *Manfred's* usurpations, and who had offered their ser-^{the Floren-} vices to pope *Clement*, in support of his new system of power ^{tines un-} in *Italy*. They were now very numerous, well equipped with ^{der him.} arms, and experienced in war. The pope with great joy took them into his service, and told them he would depend in a great measure upon them for success. At the same time he made them a present of a new armorial bearing for their standard, which was a red eagle squeezing between his talons a blue dragon. After this, at the recommendation of the pope, they made *Guido Guerra* their general, and they marched in a body to join *Charles of Anjou's* army in the plains of *Mantua*, where they excelled all the other troops in the beauty of their appearance and the richness of their armour. They were received with peculiar honours by *Charles* and his generals, they being the first *Italians* who joined him; and their historians have given us a detail of the complimentary speeches that passed between *Charles* and *Guido* upon this occasion. It is certain, that our adventurers did him vast services, as his troops were intirely strangers in the country. He immediately directed his march towards *Monte Cassino*, where he entered his new kingdom, and where our adventurers gave the first specimens of their courage in his service, by making themselves masters of one of *Manfred's* forts, which our historians distinguish by no other name than that of the *German town*. After this a great number of other places surrendered to *Charles*, whose progress was so rapid, that *Manfred* resolved to put the whole to a short issue, that of the sword. *Charles* being equally forward, both armies drew up in order of battle in the plains of *Benevento*, the country of the ancient *Samnites*. Before the battle joined, *Manfred* observed a body of troops superior in appearance to all the rest of *Charles's* army, of different armour, and under a separate command. Observing at the same time the new device of their standard, he asked, with astonishment, who they were. Being told that they were the exiled *Florentines* of the *Guelph* party, "Then, said he,

he, where are the *Florentines* of my party, on whom I have heaped so many favours?" He was answered, that none of them were in the field. This answer drew from him several violent expressions against their ingratitude and cowardice, and pointing to the exiles, "That body of men, said he, this day must be conquerors; for, if I am victorious, I am determined, at any rate, to make them my friends." *Manfred* then ordered the signal for battle. *Guido* was at the head of the *Florentines*, and their standard-bearer was *Corrad Magnimontano*, a *Pisidian* knight. Their courage in the battle was answerable to their warlike appearance. *Manfred's* army was defeated, and he himself was killed; and amongst the prisoners made by the *Florentines* were several of their capital enemies, particularly *Jordano*, who, four years before, had given them the fatal defeat near *Sienna*, and who finished his life in prison. By this victory *Charles* came into possession of all the kingdom of *Naples*.

Popular government by this success of *Charles*; and the friends and relations of the *restored in exiles* began now boldly to avow their principles. *Novello*, the governor of *Florence* (who till then had acted very oppressively in his office) and his creatures saw it was in vain for them to resist; and consented that a council of thirty-six, half *Gibelins*, half *Guelphs*, should be instituted, to take care of the affairs of the public. The head of the *Gibelins* was *Cathalani*, as *Lodoringo* was of the *Guelphs*. Thus popular government was, in some measure, restored in *Florence*. The heads of the two parties agreed so well together, that many excellent civil institutions at this time took place there. The different artists and tradesmen were divided into companies. Each had its separate distinctions and armorial bearings; and it was agreed, that all should assemble, in cases of danger to the state. The nobility did not relish their loss of power, and began to cabal together, when the people refused to pay the mercenaries that had been hired by *Novello*, who, calling his friends and troops together, expelled the thirty-six from their posts in the government; and from that time a civil war commenced. The *Lamberti*, a noble family in *Florence*, joined with *Novello*; who marching to reduce the populace, at the head of his *Germans* and the nobility, was received with such a shower of stones, discharged from the windows and roofs of the houses, that he was obliged to retreat to the old temple of *Mars*, which was the place of rendezvous for his party. He then repaired to the house where *Cathalani* and *Lodoringo* were, where he demanded the keys of the city-gates, which, after some difficulty, were sent to him; and then

then he, with all the nobility of his party, and his German mercenaries, marched out of the city and took post at *Prato*. This measure had been dictated by jealousy and fear, though the two magistrates of the people had promised to quiet the tumult if he would remain in the city. Upon recollection, he found he had mistaken his measures, and marched back with his troops and followers to *Florence*, where he found *Novello* the gates shut. Both intreaties and force were ineffectual ^{from Flo-} *expelled* for his re-admittance; and after spending some hours in vain, ^{from Flo-} he was obliged again to make his retreat to *Prato*.

THE people thus regaining the government of their city, *The constitution* thought of reverting to the principles of their first popular *tution re-constitution*, and of restoring the magistracy of the *Antiani*, ^{stored}, under which they had done so great things, and which accordingly taking place, the authority of the two late presidents, instituted by *Novello*, was thereby abolished. It is wonderful with what moderation this restored model of the *Florentine* government was established. The people by their late sufferings became sensible of their former errors; and though the illustrious exiles were restored to their estates and dignities, yet a law passed that made no difference between them and the nobility of *Novello*'s faction, if the latter should think proper to return to the city. The *Guelph* exiles ^{with the} *re-together* turned covered with laurels, and were received with prodigious acclamations of the people, who, intent upon banishing *Guelph* civil animosities, obliged *Novello* to give his daughter in ^{exiles} marriage to *Forelius Adimar*. The contending families of the *Uberti* and *Lamberti* were united in the same manner, and their examples produced the like alliances amongst the other nobility of opposite factions. It is remarked in history, that those intermarriages arose from the people reflecting upon the dreadful consequences that had happened to their state in former times on account of disagreeable marriages.

THIS nuptial expedient however was far from having the desired effect. The people pushed their power too far in becoming the match-makers, and in forcing the parties to intermarry. The heart-burnings between the two factions began again to gather strength, and the exiles, who were not returned to their country, treating the opposite party as vanquished, severely resented their having deserted them at the battle near *Sienna*, which the *Florentine* historians call the battle of *Arbe*, because it was fought on the banks of that river. While those discontents continued, *Conradin*, the ^{Factions} lawful heir to the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, which had ^{again} now twice been wickedly torn from him, though no more ^{break out}, than sixteen years of age, was making preparations to recover

Conradin
prepares to
recover his
right.

cover his paternal inheritance. The injustice done him in his infancy, as well as his right of blood, had raised him many friends; but it was necessary for him to depend for support upon the *Gibelin* faction. *Charles of Anjou*, now king of *Naples* and *Sicily*, foresaw the storm approaching, and his first care was to secure *Tuscany* in his interest. With this view he sent, by the advice as is said of the *Florentines*, *Malatesta*, an illustrious *Italian* nobleman, and one of his officers, with a body of horse, to overawe the *Pisans* and the *Senese*, and in fact all *Tuscany*. But as king of *Naples* and *Sicily* he could have no pretension upon *Tuscany*; and the holy see, by a most unheard of strain of injustice, was obliged to give him a title. The pope pretended that during the vacancy of the *Roman* empire the temporary government of *Tuscany* devolved upon him, and under this arbitrary claim he constituted *Charles of Anjou* the imperial vicar or lieutenant over the whole province. The exiles had been returned only four months when *Malatesta* signified his intention to take possession of *Florence*, as well as the other places in *Tuscany*, and the governing party gave him assurances of welcome.

Charles of
Anjou
made vicar
of Tus-
sany.

The Gibe-
lin exiles
put to the
sword.

Upon this the *Gibelins* of the city left it, and for some weeks all the neighbouring country became a scene of robbery and murder. The *Gibelins* were now what their adversaries had been before, the opposers of a foreign power, in whose name justice was administered in *Florence*. But the papal authority covered all defects of title, and the *Florentine Guelphs* thought they could not exceed in their gratitude to a prince, who, like *Charles*, had restored them to their country. The self-exiled *Gibelins* however were very powerful; but at last the places they had made themselves masters of in the *Florentine* territory were taken by their adversaries, and great numbers of them put to the sword. The *Gibelin* faction being thus totally suppressed, the *Florentines*, who remained in that city, were soon divided into factions, on account of the estates that had been confiscated, but were now claimed by those who had been exiled after the battle of *Arbe*. A vast altercation followed upon this, and the matter was at last referred to the papal and the royal decision, which was in favour of the *Arbian* exiles. This iniquitous sentence was occasioned by the dread of young *Conradin*, who was now ready to enter *Italy*, and the desire that both *Charles* and the pope had to keep the prevailing party in *Florence* in their interest, having already so fully experienced their fidelity and attachment to the see of *Rome*. Thus the very men who had so bravely resisted slavery from one quarter, voluntarily embraced it from another.

THE pope however did not think it sufficient to have only A new college of momentary ascendancy over his new subjects ; and he managed so that a political college, for we can call it by no other name, was added to the other colleges of Florence. Are-tin is of opinion that this college subsisted before^a ; but be that as it will, it certainly was renewed and completed at this time. The duty of the members, who had a president, (who sometimes was a foreigner, provided he was a *Guelph*) assigned to them, was to examine into the principles, qualifications, and conduct of the citizens ; and whoever underwent their censure became thereby incapable of all trust in the government.

GUELPHISM being thus firmly established in *Florence*, War between the heads of the party declared war against the *Siennese*, in revenge of their defeat at *Arbe*, and laid that territory waste *Florence* to the very gates of *Sienna* ; but they could not bring their tines and enemies to a battle. While the *Florentines* were upon this *Siennese*, expedition, the *Gibelins* exiles rendezvoused at *Boniti* ; upon which the *Florentine* army marched thither with *Malatesta* at their head, and laid siege to the place. The besieged were encouraged to a vigorous defence, by assurances sent them both from *Sienna* and *Pisa*, of a powerful diversion in their favour. The defence made by the besieged was so brave, that *Charles of Anjou* came in person into *Tuscany* to head the *Florentine* army. He was received with vast honours at *Florence*, from whence he set out for the siege. The place being naturally strong, the besieged made a vigorous defence for four months ; but the numbers of the besiegers daily increasing, the garrison at last made an honourable capitulation, and *Boniti* surrendered to *Charles*. Though winter at the time of the surrender was far advanced, yet *Charles* before he went into quarters, took some places from the *Pisans*, which he gave to his friends the *Lucquese*, and then put an end to the campaign.

WHILE *Charles* remained in *Tuscany*, he reduced the whole *Political* of that province to his obedience, excepting *Sienna* and *Pisa* : *state of* but he now, viz. in the year 1267, received the important *Italy*. news that young *Conradin*, as the representative of the emperor *Frederick II.* and head of the house of *Suabia*, had passed the *Alps* with an army, to make good his family claims in *Italy*. The popes of this age, had all of them, the same turn of genius, which was for an universal authority in temporals as well as spirituals. Though their power was then but low, for it did not extend even over the city of *Rome*,

^a *Ibid.* pag. 39.

yet their influence was incredible, through the practices of the ecclesiastics upon the minds of the common people, many of whom, the *Florentines* especially, were implicitly devoted to the holy see. Those vulgar prepossessions gathered strength, through the ambitious views of contending princes, who in their turns found it their interest to have the *Roman* pontiff on their side. This was the case first with *Manfred*, and then with *Charles of Anjou*, as well as many petty lords and princes in *Italy*, who, by the favour of the holy see, had erected themselves into independent governments, only paying a small consideration to the pope. But neither *Manfred* nor *Charles* were princes disposed to bear subjection to the holy see longer than they found it necessary to their ambition; and the pope at this time, who was *Clement IV.* perceiving *Charles*, now that he was master of *Tuscany*, to grow too powerful and independent, would probably have broken with him, had he not dreaded the house of *Suabia* more than he did that of *Anjou*.

History of Don Henry, brother to the king of *Castile*, having long led a kind of a knight-errant's life in *Africa*, where he had acquired a great deal of money in the service of the king of *Tunis*, about this time came to *Italy*, and by the mediation of money was treating with *Charles* and the pope, who was still at *Viterbo*, about purchasing the kingdom of *Sardinia*. While this treaty was on foot an insurrection happened at *Rome*, and Don *Henry* was employed by the pope to quell it, which he did, and became so popular there, that the pope could not prevent his taking upon him the title and power of governor of *Rome*. The *Castilian* by this time began more than to suspect that the pope and *Charles*, to whom he had lent a great sum of money, intended to deceive and disappoint him. He demanded the repayment of his money from *Charles*; but receiving no satisfaction, he renounced their party, and embraced that of *Conradin*, who thereby obtained a valuable acquisition. Don *Henry* was not only absolute master of *Rome*, but had in his interest all the *Moslems* or *Saracens*, who remained in the city of *Naples*, and who were very numerous there, and the king of *Tunis*, who was then a formidable power to *Italy*. He had likewise a fine fleet under his command; and his brother *Frederick*, who was still in the service of the king of *Tunis*, had secured the greatest part of *Sicily* to his interest.

Conradin invades Italy.

So many threatening events obliged *Charles of Anjou* to lay aside the design he had formed of reducing *Sienna* and *Pisa*, and to leave the *Florentine* territories. The *Pisans*, by *Don Henry's* assistance, had there a fleet at sea, and many

of the Florentine Gibelins served on board it. This was of great service to *Conradin* in *Sicily*^b : but that young prince was poor ; and when he came to *Trent* he found himself obliged to dismiss his *German* army, all but three thousand horse ; a force too small to subdue *Tuscany*, which his interest led him to have attempted. Being joined, however, by great numbers of the *Gibelin* faction, he insulted *Lucca*, but durst not fight the *Florentine* army which came to its defence, and harassed him in his march to *Sienna*. The *Florentines* were commanded at this time by one of *Charles*'s lieutenants, who, on his march to *Arezzo*, dismissed the *Florentine* horse with a kind of contempt of their services. *Conradin*'s generals understanding this, formed an ambush against the Royalists, for so the party of *Charles* was called, between the *Arno* and the mountains, at the persuasion of the *Florentine* Gibelins who served under *Conradin*. This stratagem was so effectual, that all the Royalists, but a few who had got over a bridge before it was seized by the *Germans*, were *Anjou* cut in pieces almost without resistance. This defeat was of great service to *Conradin*'s affairs, and he marched without opposition by *Viterbo*, where the pope still was, to *Rome*. It was in vain for the pope to launch out his thunders against him ; for *Conradin* destroyed the territories of *Viterbo* before his eyes, and plundered all the estates of the *Guelph* faction. He was received at *Rome* by *Don Henry* with regal, or rather imperial honours. *Charles*, who knew he was hated in *Italy*, by this time had received a considerable reinforcement of veteran cavalry from *France* ; and though his numbers were far inferior to those of *Conradin*, who had actually entered the kingdom of *Naples*, he resolved to give him battle, and both armies met at *Aquila*, or *Alva*, in *Abruzzo*. He knew, that excepting the *Germans* and the *Florentine* exiles, and some troops who followed *Don Henry*, the whole not amounting to six thousand men, *Conradin* had but few soldiers in his army, and that the rest, who were mostly composed of needy *Italians*, were under no discipline. He therefore placed a strong ambush behind a hill, out of the view of his enemies, who at first bore down all before them ; but falling to plunder, as *Charles* had foreseen, he fell upon them with his ambushed troops, and totally defeated *Conradin*, who had thought himself sure of victory, and it was with difficulty he escaped to *Rome*. But the victory at *Alva* had changed the face of affairs there, where the *Guelph* families of *Ursini* and *Sabelli* now prevailed ; so that he was obliged to fly from *Rome* to

^b LEONARDI ARETTINI Hist. Flor. pag. 44.

wards *Pisa*; but in his flight he was taken prisoner, with his cousin the duke of *Austria*, who had attended him in his expedition, and Don *Henry* of *Castile*. Being carried to *Naples*, *Conradin* and the duke of *Austria*, though both sovereign princes, were tried before the syndics of the cities of that kingdom, and condemned to die. It is hardly credible that *Charles* of *Anjou*, however ambitious he might be, would have put to death two innocent princes, the eldest of whom was not above seventeen years of age, had he not in a manner been intimidated into that cruelty by pope *Clement IV.* who, though then on his death-bed, sent him the famous apothegm, *Conradi vita, Caroli mors, Caroli vita, Conradi mors*, which signifies “*Conrad’s life is Charles’s death, Charles’s life is Conrad’s death.*” This detestable advice-determined *Charles* to put the sentence in execution.

and with the duke of Austria executed. On the twenty-sixth of *October*, 1268, the two young princes were led to a scaffold, erected in the market-place of *Naples*, together with *Gerard* of *Pisa*, who had commanded the *Florentine Gibelins* under *Conradin* at the late battle, with several other persons of distinction, and there they all of them lost their heads. The death of *Conradin* was particularly affecting. When he came upon the scaffold he threw his gauntlet amongst the people, desiring it might be carried to his cousin *Peter* of *Arragon*, who would revenge his death. He then snatched up the head of the duke of *Austria*, with whom the execution began, and, while he tenderly embraced it, his own was struck off. It is said that his gauntlet, or glove, was faithfully delivered by a *German* knight to *Peter* of *Arragon*.

WHILE those tragedies were acting, *Tuscany* was in a state rather of expectation than tranquility; but no sooner was the death of *Conradin* certified than both parties resumed their arms. A great many *Florentine* exiles still remained at *Sienna*; and early in the year 1269 they laid siege to *Colle*, which is situated upon the river *Alfa*, a branch of the *Arno*, and not far from *Florence*. The *Florentines* immediately sent some troops to the assistance of their allies, and though only the cavalry threw themselves into the place, the *Siennese* raised the siege; but being pursued lost a great number of men, no quarter being given by the *Florentines*. The latter, that same year, besieged *Ostina*, which was garrisoned by the exiled *Gibelins* of *Florence*. Not finding the place tenable, they endeavoured to escape by night, but were intercepted, and most of them killed or taken prisoners. The *Florentines* after this joined their troops to those of *Lucca*, and laid waste the *Pisan* territories. This brought on a peace with the *Siennese*, who

who admitted a governor from *Charles* into their city, and agreed to give no harbour to any of the *Florentine* fugitives, who, in consequence of this peace, were obliged to retire towards the *Capuan* territories, where many of them were put to the sword by the *Florentines* and others, amongst whom was *Aetiolini*, the son of the noble *Farinata*, were made prisoners and sent to *Florence*, where they were capitally punished.

CHARLES of *Anjou* was now by far the most powerful prince in *Italy*; but the death of *Urban IV.* and the intrigues that followed in the election of a new pope revived the troubles of *Tuscany*, where the *Gibelins* again got ground. *Lewis* king of *France*, notwithstanding his sanctity, far from blaming his brother for his inhumanity^c, at this time undertook a crusade against the king of *Tunis*, on account of the friendship he had shewn to *Conradin*, and required his brother to attend him. This happened just at the time when the *Florentines* and *Lucquese*, not at all doubting of being assisted by *Charles*, had made vast preparations for war against the *Pisans*, his and their determined enemies; but the views of *Charles* were very different from those of the *Florentines*. Being about to attend his brother, he studied to leave every thing in tranquility during his absence, and for that purpose set out in person for *Florence*. All *Italy* thought the ruin of *Pisa* inevitable, as *Charles* daily expressed the most bitter rancour against that city: but he no sooner arrived in the *Tuscan* territories, than he gave a favourable audience to the *Pisan* deputies, who offered to assist him with ships in his *African* expedition. Upon this he not only made peace with *Charles* of them, but obliged the *Florentines* to do the same. So unexpected an event greatly dissatisfied the *Florentines*; but to appease them *Charles* took and razed to the ground *Boniti*, or *Bonitium*, which was the receptacle of all the *Tuscan* *Gibelins*. His governor *Guido*, however, obliged the *Florentines* to refund all the money that *Charles* had expended in the siege and demolition of the place.

THE see of *Rome* still continued vacant; but the late peace between the *Florentines* and *Siennese* had entirely reconciled those two people, when *Lewis* the *French* king died in his pope. *Charles* of *Anjou* returned to *Italy*, where he found things in great disorder. At last *Theobald* of *Placentia*, afterwards *Gregory X.* was chosen pope. It was he who indicted the council of *Lyons*, and he then repaired with a vast retinue to *Florence*, with a view, as he pretended,

of abolishing all distinctions of party in *Tuscany*; but in reality to weaken the interest of *Charles* there. His election took place in the year 1271; and calling together all the leading men of *Florence*, he made them a very soothing speech, tending to persuade them to re-admit the exiled *Gibelins* into their city. This the *Florentines* humbly, though firmly, opposed; but his holiness, being master there, he forced them to comply, and all the favour he shewed the governing party, was to oblige some of the heads of the *Gibelin* faction to give hostages, that they would not make a bad use of the indulgence that had been shewn them. Notwithstanding his authority, and all the fulminations he pronounced against those who should break the peace, and his even founding a kind of temple of concord, to which he gave his own name; yet the chief *Florentines* remained vastly dissatisfied with the peace that had been forced upon them, and the return of the exiles, who were so apprehensive of the power of their adversaries, that they again voluntarily left the city. This so greatly exasperated the pontiff, that he laid the remaining *Florentines* under an interdict from all sacred functions. The *Florentines*, who seem originally to have embraced the papal cause, only because it was least dangerous to their liberties, were far from being intimidated by its thunders; and *Florence* continued under the interdict for three years, so that it is doubtful, says their historian, which was most prevalent, the obstinacy of the pontiff, or the perseverance of the citizens.

Affairs of *Tuscany*. THE differences between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* in *Italy*, under this pope, who filled the papal chair four years, raged more than ever. The *Florentines* offered again to assist their friends of *Bologna* against their adversaries with troops; but the *Bolognese* refused to admit them into their city. The *Pisans* again expelled the *Guelphs* out of their territory, and they found shelter in *Florence* and *Lucca*. Their chief was count *Ugolini*, a man of vast consequence in *Tuscany*; and notwithstanding the repeated menaces of the pope, the *Florentines* and *Lucquese* put him at the head of an army, with which he laid waste the estates of his enemies to the very gates of *Pisa*. The pope at this time was holding the council of *Lyons*; and growing daily more and more uneasy at the power of *Charles* of *Anjou*, he wrote to the electors of the empire, commanding them to chuse an emperor, as that dignity had been in fact vacant fifteen years; threatening, if they did not agree in their election, to give, by his own authority, a head to the empire. Their choice fell upon *Robert* of *Hapsburg*, ancestor to the present house of *Austria*, chosen emperor chiefly because he was so inconsiderable a prince, that the electors

electors had nothing to fear from his power. This election happened in the year 1273; and the following year it was confirmed by the pope, whose friendship was of great service to *Rodolph*.

THE imperial dignity being now filled, *Charles of Anjou*, Florence king of *Naples*, had no farther pretext for acting under the *under an pope as imperial vicar in Tuscany*; and this was thought to be *interdict*. the great view the pope had in hastening the election of an emperor^d. *Gregory* however could not be prevailed upon to remove his interdict from the *Florentines*, though by the swelling of the *Arno* he was obliged, upon his return out of *France*, to pass, against his will, some days in *Florence*. All he could be prevailed on to do was to give the people there his benediction, but without remitting their punishment. Removing from *Florence* to *Arezzo*, he there fell sick, and *Death of died in 1276*. He was succeeded by *Innocent V.* who took off *the pope*. his predecessor's interdict from *Florence*. The war between *War with the Florentines* and the *Pisans* still continued; and the latter *the Pisans* had, with incredible labour, cut a ditch, which divided the territories of the two republics, and terminated at the mouth of the *Arno*. This ditch was fortified at certain distances with towers, and for some years it was of vast service to the *Pisans* against the incursions of the *Florentines*. The latter however at last discovered, in a dry season, that they could pass it by the channel of the *Arno*, which they did with a body of horse, and surprising the *Pisans*, they and their faithful allies the *Lucquese* cut in pieces great numbers of them, and drove the others to the gates of *Pisa*. The allies then plundered all that rich territory; and were making dispositions for besieging *Pisa* itself, when the pope, by his legate, one *Valasco a Spaniard*, forced both parties into an accommodation, by which count *Ugolini* and his friends were reinstated in their former honours and possessions in *Pisa*; and all the other matters of controversy between the two republics were referred to his holiness.

INNOCENT dying in the fourth month of his pontificate, he was succeeded by *Adrian V.* who lived but a few chosen pope, days after his election; and his successor, *John XXI.* was and is the killed by an accident at *Viterbo*, in the sixth month of his pontificate: thus four popes died in three years. The next three years pope was *Nicholas III.* an *Italian*, of the noble house of *Urbinii*, who was chosen in the year 1277. This spirited pontiff followed the plan chalked out by *Gregory X.* for reducing the power of *Charles of Anjou* and the *French* faction in *Italy*, and

^d *ARETINI*, pag. 52.

deprived him not only of his dignity of *Roman senator*, but of the vicariate of *Tuscany*. His holiness, at the same time, put his kinsman *Bertolo Ursini* at the head of some troops, to give the greater weight to the papal authority; and sent his legate *Latino*, who was very popular in *Tuscany*, to reconcile all the jarring interests there. The legate was a man of great address; and finding that the extravagance and haughtiness of some of the *Florentine* nobility had disgusted the magistracy, he artfully brought the latter over to agree to the recalling the exiled *Gibelins*, by which he conciliated all parties in the city to each other. After this, to make the reconciliation more lasting, he prevailed on the heads of each faction publicly to embrace one another, and to give reciprocal securities for preserving the tranquility of the state.

His legate new models the Florentine government. He then new modelled the *Florentine* government, by creating a magistracy of fourteen persons, chosen indifferently out of both parties; ordered all the records and sentences against the exiles to be cancelled, and destroyed and took such other prudent measures, that they were restored to their estates and honours. In this reconciliation so much good faith was observed, that all the exiles returned to *Florence*, except about sixty families, whom the pope detained near *Rome* for a short time, till the accommodation should be fully established. But the interest of the holy see was not forgot in this negotiation: some forts or castles, as they are called, were put into the hands of his holiness, and *Florence* was obliged to receive from him every two years its magistracy.

S E C T. III.

Containing the History of Florence, after the new Plan of their Republic took place; their Wars with the Pisans, and Arezzians, and other Italian States; the Institution of the Office of Gonfalonier; and their Revolutions till the Year 1300.

Charles of Anjou resigns the vicariate of Tuscany. IT is somewhat surprising that a prince, so ambitious and powerful as *Charles of Anjou* was, should, so quietly as he did, resign the vicariate of *Tuscany*, by which he had been enabled to do so many great things, especially when we consider the weakness of the emperor *Rodolph*, and the yet unsettled state of his government. But *Charles* perceived the French growing every day more and more odious in *Italy*, and

and yet he could trust no others, nor was his own government over *Naples* and *Sicily* so secure as not to be shaken by the papal fulminations. Such were the considerations that determined him to make no resistance, and to draw his troops out of *Tuscany*. As to the *Florentines*, the comprehensive system which had taken place, left them little to fear from the power of the pope, if he had inclined to make a bad use of it, while they continued united amongst themselves, and his protection was very useful to them against more dangerous masters. For two years the government of *Florence* went so smoothly on, that their historians tell us that nothing memorable at home happened during that time.

In the year 1281 pope *Nicholas III.* died of an apoplectic fit at *Viterbo*; and differences arose to such a height in the conclave between the *Italian* and *French* factions, that the populace breaking into it, abused and imprisoned the friends of the late pope, whom they hated; but the choice at last fell upon a *French* cardinal^c, who took the name of *Martin IV.* and was a dependent of *Charles of Anjou*. In the mean while the emperor *Rodolph*, who was a wise and a *pope*, brave prince, had, by the concessions he made to pope *Nicholas III.* got possession of the government of *Tuscany*, which he managed by a deputy. This deputy, on his arrival, found he had little or no power there, especially at *Florence* and *Lucca*, and raised a body of *Germans* to enforce obedience to his commands. The *Florentines*, on the other hand, depended for protection on the new pope, and his countryman *Charles of Anjou*; and joining with the *Lucquese*, who still more violently opposed the imperial authority, they took and razed to the ground the town of *Piscia*, or *Poggia*, because it was in that interest; but the affairs of the pope, and his friend *Charles of Anjou*, taking an unfavourable turn, the *Florentines* resumed their usual jealousy of their governors. Perceiving the pope was no longer able to protect them against the growing power of the emperor, and that he sought rather to put them up to sale to the best bidder, they again changed their form of government, and abolished the authority of the fourteen magistrates, introduced by the legate *Latino*. In their room they chose for their magistrates three eminent citizens, whom they called the presidents of the *artists*; in *Latin*, *priores artium*. This number was afterwards enlarged; and, in fact, it was little more than a renewal of their most ancient form of government, after *Florence* aspired to be a republic, and somewhat resembled that

* *ARETINI*, pag. 54.

of the *Antiani*. This form was chosen as being the most effectual curb upon the nobility of both parties. The presidents first chosen were men of plain, sober sense, and the most distinguished for industry, frugality, and simplicity of manners, and consequently for pacific dispositions. Their names were *Bertolo Bardi*, who was of a noble family, and very rich ; *Rosso Bacarelli*, and *Savio Clari Jerome*. Those three magistrates were obliged constantly to reside, or rather to be imprisoned, in the town-house, or guild-hall, without being suffered all the time of their magistracy, which was to last two months, to repair to their private houses. In other respects they were not unprovided with the badges of authority : their table and all their expences were defrayed by the public. They had twenty-four officers allowed them, of whom twelve served as messengers or beadle, for convoking the citizens to the public hall, and for executing the inferior duties of justice. As to the presidents themselves, the first charge they had from their constituents was, that during the time of their magistracy they should concern themselves with nothing but the affairs of government. When the first two months of this new constitution were elapsed, six presidents were chosen, being one for each ward in the city. This was a year of scarcity and famine in the *Florentine* state, through the rains and inundations that had happened during the seed-time.

Affairs of Italy,

THE *Florentines* still continuing refractory to the imperial authority, about this time received into their city the son of *Charles of Anjou*, in his return from *France*, with some troops to his father's assistance, with great respect, and even lent him six hundred horse, to be employed in his *Sicilian* wars. This makes it necessary for us briefly to recount the history of that prince, so far as it is immediately connected with that of *Florence*.

and Sicily. THE fatal success of the crusades in the Holy Land, had at this time cured the *European* princes of that passion ; but in the course of them they became acquainted with the weakness of the *Greek* empire, and the degeneracy of its government ; and *Charles* thought that it would be no difficult attempt to conquer *Constantinople* itself, provided he could ensure the quiet of his regal dominions during his absence. *Sicily* had been the most refractory ; but after the defeat and death of *Conradin* he again reduced it ; and he thought the only way to preserve the natives in subjection, was to keep them in misery. He therefore abandoned that noble island to the government of the most rapacious set of men, most of them *Provençals*, or *Frenchmen*, that ever disgraced the human appearance.

pearance. The instances of their avarice, lust, and cruelty, are numerous, and detestable beyond example. *John de Procida*, a gentleman of *Salerno*, of a good estate, but exercising at once the professions of law and medicine, found means to come to the knowledge of *Charles's* design upon *Constantinople*, to which city he went in disguise, and had an interview with the emperor *Michael Paleologus*, who furnished him with money, and encouraged him in the projects he was meditating. He had the like interviews with *Peter* king of *Arragon*, who was married to *Constance*, daughter to *Manfred*; and *Procida*, who was devoted, to enthusiasm, to the memory of the house of *Suabia*, exhorted him so earnestly to revenge the blood of *Conradin*, that that prince and his queen fell in with all his views, which terminated in no less than a general massacre of all the *French* and *Provençals* in *Sicily*, at the first knell of the bell that was to call the *Sicilians* to the vespers the third day after *Easter*, in 1282. It is almost incredible that a project like this, so shocking in its own nature, should be communicated to above a hundred thousand people for many months before it was put into execution, and yet be kept so inviolably secret, that not one of the destined victims came to the knowledge of it, or so much as suspected themselves to be in danger. No sooner did the fatal knell sound than the tragedy began, and so furiously incensed were the islanders at their tyrants, that they even massacred such of their own daughters as were pregnant by *Frenchmen*. Above eight thousand were massacred on this occasion. In the mean while *Peter* of *Arragon*, under pretence of an expedition to *Africa*, had fitted out a fleet to support the revolt of the *Sicilians*, and the right of his wife to that island.

CHARLES of *Anjou*, according to the *Florentine* historians, was in *Lombardy* to join his son, when he heard of this dismal revolution; but immediately returning to *Naples*, he went from *Reggio* to *Sicily*, where he laid siege to *Messina*, the *Florentine* auxiliaries serving under him. The siege was vigorously pressed, and the place as vigorously defended, till it was relieved by *Peter* of *Arragon*, who obliged *Charles* to make a precipitate retreat to his ships. All the loss the *Florentines* sustained on this occasion was a state tent, and their troops which is raised. are said to have returned undiminished home, where they were received with great joy.

FLORENCE at this time enjoyed an uncommon degree of tranquility, considering the commotions that prevailed through all the rest of *Italy*, and began to make no considerable progress in those fine arts that afterwards so greatly distinguished her. The imperial deputy in *Tuscany*, who

seems never to have ventured himself within the walls of *Florence*, not being supported by his master, had desisted from harrassing the citizens, who, on the return of their cavalry from *Sicily*, held a kind of jubilee, by exhibiting plays and pageants, and entertainments of all kinds, at which both sexes appeared magnificently drest, the men in a white uniform, and the women in their richest apparel.

The Genoese join the Florentines against the Pisans.

THE next year, 1283, was observed to have been a busy year amongst the *Florentines*, between whom and the *Pisans* the old animosities still subsisted. The *Genoese* at this time began to make so great a figure at sea, that they had defeated the *Pisans* on that element, and the *Florentines* thought that a lucky opportunity then presented for ruining the power of *Pisa*^f, both by sea and land, by entering into a league with the *Genoese*. They had received fresh provocation, by the assistance the *Pisans* had given to the imperial deputy, and by their invasions upon the properties of the *Florentine* allies; at least, those were made the pretexts for war. The *Lucquese*, who likewise had their quarrels with the *Pisans*, came into the same confederacy, as did several other petty states, and the storm fell at once upon *Pisa* by sea and land; the allied army carrying fire and sword to the walls of that city, and the *Genoese* fleet destroying their coasts. It does not however appear, that the allies this year obtained any other conquests than those over the open country of *Pisa*; for they returned home with a resolution to besiege that city next year with greater effect. The consternation however into which the *Pisans* were thrown, gave count *Ugolini*, whom we have already mentioned, an opportunity to become master of *Pisa*, and he undertook to pacify the *Florentines*, with whom he said his countrymen had no differences, but the idle fantastical distinctions of party. By his address *Florence* was detached from the confederacy, and the weight of the war fell upon the *Genoese* and the *Lucquese*, by which, in all probability, *Pisa* was saved from destruction.

The Florentines cultivate the arts of peace.

TRANQUILITY being thus again restored to *Florence*, her inhabitants wisely again applied themselves to the arts of peace, which, by making their city rich, rendered it so populous that they were obliged to extend its walls. Public roads were laid out leading to the *Casantino*, to *Bologna*, to *Prato*, and *Pistoia*, and each of those roads terminated in a most magnificent gate of the city. The *Florentines*, at the same time, erected pleasure-houses, for the first time, on the other side of the *Arno*; and these encreased so much, that

^f ARETTINI, pag. 56.

they afterwards became part of the city, and were equally well fortified : here likewise three magnificent gates were erected, answering to three public roads, or causeways, leading to *Pisa*, *Sienna*, and *Arezzo*. This year *Charles of Anjou* died, after losing *Sicily*, and seeing his son the prince of *Salerno* a prisoner in the hands of his capital enemy, *Peter of Aragon*, who could not, for all that, make himself master of *Naples*, to which he had the same title as to *Sicily*.

THE tranquility of *Florence* was at last interrupted by the *Ambition* ambition of the bishop of *Arezzo*, who seized and fortified a ^{of the bi-} strong castle, called in the history of the times *Cecilia*, lying ^{bishop of} between the territories of *Arezzo* and *Sienna*, with a view of over-awing the *Siennese*, who, resenting this encroachment, called upon the *Florentines* for assistance. They readily sent them auxiliaries ; and the place, which was naturally very strong, was besieged in form, the prelate, who had got together a body of troops, not daring to relieve it. The garrison however made a vigorous defence for five months, when, being prest by famine, they endeavoured to escape : but being intercepted by their enemies, most of them were cut in pieces, and the castle itself was razed to the ground, so that scarcely any memorial of it now remains.

HONORIUS IV. an *Italian*, of the house of *Savelli*, was now pope. The emperor *Rodolph* had hitherto gained little or nothing by his pretended superiority over *Florence* ; and this pope is said to have encouraged him to make *Fosciano*, a *Tuscan* nobleman, his deputy or governor there. *Fosciano* accordingly repaired to *Florence*, and tried all the soothing arts he was master of, to induce them to submit to the imperial authority : but all was in vain ; both the *Florentines* and the *Arezzians* appeared more determined than ever against any such subjection, and *Fosciano* was obliged to leave *Tuscany*, greatly mortified by his ill success. The *Arezzians*, about this time, in imitation of the *Florentines*, had put themselves under the protection of one *Guelfo*, whom they created their president of the artists. This person, who was a sworn ^{Bishop of} enemy to the nobility, not only expelled them from the *Arezzo* city, but, wherever he could, levelled their castles and their ^{besieged} houses to the ground, and at last besieged *Civitella*, the residence of the bishop, whose name was *William*, and who ^{by the} *Guelphs*, was himself a noble *Arezzian* ^s. This violence and barbarity united in one common interest the *Arezzian* nobility, though before greatly divided amongst themselves ; and they drove the president and his army back into the city, which they

^s *ARETINI*, pag. 58.

took, dividing amongst themselves all the properties of their enemies. As to the president, they put out his eyes, and exposed him to all manner of public contempt. By this means the bishop, at the head of his own family, the *Pacis*, and that of the *Ubertini*, became master of *Arezzo*, and expelled from thence all the commons, and such of the nobility as had formerly opposed him, or had only occasionally joined him. These applied, in the most pathetic manner, for assistance to the *Florentines*, who, nobly mindful of the long subsisting friendship between the two states, immediately called together the deputies of the *Lucquese*, and their other allies, and it was agreed to lend the *Arezzians* eighty horse for their assistance, fifty of whom they immediately received. This reinforcement enabled the *Arezzian* exiles to make incursions to the very walls of *Arezzo*, and to renew the war. The bishop, on his part, called to his assistance all his confederates, amongst whom were many discontented *Florentines*. Next year the war between *Arezzo* and *Florence* was renewed with greater fury than ever. The *Siennese* on this occasion joined the *Florentines*, whose warlike preparations were greater than had been known since their defeat at *Arbe*. The *Arezzians* were likewise very powerful, through great numbers of exiles, or rather malcontents, who joined them. These generally were nobility, who, disliking popular government, retired to the country, where, having great estates and followings, they lived in a kind of an independency upon the civil government. The *Florentine* army set out on its march the last day of *May*, and reduced a great many strong places, particularly *Laterino*, in their march to *Arezzo*, which they at last straitly besieged. Not being able to take the place, the *Siennese* and *Florentines* agreed to return home, each by the road leading to their own city. Their separation gave the besieged *Arezzians* an opportunity to make a sally upon the *Siennese*, who were completely defeated; and the *Florentines* thought proper, after some consultation, to leave their cavalry at *Laterino*, to restrain the excursions of the enemy, and to return home with their infantry.

War with the Arezzians.

Affairs of Pisa.

THE *Florentines* may, at this time, be said to have been the patrons of popular liberty, not only in *Tuscany*, but all over *Italy*. Count *Ugolini* having expelled the heads of the people out of *Pisa*, particularly another *Ugolini*, his kinsman, the exiles applied to the *Florentines*, who gave them assistance and support against their enemies. In the mean while the bishop of *Arezzo*, and his faction, had driven the banished *Arezzians* into such distresses, that they were obliged to shut themselves up within the walls of *Carciano*, where they

but takes Arezzo.

they must have surrendered themselves, had they not applied by their deputies to the *Florentines* for assistance, which was instantly sent them, without waiting, as usual, to consult *The Florentines* with their allies. This generous reinforcement consisted of rentines eight hundred *Florentine* and two hundred mercenary horse, *succour the* and four thousand foot. The vast expedition with which this *Arezzian* army was raised, is a proof of the excellent government under *Guelphs*; which the *Florentine* state then was. Upon their approach the *Arezzians* raised the siege, and returned to *Arezzo*, where they received such reinforcements as rendered them greatly superior to the *Florentines*. The latter having gained the main end of their expedition, which was the relief of their allies, kept upon the defensive at *Laterino*. This gave their enemies an opportunity of extending their incursions even to *Florence* itself; and at last they laid siege to *Varico*, and laid every thing waste with fire and sword to *Collina*, which was but seven miles from *Florence*. The government there, understanding that many of their discontented nobility were in the *Arezzian* army, were suspicious of a correspondence between them and their friends in the city, and therefore redoubled their vigilance, without indulging their young citizens in the great desire they expressed to fall out and attack the enemy, who soon after raised the siege of *Varico*, and returned home loaded with plunder.

A. D.
1286.

NEXT year, in the spring, the *Florentines* meditated a *se- and make* revenge against the *Arezzians* for all their sufferings, and a *league* convoked a general assembly of their allies, who were the *against the Siennese*, the *Lucquese*, the *Volterrani*, the *Pistoians*, the *Pراتonese*, and several others. All these petty states, as well as *Florence* and the greater ones, had by this time entered into a kind of compromise with the emperor *Rodolph* (who found himself unable to reduce them) for their liberties, which consisted in the power of electing their own magistrates, raising their own troops, coining money, and modelling their own forms of government. Those privileges gave them as much independence as the emperor could bestow, and they are said to have been purchased by the *Florentines* at the expence of forty thousand golden ducats. This sum is a proof of the wealth and importance of *Florence* at this time, as *Lucca* gave but twelve thousand, and *Genoa* and *Bologna* but six thousand each, for the same privileges.

ALL the allies had their particular causes of hatred towards the *Arezzians*, who, on their side, were very powerful. They *themselves* were joined by *Guido Ferentina*, who was at that time master of *Pisa*, and by great numbers of noblemen from *Umbria* and *Picento*, and all the *Florentine* malcontents. *Arezzo* was the

ren-

Prince of
Salerno
visits Flo-
rence.

rendezvous of their army. The bishop continued to be its general, and he was strongly supported by the powerful families of the *Pæti*, *Ubertini*, and *Tarlati*. The opening of the campaign was attended, on the part of the *Florentines*, by the arrival of the prince of *Salerno*, son to *Charles of Anjou*, in their city. This prince had regained his liberty by the favour of queen *Constance*, and seems to have come to *Florence*, in his way to *Rome*, chiefly to know what assistance he could depend upon from the *Florentines* for recovering his father's crown. He was received in that city with extraordinary respect; but that was all he obtained, excepting a strong escorte of *Florentine* horse, who attended him to the *Siennese* territories, to protect him from the insults of the *Arezzians*. *Charles*, before his departure, recommended to them an experienced officer, *Amerigo*, (perhaps *Americo*, of *Narbonne*, and the ancestor of the famous navigator *Americus*, who was a *Florentine*) to the *Florentines* for their general. They accepted of this recommendation; but nominated a council of six of their most eminent citizens, who were to attend him in the nature of field-deputies, and who were to approve of his operations. A council of war being held, it was agreed that the army should cross the *Arno*, and march by the *Casantino*, by which they fell into *Novello*'s estates, and destroyed them, he having always taken part with their enemies. As the *Arezzians* had expected the *Florentines*, as usual, on the other side of the *Arno*, the latter had sufficient time for revenging upon their territories, towards the *Casantino*, all the devastations they had committed upon those of *Florence* the year before. The *Arezzians* were surprised at the boldness of their enemy's march through so mountainous a country; the first intimation of which they had was from the peasants, who fled in consternation from the desolated estates to *Arezzo*^b. The *Arezzian*

The Arez-
zians and
their allies
defeated,
and their
bishop
slain.

army, upon this dismal intelligence, marched to *Bibienna*; their numbers being eight thousand foot and nine hundred horse, commanded by the bishop and *Bono of Feretri*, and other excellent officers. This army was inferior to that of their enemies; but their generals had so great an opinion of its discipline and courage, that they resolved immediately to give battle, and were met with equal dispositions on the side of the *Florentines*. Both armies encountered on a plain, called by the inhabitants *Campaldini*; and neither interrupted the other in forming its order of battle. The *Florentines* placed their cavalry, in which they were strong, in their front. Their infantry formed the second line; and those two first

^b LEONARDI ARETINI Hist. Flor. p. 62.

lines were flanked by archers, and such of the foot as carried shields, called in Latin *scutati*. A body of reserve of the *Pistoians*, and their other allies, under *Cursio Donati*, a *Florentine* knight, formed the third line. The disposition of the *Arezzians* was the same ; but their troops were out-flanked by those of the *Florentines*.

BOTH armies being drawn up in order of battle, a *Floren-* *Noble* *be-*
line *nobleman*, one *Vario Circuli*, a man of great quality and *haviour* of
fortune, set an example of patriotism and magnanimity, far *a Floren-*
more *instructive* to a generous mind than the relations of *the noble-*
battles, and other operations of war. By the post he held in *man*.
the army, he was to chuse the squadron of horse that was to
form the van, and to guard the grand standard ; a service so
dangerous, that the boldest in their army seemed to shrink
from it. *Vario* being required to name his men, named first
himself (though he was then ill of the gout), then his son,
and then his grandson ; but refused to name any more, giving
for his reason, that “ they who loved their country would
offer themselves.” This generous declaration produced such
emulation through the *Florentines*, that they crowded for the
glory of serving in the van, which that day consisted of one
hundred and fifty horsemen, of whom twenty were knighted
on the field of battle. The *Arezzian* cavalry, being better
armed and disciplined, made so furious a charge on that of
their enemies, that they drove them back on their infantry ;
but the *Arezzians* incautiously continuing their pursuit, they
were, in a manner, inclosed by the right and left flanks of the
Florentine army, while their own infantry was at too great a
distance to support them. The *Arezzian* horse, however,
made so gallant a resistance, that they were upon the point
of being joined by their foot, when *Cursio Donati*, in disobe-
dience of his orders, charged the enemy at the head of the
Pistoians of the third line, with this noble expression, “ If
we die, we can fear no farther penalty ; if we conquer, let
our accuser impeach us at *Pistoia*.” The attack he made
upon the *Arezzians* was so critical and well-judged, that it
turned the fortune of the day ; for the *Arezzians* were every
where cut in pieces, or betook themselves to flight. *Novello*
was amongst the first who left the field, which the bishop ob-
stinate kept, though he might have retreated with safety to
Bibienna, saying, he would never abandon those who had
followed him into danger. At last, after performing amazing
acts of valour, he was killed, together with *Bono* of *Feretri*,
and many of the chief *Arezzian* nobility, with above three
thousand of their common men, and about two thousand
were

were taken prisoners. This battle was fought on the eighteenth of June, 1287.

Dante the
poet's ac-
count of
the battle.

THE above account of this memorable battle, taken from *Leonardi Aretini*, agrees perfectly well with the relation given of it by *Dante*¹, the celebrated poet, who was then a young man, and that day served in the *Florentine* army. He says, in one of his letters, that the slaughter made of the enemy threatened to exterminate the *Arezzian* name. The fruits of this victory were, the reduction of the town of *Bibienna*, which was dismantled, and other places belonging to the *Arezzians*. Those advantages cost the victors dear, because, had they immediately after the battle marched against *Arezzo*, that city must have fallen into their hands; but the inhabitants now gaining eight days, in which they recovered from their consternation, they prepared for a vigorous defence. The *Florentines*, sensible of the oversight they had committed, sought to repair it; and even two of their presidents went into the trenches, a thing never heard of before, to encourage and direct the assailants. The besieged, however, taking advantage of a dark tempestuous night, sallied out, and burnt all the wooden towers that had been erected by the besiegers, who thereupon returned to *Florence*, where they were received in triumph; and the armour of the *Arezzian* bishop was hung up as a trophy in the ancient temple of *Mars*. When the *Florentine* magistracy wrote or spoke of this victory in public, they termed it their victory over the *Gibelins*, lest they should offend the delicacy of their *Arezzian* friends.

THOSE successes seem to have inspired the *Florentines* with too great a passion for conquest. They sent, soon after their return, two thousand foot and four hundred horse to the assistance of the *Lucquese* and *Pisan* exiles, without having any connection with them, but as they were sufferers for popular government. The exiles, with this assistance, wasted the *Pisan* territory; but could not take that city. *Tarlati*, a nobleman of great distinction, was then master of *Arezzo*, which the malcontents within the city had agreed to betray to the *Florentines*, who for that purpose sent a strong body of horse to *Civitella*. The design, however, was discovered by one of the conspirators, who had been mortally wounded, to a priest, who discovered it to *Tarlati*; and such measures were taken for the defence of the city, that the *Florentine* troops were obliged to return home.

A VAST improvement of the *Florentine* government took place this year. By its constitution the nobility was not excluded from posts of power and trust in the state; but a

¹ DANTE, Epist. xxi.

nobleman who was qualified to be a magistrate of *Florence*, was required to be of some particular trade; the law excluding all idle persons, plebeians as well as nobles, from being presidents. By this means an unnatural kind of a distinction arose in the state, that between property, which was in the nobles, and power, which was vested in the commoners, or rather artists; for so the *Florentines* chose to call all kinds of tradesmen and merchants, as well as the professors of the finer arts, who were every day increasing in *Florence*. Many of the nobility, about this time, laying out their fortunes in commerce, had great returns of profit from *France*, *England*, *Germany*, and other nations. The riches they acquired made them impatient under the government of those whom they looked upon to be no better than mechanics; and sometimes they insulted them, while the magistrates were deterred, by the numerous retinues always attending those noblemen, from vindicating their own authority. For this reason the *Florentines* chose a new magistrate, who was to bear the standard of justice, and who afterwards was called the Gonfalonier of Justice; and his office was to call the *Institution* people out to attend his standard, in all cases of the breach ^{of the} of the peace, which could not be remedied in the ordinary ^{standard-} court of justice. This constitution took place seven years after that of the presidents of the artists; but as it was a post of great power, the *Florentines* were excessively jealous of the exercise of it, and limited its duration in one person to two months, and none but a plebeian or commoner could exercise it. Four counsellors were appointed to assist him, two colonels to serve under him, and he was to command a thousand men, who were chosen out of the different wards of the city. That of *Scardi* furnished two hundred; that of *Transarnini* two hundred; and each of the other four wards one hundred and fifty. Those thousand soldiers were to serve for a year, and obliged, when required, to follow the standard of justice. None of the nobility could be of the number, and severe penalties were inflicted on all who should obstruct or threaten them. But this formidable military force was to be under the direction of the civil magistrate; nor could it be arrayed by the gonfalonier, without an order from the presidents, or in any other case but in that abovementioned.

THE *Florentines* that same year gave another proof of *Other re-*
their wise vigilance over public liberty, by making a law that *gulations.*
no president should be re-chosen in a shorter time than three years after his former magistracy was expired. The reason *Aretin* ^k assigns for this institution is, that the posts of honour

* *LEONARDI ARETINI*, Hist. Flor. p. 65. Ib. p. 67.

in the state might be accessible to the greater number of citizens.

A. D. WHILE the *Florentines* were thus concerting the means of preserving their constitution, they still were possessed of a spirit for foreign conquests; and next year, *viz.* 1288, they again invaded the territories of *Arezzo*, and destroyed *Novello*'s estates in the *Casantino*; but being unable to take *Arezzo*, they and their confederates returned home, after an unmanly expedition against a defenceless country. The season of the campaign, however, not being over, at their return they and the *Lucquese*, with their confederate cities, renewed their league with the *Genoese* against *Pisa*; and the *Genoese* being possessed of forty gallies, the *Pisans*, who were their rivals in commerce, received many fatal blows. *Leghorn* at that time belonged to *Pisa*; and the confederates not only took it, but sunk two ships loaded with ballast in the mouth of the harbour, to obstruct its navigation. The *Florentines*, we are told, at the same time took and garrisoned several places belonging to the enemy near *Arici*. But no sooner did the *Florentine* army return home, than *Guido of Feretri*, the *Pisan* general, without any loss, retook all the places the *Pisans* had lost. Not contented with that, in the dead of winter, *Guido* surprised and made himself master of a strong fortification, which the *Florentines* had erected near *Arici*.—Till that time the *Florentines* had served in the wars against *Pisa* as the allies of the *Lucquese*; but they now declared themselves to be principals. Their military virtues, however, at this period, do not appear to be equal to their civil; and, to say the truth, the art of war was then very low all over *Italy*. Early in the

A. D. 1289. Degeneracy of military virtue amongst the *Florentines*: spring the *Florentines*, as it were, stung with rage, snatching up their arms, again invaded the territories of *Pisa*, and, as usual, laid waste the open country; but the rains prevented their farther progress, and they were obliged to return home.

Those and the other expeditions they undertook about this time were so tumultuary, and so ill-conducted, that the names of their generals are not preserved in history. Upon the return of their army to *Florence*, the *Florentines* began to see the necessity of having a man of military reputation at the head of their troops; but they seem to have been somewhat shy of entrusting so great a power with one of their own countrymen. They therefore chose *Gentili Ursini*, a *Roman* nobleman, to be their general; and he brought along with him some disciplined troops from the *campania* of *Rome*. We know, however, of no great success he had in the field; for though the *Florentine* troops, and those of their allies, who now joined them, were very numerous, and exasperated beyond

their idle expeditions.

yond measure against the *Pisans*, yet *Guido of Feretri*, who commanded at *Pisa*, giving them no opportunity to fight, all that the confederates could do was to insult their enemies within their walls, renew their ravages upon the open country, and then return home.

IT appears, from the *Florentine* historians, that their nobility at this time were too powerful to be restrained by the new office of gonfalonier. The spirit of crusading was then over in *Italy*, and it was filled with soldiers of fortune and idle people, whom the great riches of the *Florentine* nobility enabled to take into their pay; and thus two factions still continued in the state, that of the nobility, and that of the plebeians. The magistracy itself, being partly composed of nobility, was not sufficiently active in suppressing the tyranny of that order, and every day produced some new insult upon the people; so that it was evident to the more discerning *Florentines*, that the moment the nobility were united amongst themselves, they would become masters of the government. On the other hand, one cannot read the *Florentine* historians of this time, without more than suspecting, that the people were too much intoxicated with the thoughts of their own importance, and that they often complained without reason. One *Fanus Labella*, of a decayed but illustrious family at *Florence*, undertook the patronage of the people on this occasion: and perhaps the fallen lustre of his family somewhat influenced his acrimony against the powerful nobility. Being a man of eloquence and abilities, he found means to convoke a general assembly of the citizens in the town-hall, where he laid open the danger the liberties of the people were exposed to by the power of the nobility, and proposed that the military establishment under the gonfalonier should be increased to four thousand men, and that he should reside in the town-house or guild-hall along with the presidents. He likewise proposed to exclude the most powerful of the nobility, even such of them as exercised trades, from being presidents.

THIS speech was heard with great applause, and agreed to; and many noble families, both within and without the city, were not only immediately disqualified from the magistracy, but the presidents were invested with a power of disqualifying others, if they thought proper. When the next election of magistrates took place, *Fanus* was chosen a president, and *Baldo Ruffoli* gonfalonier. Being a man of spirit, and having now four thousand men under his command, he began the exercise of his magistracy with an act of justice; for hearing that a plebeian had been put to death by a nobleman

man of the family of the *Galli*, he drove them out of the state, demolished their houses, and laid waste their lands. This vigour struck such terror into the nobility, that they grew more moderate; and the people at the same time began to alter their system, which hitherto had been too warlike. They considered that their new form of government was yet in its infancy, and that their nobility always gained ground in time of war; they therefore listened to a proposal for peace made by the *Pisans*¹, who were now greatly reduced. This pacific disposition of the *Florentines* astonished and disconcerted the *Lucquese*, and their other allies; but all their remonstrances were in vain. The *Florentines* named two of their citizens, *Guadagni* and *Paradisi*, for their plenipotentiaries, and they rather prescribed than made a peace. Some of the terms were, that all the exiled *Pisans* should be reinstated in their fortunes and privileges; that the *Pisans* should chuse their magistrates only from the states that were in alliance with *Florence*; and that the *Florentines* should have free liberty of exporting and importing their commodities to all the territories and harbours belonging to *Pisa*. It was likewise stipulated, that *Guido* of *Feretri* and all his troops should be dismissed from the service of *Pisa*.

Their
tranquility
and mag-
nificence.

A. D.
1291.

THOSE and a great many other stipulations appeared so hard to the *Pisans*, that it was with great difficulty they were carried into execution. After this, *Florence* enjoyed a state of tranquility for a whole year. Two *Florentine* popes were created about this time, *Celestine V.* and *Boniface VIII.* The latter was one of the most haughty pontiffs that ever filled the papal throne. About the same time the *Florentines* built their magnificent church of the *Holy Cross* at *Florence*, in a taste and with a grandeur uncommon to that age. They were, however, corrupted by the prosperity and tranquility they enjoyed, and both magistracy and people were equally infected. The great credit which their patriot *Labella* had now obtained in the government, had procured him vast envy from many of the plebeians, as well as all the nobility; and his enemies had interest enough to chuse some of their own number to be presidents of the republic. A fray happened, in which a plebeian was killed; and the nobleman who had been tried for the murder was acquitted, after a legal trial. This acquittal left no room for the interposition of the gonfalonier's power; but the people, running to arms, accused the judges of corruption, and marched to *Labella*'s house, demanding that he would head them. His advice was, that they should apply to the presidents, and obey their directions^m.

¹ LEONARDI ARETTINI Hist. Flor. p. 69. ^m Ib. p. 71.

The headstrong mob, instead of following his counsel, ran to the town-house, broke open its doors, and committing a vast number of other violences, the enemies of *Labella* pretended that all their irregularities had proceeded from his direction. They were supported by the great credit and influence of the nobility; and *Labella* was accused before the presidents, who were his enemies, of treason against the state. His authority amongst the people was so great, that a civil war must have ensued; but *Labella* prevented it by a magnanimity that would have done honour to the greatest patriot that *Greece* or *Rome* ever produced, by chusing a voluntary *Labella* banishment, rather than disturb the tranquility of the state. *banished.* Before his departure, he publicly embraced his friends in the most affectionate manner, bidding them adieu. His brother *Taddo* and his grandson *Rainerio* were banished at the same time, and their estates and houses laid waste.

THIS ingratitude, the reigning disease of popular government; had almost ruined the republic of *Florence*. *Labella* break out had always been considered as the bulwark of the people again ^{tween the} nobles and against the nobility, who, seeing him and his friends driven into banishment, thought nothing could then resist them. *the people.* They met in a body; they agreed to compose all differences amongst themselves, to lay the hardships they suffered before the magistracy; and, if they did not find redress, to have recourse to force. They accordingly made their application to the presidents; but found so obstinate a resistance on the part of the people, that they called out their followers, and put themselves in arms. They were easily distinguished from the commons by the beauty of their horses, the splendour of their arms, and their armorial bearings, which were richly embroidered on their upper habits. They divided themselves into three bodies, of whom one took its stand at the ancient temple of *Mars*, another at the New Exchange or Square, and the third at the end of the Upper Bridge across the *Arno*. The people, no way daunted at this military appearance, barricaded the streets; and whenever the nobility began to move, showered upon them darts and stones from the tops and windows of their houses; so that the others were obliged to remain on the defensive. At last, some moderate citizens interposing, the nobility laid down their arms; and the people, at the persuasion of the presidents, gave up a very few inconsiderable points; on which both parties retired for that time in peace. Such, however, was the antipathy between the two orders, that the plebeians, reflecting on what they had done, upbraided their presidents with the concessions they had prevailed on them to make; and not only insulted them when

they went out of their office, but in a manner obliged their successors to revoke all the concessions that had been made to the nobility.

Labella's
recal pro-
posed.

THEY even went farther, and, according to their usual inconstancy, they proposed the recalling *Labella* from banishment. They attributed to his absence all the late attempts of the nobility; and the latter, considering themselves as being undone, applied for protection to pope *Boniface VIII.* who, glad of every opportunity to exert or extend his power, ordered the people of *Florence*, on pain of his displeasure, not to recal *Labella*, whom he termed a fomenter of sedition amongst the citizens, or any of his friends, to *Florence*. The *Florentines* were then too great slaves to papal power to dispute this order; and thus that worthy patriot was suffered to die in exile, his very enemies compassionating his fate ^a.

*He dies in
exile.*

A. D.
1298.
*Magnifi-
cent works*
erected by
the Flo-
rentines,

*who me-
diate be-
tween the*
Bolognese
and the
Ferrarese.

A. D.
1300.

AN interval of tranquillity succeeded for about two years, during which the noble genius of the *Florentine* plebeians appeared with amazing lustre. Their first care was to renew their engagements with the neighbouring states, and they took *Perugia* into the confederacy. They then applied themselves at once to strengthen and to adorn their state and city. They built the towns of *St. Giovanni* and *Frances*, on the opposite banks of the *Arno*. They erected, for the residence of their presidents and magistrates, a most magnificent new town-house, their former one being too weak to protect them from the insults of the nobility. This palace, the noblest perhaps at that time in *Europe*, was erected partly upon the ground of forfeited estates, and partly upon the scites of other houses, which were purchased by the public for that purpose. They next completed the fortifications of their city, by carrying round it a long strong wall, with towers and bastions at proper distances; and, lastly, they laid out five thousand crowns in erecting a commodious airy prison, which was built upon the ground of forfeited estates. Those splendid works, and the flourishing state of commerce at *Florence*, rendered the *Florentines* now so respectable, that the people of *Bologna* and *Ferrara*, then at war with one another, offered to refer their differences to their arbitration. The *Florentines*, by permission of the pope, accepted of the office; but under his patronage and direction, he pretending that the two cities, as being fiefs of the Holy See, depended upon him. The *Florentines*, on this occasion, sent no fewer than seven ambassadors, partly nobility, and partly plebeians, to his holiness, and in a short time composed all their differences. We are now come to the year 1300, when pope *Boniface VIII.* celebrated the first centurial jubilee ever known in the christian world.

S E C T. IV.

Containing the History of the Civil Wars of Florence between the Nobility and the People; the Usurpations of the Popes upon their Liberties; their Leagues with the other States of Tuscany; their Election of Prince Robert of Naples for their General; and their Wars with the neighbouring States, particularly with the famous Castruccio Castruccani of Lucca.

IN the year 1300 there flourished at *Pistoia* a noble family, *New* commonly called *Cancellari*; the branches of which, being *vixions in* at variance with one another, were distinguished by the ridiculous appellations of the *Whites* and the *Blacks*, and daily skirmishes and murders happened between the two parties; so that *Pistoia* was in danger of being destroyed, when the *Florentines*, its ancient allies, offered their assistance towards restoring its tranquility. This being accepted by the *Pistoians*, the only expedient the *Florentines* could devise for that purpose was to oblige both parties to remove to *Florence*; but as *Aretin* elegantly observes, *Florence* was rather infected than *Pistoia* cured by this measure^o. The families thus removed, communicated their resentments to many *Florentine* families with whom they had intermarried; and *Florence*, in a short time, became as much divided between the *Whites* and the *Blacks* as *Pistoia* had been before, and was equally filled with tumults, family being divided against family, brother against brother, and father against son; and thus the *Guelphs* split into parties.

GREAT heart-burnings had for some time been harboured by the rival families of the *Circuli* and the *Donati*; but they now broke out into action, the former taking part with the *Whites*, and the latter with the *Blacks*. The more moderate nobility and citizens, to prevent the consequences, applied to the pope, who enjoined *Vario Circuli*, the head of that family, to accommodate matters with *Curcio Donati*; but all was to no purpose: civil broils ensued, blood was shed, and the city filled with armed troops. *Florence* being in so dangerous a situation, the pope sent his legate to compose matters; but the *Circuli*, who were it seems the most powerful party, refusing to stand to his award, he put the city under an inter-

^o LEON. ARET. Hist. Flor. p. 73.

dict, and left it. After his departure, greater violences were committed than ever; for the parties, now throwing off all reverence for government, no longer fought accidentally, and in a tumultuous manner; but drew up in regular bodies, one against another, in squadrons and companies. The great dependence of the *Donati*, who were of the black party, was upon *Cursio Donati*, esteemed the best soldier in *Florence*; and he answered their expectations, by always leading his party to victory. The *Circuli*, however, had the greatest interest in the magistracy, whom they prevailed upon to send a deputation to his holiness, requesting his interposition for restoring the tranquility of their city. The *Donati* no sooner heard of this resolution than they again took arms, accused the magistrates of betraying the independency of the city, and threatened to punish them; and thus civil dissension flamed higher than ever.

Advice of Dante the poet. *DANTE* the poet happened that year to be one of the presidents, and being a man of great resolution, as well as eloquence, he had more sway than any other with his colleagues. He had the spirit to advise them to call the citizens in general to arms, and then to punish and expel from *Florence* the disturbers of her peace. This advice was followed. *Cursio Donati* was exiled, and his goods confiscated, for having threatened the magistrates. The proceedings against his abettors and friends were more moderate, they being only fined and sent to *Perugia*, where they were ordered to remain for some time, till they should be recalled by the people. Others of the nobility were likewise censured; but more for form-sake than justice. Some of their heads, amongst whom was *Guido Cavalcanti*, a *Florentine* philosopher of great learning and knowledge in the fine arts, were sent to *Seranza*; from whence, however, they were quickly recalled; but *Cavalcanti* died soon after.

Cursio Donati's intrigues. *CURSIO DONATI* was not idle during his exile. He went to the pope, and by his address, eloquence, and assiduity, he prevailed with his holiness to interpose in the affairs of *Florence*, though he and his party had been expelled for opposing that very resolution. The pope, therefore, prevailed upon *Charles of Valois*, brother to the king of *France*, *Philip the Fair*, to march into *Italy*, and to take upon him the pacification of *Tuscany*, where the *Pistoians*, the *Lucques*, and other cities confederated with *Florence*, were still filled with blood and tumult on account of the two parties. His holiness was then at *Anagni*, where he gave his charge to *Charles*, who set out for *Florence* about the middle of September, attended by a body of regular troops. The faction of

A. D.
1302.

the

the Whites, who were now masters of *Florence*, not expecting an armed mediation, were terribly disconcerted with the arrival of *Charles*, who was suspected of having entered into Charles of private terms with *Cursio*. Being however professedly *Guelphs*, Valois ~~ers~~ they did not chuse to deny him admittance into their city; but received him, when he was near the gates, with vast honours and rejoicings. *Charles*, some days after his entrance, behaved with great modesty and appearance of justice. He ordered his troops to lay aside their arms, and never to appear in bodies; and calling a general meeting of the magistracy and people, he prevailed with them to give him full powers to regulate them as he pleased. After this, he took an oath that he would make no other use of this power, than to restore justice and tranquility to the state; but no sooner was he established in the government than he appeared in public, and upon his tribunal, surrounded by a formidable body of his guards under arms.

IT is difficult, at this time, to assign the true motive of *His conduct* *Charles's* conduct on this occasion. The most probable conjecture is, that he gave encouragement to both parties, yet assisted neither; that the citizens might be so weakened as to invite him to take upon himself the perpetual government of *Florence*, which would soon be followed by that of all *Tuscany*. For when *Charles* appeared attended with his guards, the people of all factions ran to arms; but being without any plan or leader, they durst not attack him, and he remained on his tribunal without offering to disperse them. In the mean while *Cursio Donati*, with a body of men, broke into *Florence*, and, being joined by his friends there, they marched to the public hall, where they deposed the presidents, and degraded them to the rank of private persons. After this, the now prevailing party proceeded against their antagonists with fire and sword; *Charles* appearing all the while as an unconcerned spectator, and without any emotion hearing the reproaches of the people against him. Though the return and the triumphs of the *Donati* undoubtedly were effected by his connivance or direction, yet he entered secretly into treaty with the opposite faction; which the magistracy and people discovering, the *Donati* found means to drive into exile the heads of the *Circuli* and their abettors; and thus the Blacks remained masters of the *Florentine* magistracy.

IN the mean while, the pope's legate returned to *Florence*; *Hostilities* and the hostilities between the two parties, not being confined *rage more* within the walls of the city, had filled all its territory with *than ever* conflagrations and murders. The legate sought to reconcile *in Flo-* the two parties; but was so violently opposed by the *Donati*, *rence*,

that he laid the city under a fresh interdict, and left it. Amongst the leaders of the exiled faction was the poet *Dante*, whose fate was particularly severe and unjust. He had, on account of his great abilities, been sent ambassador to the pope by the *Florentines*, to inform his holiness of the true state of their affairs, and to propose a plan of accommodation; but the *Donati* getting the better in *Florence*, he was, in his absence, accused and condemned, his house was rifled, and his estates were plundered. As to *Charles of Valois*, he seems intirely to have mistaken his measures. The pope grew jealous of him, or, at least, did not support him sufficiently to make good the government or vicariate of *Tuscany* he had given him; and, after five months abode at *Florence*, he recalled him to expel the *Spaniards* out of *Sicily*.

Charles leaves Florence,

where the Donati prevail.

His departure left the *Donati*, or black faction, nothing to fear; and they immediately resolved to drive the Whites from *Pistoia*, where they were most numerous. For this purpose they joined their forces with the *Lucquese*; but all they could do was to defeat the scattered parties of the exiled Whites; and, after taking some of their castles, they returned to *Florence* with great show of victory and triumph. That city was then in an unhappy situation; for though it had reverted to its popular form of government, yet, in fact, it received law from the *Donati*, who put several of the principal citizens to death, and drove others into exile, on pretence of their conspiring against the public liberty. They soon experienced the bad policy of this proceeding; for the exiles became so numerous as to be formidable to the governing party at *Florence*, who were far from being united amongst themselves. The *Bolognese* took part with the exiles, and the confederacy amongst them being formed, they raised a great army, with which they marched against *Florence*, hoping, through the civil disputes in the city, to become masters of it. The citizens, however, hearing of the approach of the enemy, summoned the *Lucquese* and their ancient allies to their assistance, and boldly marched out to give battle to the enemy, who were waiting in hopes that the gates of the city would be opened to them; so great was their dependence upon *They defeat the Bolognese.* its intestine commotions. Being disappointed, consternation succeeded their confidence, and they took flight without fighting, leaving the *Florentines* in possession of their camp and many noble prisoners, most of whom were put to death at *Florence*.

A. D. 1304. THE succeeding year the *Florentines* and the *Lucquese* again laid siege to *Pistoia*; but they neither were able to take it, nor to bring the enemy to a battle. The civil wars that now pre-

prevailed over all Tuscany, with the inclemency of the seasons, had introduced a famine among the *Florentines*, who were *A famine* obliged to purchase with ready money twenty-seven thousand in Flo-measures of corn from *Sicily* and *Calabria*. But no sooner was *rence*. *Florence*, freed from famine, than she relapsed into domestic distractions. *Cursio Donati*, thinking himself neglected by his fellow-citizens, and that he was not sufficiently preferred *Discontent* in the government, moved that the state of the public money of *Cursio* should be laid before the people. Though it had been greatly *Donati*.. embezzled, yet the motion was unseasonable, and made only upon seditious motives, to bring certain leading magistrates to punishment, for obstructing his ambition. The measure, however, was so plausible, that *Lothario* ^P, bishop of *Florence*, at first befriended it; and the malcontents of both parties, who were very numerous, united under *Cursio*. But the real views of the latter appearing, the bishop employed all his *interest* against the motion; and not only the magistrates, but the other heads of the *Donati* family, put themselves in arms against *Cursio*. His party was still so prevalent, that, after a vast number of robberies and murders had been committed on both sides, the *Lucquese* were forced to interpose, by marching into *Florence* such an army as must have turned the scale of victory in favour of the faction they espoused. But they acted with great moderation; and partly by threats, and partly by persuasions, they in some measure restored the public tranquility. They next applied themselves to reform and prevent the abuses of government, and twelve presidents were elected instead of six.

BENEDICT, who was then upon the papal throne, took it *Nicholas*, amiss that those commotions should be appeased without his *cardinal of intervention*, and sent *Nicholas of Prato*, a cardinal, as his *Prato, sent legate to Florence*. This prelate, examining into the grounds *legate to* of the late differences, took part with the people, whom he *Florence*: persuaded to divide themselves into twenty companies, each company to have a *gonfalonier*, or standard-bearer, a colonel, and a standard adorned with the arms and badges of the company. Severe penalties were decreed against all who did not follow their respective standards as soon as they appeared in public. Each *gonfalonier* was to hold his place for six months, and, while the standard was abroad, no person who followed it was to go to his own home. This last regulation was made, in order to deter the nobility from enrolling themselves into the companies. Each *gonfalonier* was to assist the members of his own company by force of arms, if the case

be new-models its
government; required it, against the oppressions of the great; and if a nobleman killed a plebeian, the next relation of the deceased, if poor, was to be assisted with money to revenge his kinsman's death, at the expence of the company to which he belonged; but if one plebeian killed another, the survivor was to be delivered up to the common courts of justice. The like institutions took place in the *Florentine* territories without the city.

THE legate having, by those regulations, obtained a great degree of popularity in *Florence*, proceeded to execute the principal design of his legation, which was to persuade the citizens to recal the *Circuli*, and the other exiles, from their banishment. The chief of them resided at *Arezzo*; and amongst them were *Dante* the poet, and the father of *Petrarch*, the other famous *Tuscan* poet of that age, who was born at *Arezzo* during his father's exile. *Vario Circuli* was, at the same time there; and by his advice the exiles, who continued to be very numerous, had chosen *Alexander*, count of *Romeno*, to be their head. The legate did not find the *Florentines* inexorable on this head; but the affair turned out to be more difficult than was at first imagined. The exiles committed their concerns to the legate, who might easily have succeeded in restoring the white party; but insisting upon the *Gibelin* exiles being restored at the same time, he succeeded in neither, though he was supported in both by a strong party of nobility and commons within the city. The exiles had appointed a deputation to wait upon the legate; but while the treaty was going forward, they pretended an invitation under the legate's own hand, which they produced; but whether a genuine or forged, our author does not determine. It was in vain for the legate to make the most solemn protestations of his innocence and good intentions; for at once he lost his popularity, and was obliged to retire to *Prato*. He found no shelter there; and returning to *Florence*, he attempted to prevail with the citizens to undertake an expedition against *Prato*. The *Florentines* discovered, or thought they discovered, that the army he wanted to raise was to be employed against their liberties, and refusing to obey him, he was forced to leave and retires. *Florence*, and repair to his master the pope. His departure was followed by a fresh eruption of civil dissensions, in which *Curcio Donati* took no part, he having left his friends, who were strengthened by the accession of two great families, that of the *Junii* and the *Medici*. The two parties took arms, and, after many partial skirmishes, they came to a general

engagement between the old and new exchanges, and about the corn-market. The north wind blew at that time very strong against the quarter where the houses of the white faction stood, which one *Nerio Abbatì*, of the black party, observing, he set the houses of the *Caponfacci* on fire; and the flames spread with such fury, that they consumed seventeen hundred houses, and was stopt only by the interposition of the *Arno*. This vast loss falling on the trading quarter of the city, the quantities of the rich merchandizes and commodities thereby destroyed is incredible; and the violence with which the flames proceeded, made the common people believe the conflagration was assisted by enchantment.

THE party of the Whites was now utterly subdued within *The pope* the city; but the cardinal legate, exasperated at the affronts *summons* he had met with, represented the *Florentines* in so odious a *the Flo-* light to the pope, that he summoned twelve of the principal rentines *to* men of the city, amongst whom was *Cursio Donati*, to appear *appear be-* before his tribunal at *Perugia*, where he then was. *The fore him.* *Florentines* long debated whether they should obey this *summons*, which seemed to be intended to give the Whites a favourable opportunity to re-enter the city, during the absence of their chief enemies. But at last, rather than be thought guilty, they obeyed it, and set out with magnificent retinues *to Perugia*. Their apprehensions, however, were well-grounded. No sooner were they arrived, and had entered upon the vindication of their conduct, than the legate privately wrote to the heads of the other party, advising them to seize on that opportunity of reinstating themselves in the city. They accordingly assembled, to the number of nine thousand foot, and seventeen hundred horse, great part of whom were *Bolognese* and *Arezzians*. They marched so secretly, that they came to the gates of *Florence*, without being discovered, about sun-set, and actually forced their way into the city. But they were not unanimous: the Whites were jealous of their confederates, who were *Gibelins*; and they began to debate upon the manner of their proceeding. This created delay, which gave the citizens time to collect their strength, and they attacked their invaders so briskly, that they drove them out of the city before the *Bolognese* troops, who had been left at some distance, could come up to support them. In their retreat some were killed; but they were joined near *Mugelli* by a reinforcement of three hundred horse, and eight hundred foot, all *Pistoians*, under *Uberti*, who was himself a *Flo-* rentine exile. Nothing, however, could re-animate them after their late disappointment; and thus the enterprize came to nothing.

The Florentines renew their confederacy with their neighbours. In the mean while pope *Benedict* died, and the Florentine deputies, after complaining to the cardinals of the legate's treachery, returned to Florence. On examining into the state of their affairs, and the strength of their enemies, they thought proper to renew and extend their confederacy with all the neighbouring states of the Guelph party, which comprehended those of *Lucca*, *Volterra*, *Sienna*, *Prato*, *Gemmani*, *Colle*, and *Civita Castellana*. This alliance being formed, the confederates resolved to chuse a general to command the whole of the troops, that they might act with more effect, and they pitched upon prince *Robert*, eldest son to *Charles* king of *Naples*. The conditions of his command were, that he should have no direction in the civil government of the confederate states, but that he should have the command of their armies; that he should reside constantly in *Tuscany* for a whole year; that the confederates should maintain the cavalry he was to bring along with him, and contribute, in proportion to their abilities, towards a revenue for himself. In this contribution the Florentines, as the most powerful, had the greatest share, and the Lucquese the next to them. Early in the following spring, *Robert* arrived in *Tuscany*; at the head of a small, but well-disciplined, body of horse, and taking upon him the command of the allied army, he laid siege to *Pistoia*.

THE reader, in the course of this history, will perceive how awkward the Florentines, and indeed all the people of Italy were at that time, in the art of besieging towns; and that they seldom attempted a siege in which they succeeded. This was not so much owing to the strength of the places, as to the unskilfulness of the assailants, who were destitute of engines. *Pistoia* had within it a strong garrison, and the place was well defended, so that the siege was converted into a blockade, which lasted four months. In the mean while, *Clement V.* who had been chosen pope, sent two legates into *Tuscany*, to dissuade *Robert* and the confederates from continuing their hostilities against *Pistoia*. *Robert* immediately desisted, as did all the confederates, except the Florentines and Lucquese, who, in contempt of the papal authority, obstinately continued the blockade. Upon this the states of *Lucca* and *Florence* were, by the legates, laid under an interdict. Notwithstanding this, the siege, or rather blockade, of *Pistoia* continued ten months, till the besieged began to be pressed by famine and want of necessaries; the only engines the besiegers knew how to apply. In vain the *Pistoians* endeavoured to send their women and useless mouths out of the city, for they were driven back by the besiegers; and the *Pistoians*

Pistoians were obliged at last to capitulate ; but the only terms they could obtain were, that the exiles within the place might depart in safety, and that no punishment should be inflicted upon the inhabitants. This taking of *Pistoia* is *Pistoia* a memorable *era* in the *Florentine* history, and happened in *taken*. the year 1306⁴. The conquerors no sooner got possession of it than they dismantled all its fortifications, and divided its houses and territories amongst themselves. The confederate army next laid siege to *Acciani*, a very strong place belonging to the family of the *Ubaldi*, where most of the exiles had taken refuge. They besieged this place for three months ; but they could not have taken it, had not the defendants fallen at variance amongst themselves, and surrendered it for a sum of money. The place was dismantled, and razed to the ground, and the inhabitants removed to a neighbouring valley, where they built for themselves a town, afterwards called *Scarpri*.

THIS year was created in *Florence* a new magistrate, under the title of the executor of justice. Great part of the magistrate power of the gonfalonier was transferred to him ; and that created in he might be the more disinterested, it was enacted, that the *Florence*. office should not be held by a native of *Florence*, or of *Tuscany*. The same year the companies of *Florence* were reduced from twenty to nineteen. Cardinal *Nicholas* of *Prato*, the same who had been the pope's legate in *Florence*, was now in high favour with pope *Clement*, who owed his election to the popedom to him. This cardinal never had lost sight of his favourite scheme of restoring the *Florentine* exiles ; and he persuaded the pope to send cardinal *Neapoli*, who was of the noble family of the *Ursini*, as his legate to *Florence*, to compose all the disquiets of *Tuscany*. The cardinal having passed the *Alps*, sent a messenger to *Florence*, signifying his approach, and ordering preparations to be made for his reception, and that of his retinue. This produced a consultation amongst the *Florentine* magistracy, who, says my author^c, having experienced that the residence of legates amongst them had always rather inflamed than allayed their civil dissensions, resolved to refuse him admittance into their city. The legate therefore was obliged to retire to *Cesena*, where he put *Florence* under an interdict. But the *Florentines* The Flo knew now how to sport with the papal bolts ; and the legate rentines marching to *Arezzo*, put himself at the head of a large body *despite the* of horse and foot, chiefly composed of the *Florentine* exiles, *papal* intending to force his entrance into *Florence*. Upon this the power.

⁴ LEONARDI ARETINI Hist. Flor. p. 83.

^c Ibid. p. 84.

Florentines

Florentines, calling their confederates to their assistance, laid siege to the castle of *Gargonza*, where great numbers of the exiles were assembled. This gave the legate an opportunity of advancing towards *Florence*; but the *Florentine* army returning from the siege, he retired to *Arezzo*, and soon after, finding all his endeavours unsuccessful, he returned to *France*.

THERE is somewhat singular in the state of *Florence* at this time. The inhabitants had, upon all occasions, distinguished themselves in defence of the holy see, and gloried in being its votaries, and yet the popes of late had never gained one point which they thought might tend to the prejudice of their freedom or interest. In fact, they professed themselves *Guelphs*, because it was the most convenient party for them to espouse, without having one grain of regard for the papal authority. Though the papal thunders now roared more furiously than ever above their heads, yet so greatly were they disregarded by the *Florentines*, that they multiplied tax on tax upon the ecclesiastics, to indemnify themselves for the expences they had been at in the late war.

! A. D.

1307.
Curcio
Donati
killed.

NEXT year, 1307, was free from foreign wars, but filled with domestic contentions. *Curcio Donati* still remained dissatisfied, and was the patron of all the malcontents. He had about him that kind of stubborn virtue which is ill suited to a popular government; for, instead of courting honours, he imagined that honours ought to court him. His magnanimity, however, and the ready refuge which distress always found in him, but above all his profest opposition to the nobility, procured him vast popularity, which, at the same time, his enemies gave out he intended to employ to the subversion of public liberty. Their report was somewhat countenanced by his marrying the daughter of *Fagioli*, a nobleman of great power and authority, which, they said, were to be applied to make *Curcio* master of *Florence*. The people believed the report from the appearances that favoured it, and *Curcio* was cited to appear before the magistracy. He was now the most unpopular man in *Florence*; but still he was backed by some friends, from the opinion they had of his personal virtues. Conscious of his innocence, and at the same time of the power of his adversaries, he refused to appear before the magistrates; and in one day he was accused, cited, and condemned. Knowing the fate to which he was destined, he fortified his house, which the magistrates, seconded by all the power of the city, besieged and stormed, after a valiant resistance of some hours, and *Curcio*, in endeavouring to make his escape, was killed. After his death, both

both the people and magistracy repented of their proceedings. No process was held against his estate or family; and, too late, they reflected that no accusation, except the hasty one which had procured his death, had ever been brought against him.

THE *Arezzians*, for some time, had been under the *Ghibelline* government; but having expelled the family of the *Tarlati*, they renewed their ancient confederacy with the *Florentines* about the beginning of the year 1308. About the same time the *Florentines* interposed to quell some seditions at *Prato*, which had been fomented by the *Pistoians*, who were exasperated at the *Lucchesi*, for pressing the *Florentines* to the utter demolition of *Pistoia*. The *Florentines* generously rejected this proposal, and even agreed that the *Pistoians* should have liberty to rebuild their fortifications, which they did in a very short time, by the assistance of their religious, their young, and their aged of both sexes. Mean while the *Tarlati*, by the assistance of *Fagiolani*, again got footing in *Arezzo*, from whence they expelled their enemies, who were patronized by the *Florentines*. And thus fire and sword again raged in the territories of *Arezzo*.

THOUGH the *Florentines*, as we have seen, resolutely opposed all attempts made by the papal see against their independency, yet they were very ready to vindicate and assist the authority of his holiness, in all matters that were indifferent to them. They therefore this year sent a body of troops to the assistance of the papal legate, who was at war with the *Venetians*, over whom he gained a complete victory, by means of that reinforcement. Upon this his holiness off took his interdict from *Florence*, which now became his favourite city. That same year the *Florentines* were chosen arbiters by the inhabitants of *Gemmiani* and *Volterra*, who had been long at war on account of their limits, which were now settled by the *Florentines*, to the satisfaction of both parties. Towards the close of the year, the *Florentines* sent three hundred horse and six hundred foot to the assistance of their allies of *Civita Castellana*, who were oppressed by the domineering faction at *Arezzo*. As those troops were to march through the territories of the *Arezzians*, their expedition might have proved fatal, had it not been for the madness of the *Arezzians*, who, understanding how despicable the *Florentine* force was, attacked them on their march to *Cortona*, but in so irregular and tumultuary a manner that the *Florentines* obtained a complete victory.

NEXT summer, the *Florentines* and their allies, being joined by the *Arezzian* exiles, marched against *Arezzo*, and besieged

A. D.

1309.

and besiege Arezzo. sieged it. During the siege, Henry of Luxemburgh, who had lately been chosen emperor, sent ambassadors to Florence, who demanded an audience of the magistracy. This being granted, the purpose of the ambassy was declared to be, that the Florentines should prepare to receive in their city Henry, who was about to march into Italy, at the head of a vast army, and that they should desist from the siege of Arezzo. According to Ricobaldi of Ferrara, who lived near those times^a, the Florentines and the Bolognese, and the other Guelphs of Italy, had secretly entered into a league not to They enter obey Henry. This confederacy seems to be confirmed by into a confederacy^b, who tells us that the Florentines, in answer to the ambassadors, expressed their surprize that a Roman emperor against the should carry his barbarians into Italy, and at the same time emperor, justified the war they had undertaken against Arezzo. Henry's ambassadors delivered the same message to the Arezzians, and received much the same answer. The campaign, as usual, ended in depopulating the neighbouring country, and the Florentines returned to their own city.

By this time the emperor had advanced as far as the lake Leman at the head of his army, and that news led the Florentines into very serious consultations. However despicable the strength of Florence was, when opposed to that of Henry, yet they behaved on this occasion with vast spirit; and after many debates, they came to the dangerous resolution of refusing Henry admittance into their city, and of joining with Robert king of Sicily, who soon after came to Florence, where he met with great honours, and staid for almost a month.

A. D. 1311. According to Aretin^c, it was then the Guelph league, of the Italian states, was formed; but we rather think it was then confirmed. The emperor was attended by Leopold duke of Austria, and Rodolphus of Bavaria, with Baldwin archbishop of Treves, the bishop of Liege, the counts of Savoy and Flanders, and other lords of the empire^d; so that the German army was very formidable. As no emperor of Germany had ever been in Italy, since the time of Frederick II. pope Clement V. though he had before invited him, now put himself at the head of the confederacy against him. The greatness of Henry's army and court, rendered his marches very slow, which was of some service to the Florentines. Notwithstanding the danger they were in, they this year sent an army to the assistance of the Arezzian Guelphs, who were hard pressed by their adversaries, but relieved by the Florentines. The

^a MURATORI, tom. ix. pag. 259. ^b Page 87. ^c Ibid.
^d HEISS's Hist. of the Empire, pag. 329.

Florentine Gibelins, however, joined the emperor; and even *Dante* himself, in one of his epistles, bitterly reproaches the *Florentines* for their conduct^c, in resisting him; and many messages passed between them and the emperor, who continued most of the year about *Milan*, *Cremona*, and *Brescia*, and other places in that neighbourhood. The *Florentines* still continued obstinate; but many of the wiser and more moderate amongst them, proposed a kind of an act of amnesty, for re-admitting their exiled brethren, which at last passed; but by the intrigues of one *Baldi*, a mercenary lawyer, it was clogged with great numbers of exceptions, which afterwards proved of vast detriment to the state. Amongst those who were excepted was *Dante* the poet.

Great numbers, however, were restored by this act of *Progress*, amnesty, and the confederacy now extended to *Florence*, *Lucca*, *Sienna*, *Pistoia*, *Bologna*, *Citta di Castello*, and a great number of other smaller states, who all ranged themselves under the banners of *Robert* king of *Sicily*, and *Bologna* was appointed to be the place of rendezvous for all their forces, as being most convenient for preventing the emperor's march into *Tuscany*. The emperor spent the winter of the year 1311 at *Genoa*, which lent him twenty long gallies, and in the following *March* he arrived at *Pisa*, in his way to *Rome*; but remained some days at *Viterbo*, that he might the better understand the state of *Italy*, which he found most miserably divided. His intention was to re-establish the imperial authority there, and he had made himself be crowned king of *Lombardy* at *Milan*; but he could not prevail upon the pope and the cardinals to crown him in *Rome*. Having, however, a great faction in that city, he resolved to force his way into it, though he was opposed by *John* the prince of *Morea*, brother to *Robert* king of *Sicily*. The *Florentines*, ever faithful to their engagements, understanding how things went at *Rome*, sent their friends there a strong reinforcement; so that it was with the utmost difficulty that he forced his way into the city, and was tumultuously crowned by some cardinals in the church ^{and coro-} of *St. John Lateran* on the first of *August*, 1312. This ir-^{nation} of regular coronation would have been but of little service to the emperor the emperor, had he not been favoured by the intestine di- ^{at Rome,} visions which at this time prevailed all over *Italy*. He had made himself master of *Milan* and *Cremona*, the latter by force; and obliged *Parma*, *Vicenza*, and *Piacenza*, to acknowledge his authority, and pay him money. *Padua* paid

^c *Cronaca di dino Compagni apud MURATORI*, tom. ix. pag. 532.

him one hundred thousand crowns, and submitted to receive a governor from him; and *Venice* made him a present of a magnificent crown of gold, enriched with diamonds: and he appointed governors in all the cities that either voluntarily, or by force, submitted to him. *Nicholas* bishop of *Brotonto*^a, who attended *Henry* in this expedition, informs us, that the *Florentines* on this occasion sent one *Ricardo Hugueti*, to make up matters with the emperor, but that they deceived him. *Aretin* is silent as to that ambassy; so that possibly it was no other than a secret negotiation between the emperor and the heads of the *Gibelin* party in *Florence* (A). Be that as it will, it is certain that the emperor was enraged beyond all measure with the king of *Sicily* and the *Florentines*, to whom he imputed all the difficulties he encountered. His *German* army, by this time, was so greatly harrassed and weakened, that he was in no condition to march against *Robert*; he therefore resolved to vent his rage upon *Florence*, and advanced against that state by the way of *Perugia*, *Cortona*, and *Arezzo*, keeping the *Appennines* on his right. In his march he was joined by all the *Florentine* exiles, who had been excepted out of the late act of amnesty. The *Florentines*, mean while, were not wanting to themselves: they called in all their troops, which were in excellent order, and charged their generals to do all they could to oppose the emperor; but, if possible, to avoid coming to a battle. The emperor, however, made himself master of several places of their territories; and at last came to *Ancisa*, where the *Florentine* army was so strongly entrenched, that he could not have proceeded, had he not been directed in his march by the *Florentine* exiles, who knew the country. The bishop of *Brotonto* says, that the emperor's army was then in very bad plight; but that the emperor, having beaten part of the *Florentines*, would certainly have made himself master of *Ancisa*, had he attempted it. *Aretin*'s account is pretty much the same^b; and it appears upon the whole, that *Henry*'s animosity against *Florence* hurried him into a wrong step, by his leaving *Ancisa*, and the main part of the *Florentine* army, at

* Iter Italicum Henrici Septimi. Imper. apud MURATORI, tom. ix. pag. 922. ^b ARETIN. pag. 90.

(A) Notwithstanding this seeming omission, the agreements amongst the *Italian* authors, in all particulars relating to the *Florentine* history at this time, is wonderful, when we consider the factions that then tore *Italy*.

his back, and marching against *Florence*, which he immediately invested on the side of the *Casantine* gate.

THE *Florentines*, on seeing the imperial army, imagined *which be* that their troops had been totally defeated at *Ancisa*, and this *besieges*, belief threw them into a consternation that terminated in *but* despair. They manned their walls, and repaired their fortifications; but *Aretin* does not comprehend why the emperor did not take the first advantage of the consternation of the *Florentines*, and assault the city, in which case he probably would have made himself master of the place. The bishop of *Botrono*, who, at this time, attended the emperor's person, accounts for this omission, by telling us, that the emperor then was in a desperate state of health; that he had not with him above three hundred horse; that his camp was unprovided of every thing, through the madness of the *Germans*, who had made a military desert wherever they came; and that they were obliged to buy at double price their provisions from the *Gibelins*, who attended the army, and who left him as soon as their turn was served. In fact, the *Florentines*, from despair, reflected with amazement on their own condition. They summoned their confederates to their assistance, and the *Lucquese* sent them three thousand foot, and six hundred horse, all well-appointed troops. In a few hours their own army arrived from *Ancisa*, by a different route from what the emperor had taken, and they were now so secure, that though the emperor was encamped within three hundred paces of their walls, they scarcely perceived that they were besieged. *Henry*, on the *is forced to* last day of *November*, raised the siege, but not without being *raise the* harrassed in his retreat by the *Florentines*. When he came *siege* to *Cosciano*, which he besieged, he received a strong reinforcement from *Pisa* of three thousand foot and five hundred horse, and one thousand *Genoese* cross-bows. The bishop of *Botrono* acknowledges, that the *Germans* committed great irregularities during this siege, by burning a great many places, and taking others. Amongst the latter was the castle of *St. Mary*, where *Contardi*, of the family of *Filache*, then one of the noblest in *Venice*, was made prisoner. The *Gibelin* faction were earnest with the emperor to have taken off this nobleman's head, that he might thereby strike the greater terror into his enemies. The emperor, however, chose to dismiss him in safety, which he accordingly did, on condition of his returning to *Florence*, and endeavouring to conciliate the minds of his countrymen to the emperor. *Con-*

^c *ARETIN.* pag. 90.

had acquitted himself like a man of honour as to the conditions of his release; but without success. On his return to the emperor, he laid the principal blame of the stubbornness of the *Florentines* upon the bishop of *Florence* and his clergy, who were perpetually haranguing the people to stand by their liberties against the emperor. The emperor, while he lay before *Castiglione*, was so little formidable to the *Florentines*, that they dismissed their auxiliaries, and harassed him to such a degree, that he was obliged to raise the siege, and removed to *Poggiobonza*, formerly called *Boneti*^b, where he rebuilt the fortifications that had been razed by *Charles of Anjou*. But though it was now in the middle of winter, his army was so harassed by the *Florentines*, that he was obliged to keep the field till the beginning of *January*, 1213.

The Florentines apply to Robert king of Naples.

THE emperor's obstinacy, however, in continuing this war, gave the *Florentines* such apprehensions, that they resolved to apply to *Robert* king of *Naples*, *Sicily* being then under *Frederick*, for assistance, as they expected he would renew the war next spring with more fury than ever. They chose for their ambassadors *Giacomo Bardi* and *Dardano Accioli*. They were instructed to repair to *Sienna* and *Puglia*, that they might excite those states to join in the common cause, and likewise to apply to the *Lucquese* and *Calabrese*. All of them ordered their deputies to join with those of *Florence*. *Robert* received the deputies with the utmost affection, and promised, if the affairs of his kingdom would suffer him, to put himself at the head of the *Tuscan* confederacy in person; and in the mean time, he sent his brother *Peter* to their assistance with a body of cavalry. This gave great spirits to the *Florentines*; but they were quickly damped by a demand made upon them from *Robert* of three months pay for his horsemen. This demand was the more unseasonable, as the state, of late, had been put to so great expence, that the public treasury was exhausted; nor would their other allies contribute to any share of the expence. In vain they applied to *Robert* for a mitigation of his demand; and part of the money being paid, they expected him to fulfil his promise. *Robert* knew the dread the *Florentines* were under of subjection to the emperor, and trifled with them so long, that they were forced to come to a resolution of offering to him the sovereignty of their city and dominions for five years. This was done by the presidents, who were vested with authority from the people for that purpose; but upon

They transfer the government of their city to him for five years.

^b Iter Italicum, pag. 929. ARETIN. pag. 90.

the following express conditions, viz. "That the king himself in person, or one of his sons or brothers, should reside in *Florence*; that no exile should be restored; that the people should be governed by their own laws; and that the power of the presidents should continue." Deputies were then appointed by the state, who repaired to *Naples*, and made a tender to *Robert* of his new sovereignty. *Robert* began his government with an act of justice highly approved of by the *Florentines*; for the presidents, who had been the main instruments of conferring the government upon him, presuming upon the great services they had done him, solicited him for certain immunities to themselves and their families, and other privileges, which were incompatible with the liberties of the people; *Robert*, after ratifying the instrument by which he received the government, rejected this application with the utmost disdain and dislike.

WHILE the emperor continued at *Poggiobonza*, he entered *The empire* into a league with *Frederick* king of *Sicily* against *Robert*. *peror* Their intention was to invade the kingdom of *Naples*; and *leagues* *Frederick* for that purpose furnished the emperor with a large *with the* sum of money. This supply enabled the emperor to take *king of* into his pay seventy *Genoese* gallies, to hire more troops in *Sicily* *Germany*, and to make other preparations, which might *against* *him*. *have proved fatal both to Florence and Robert*, had not the *emperor* himself died near *Sienna*, in the midst of his *expedition* *against Florence and its confederates*, in *August, 1213. peror dies.* *Authors* of no mean rank tell us he was poisoned. *He* certainly was a violent but impolitic prince. Before his death *His cha-* he had arrogated to himself the sovereignty of all *Italy*, and *racer*. *had summoned* all the princes and states of it not only to do him homage, but to pay him tribute. The *Florentines* and their allies had the courage to oppose him; for which reason he denounced vengeance against them, and published edicts, giving them up to the sword, by putting both them and *Robert king of Naples* to the ban of the empire. This is said to have been the sentence of his own death, by giving the *Florentines* the hint to poison him, which a *Dominican*, hired by them, did, in administering to him the sacrament. Whatever may be in this (for the fact is not sufficiently (B) authen-

• VOLTAIRE, HEISS, &c.

(B) *Feretus Vincentinus*, a co-
temporaneous author of great cre-
dit, published by *Miratori*, vol.
ix. of his *Rerum Italicarum Scrip-*

tores, has given us a very mi-
nute account of this prince's
death; but leaves no room for
thinking that it happened by
poison.

authenticated) it is certain his death happened very critically for the *Florentines* and their allies, as well as for the king of *Naples*, because it absolutely destroyed the strong confederacy that had been formed against them. The *Genoese* fleet was dismissed, and the imperial army returned to *Germany*; while *Frederick*, who was then besieging *Reggio*, was obliged to return with his army to *Sicily*. The face of affairs all over *Italy* was now changed. The *Florentines* and their allies had been highly exasperated against the *Pisans*, for the assistance they had given to *Henry*, and determined to take a severe vengeance. The *Pisans*, upon this, chose for their governor *Uguicio Fagiolani*, in hopes of being able, by his means, to break or weaken the confederacy against them. *Fagiolani* immediately took into his pay eight hundred *German* horse, part of the emperor's army, and made great preparations against the *Lucquese*, who, upon that occasion, imitated the example of the *Florentines*, by putting themselves under the protection of the king of *Naples*. The elegant historian of *Florence* observes⁴, that this objection rendered them less alert than they had been before in the field, because they trusted too much to *Robert*'s protection. The *Florentines*, however, punctually performed all their engagements with the *Lucquese*, and *Fagiolani* for some time thought proper to shut himself up in *Pisa*. But no sooner did the confederates retire, than he attacked the *Lucquese* territories with so much fury, that he forced them to a scandalous peace, by which they delivered up several of their forts to the *Pisans*, and were obliged to re-admit into their city all their *Gibelin* exiles. The latter demanded to be reinstated in their effects; but this meeting with opposition, a civil war broke out in the city. The *Florentines*, on this occasion, gave a noble proof of their good faith: they had remonstrated, in the strongest terms, against the pusillanimity of the *Lucquese* in concluding the late peace; but still they supported their friends in *Lucca*. The *Gibelin* faction there, on the other hand, applied to *Fagiolani*, who came to their assistance with his *German* horse, plundered the houses of both parties in *Lucca*, and drove all the *Lucquese* *Guelphs* out of that city.

A. D.
1314.

Good faith
of the Flo-
rentines.

So sudden a revolution of government could take place only in an *Italian* state, balanced, as that of *Lucca* was, be-

⁴ LEONARD. ARETIN.

poison. He tells us, indeed, till after he was given over by that a *Dominican* gave him the his physicians. sacrament; but this was not

between two powerful parties. The *Lucquese* exiles retired to some estates they had upon the *Lower Arno*, where they implored the protection of the *Florentines*, which they received in an eminent degree. They not only sent them succours, by which they were enabled to maintain their forts, but applied by an embassy to the king of *Naples* for assistance. *Lucquese exiles succoured by the Florentines.*

Robert, to keep up his credit with the *Tuscan* states, whom he now considered as his subjects, immediately ordered his brother *Peter* to march at the head of a body of horse to *Florence*. *Peter's* first care, after arriving there, was to make up matters with the *Arezzians*, whose government continued yet to be *Gibelin*, lest they should join with *Fagiolani*, and the *Gibelins* of *Lucca* and *Pisa*. This great point being effected, the *Florentines* applied themselves entirely to the war against *Pisa*; while *Fagiolani* as briskly pushed that against the exiled *Lucquese*, the *Pistoians*, the people of *Miniato*, the *Volterrans*, and other states confederated with *Florence*, that were open to his incursions. At last he formed the siege of *Catino*. In the meanwhile *Philip*, prince of *Tarentum*, another brother of *Robert* king of *Naples*, came to *Florence*, and gave such life to the *Florentines*, that they put him at the head of all the troops they could muster up, and he marched to raise the siege of *Catino*. *Fagiolani*, on his side, made suitable preparations to meet him; but, as he was inferior in strength, he remained on the defensive, though without raising the siege. But *Fagiolani* found himself under a necessity of returning to *Lucca*, where his presence was necessary to prevent a new revolution. This, however, he could not do without coming to a battle. Amongst the confederates of *Florence* were the *Siennese* and *Collenese* (C), whom *Fagiolani* attacked with such fury, that he drove them upon the main body of the *Florentines*. The latter, however, bravely made head against their enemies; but *Fagiolani's* *German* horse breaking in, they were put to a total rout, and two thousand of them were cut in pieces, besides great numbers who were drowned. *Philip*, who commanded the army, was that day sick, so that the command devolved upon his younger brother *Peter*, who, together with *Philip's* eldest son *Charles*, was killed in the battle. This victory was not

* *ARETIN*, pag. 95. *JANOTTI MANETTI Historia apud Muratorium*, vol. xix. pag. 1030.

(C) The inhabitants of *Colle*, it scarcely deserves that name, a town of *Tuscany*, so small that though it is the seat of a bishop,

bloodless on the side of *Fagiolani*. The *Florentines* killed his eldest son, and cut in pieces his first limb of foot.

THE *Florentines* shewed great dissatisfaction at the conduct of their commanders that fatal day, and it was increased when they saw *Catino* surrendered to the conqueror, and that the king of *Naples* made no motion for assisting them. At last they began to talk of chusing another protector, when *Novello*, one of *Robert*'s generals came, but with scarce any attendance, to put himself at the head of their army. This disappointment rendered the *Florentines* still more outrageous. Two factions, the Royalists and the Anti-royalists, sprung up in the city, who often came to blows with each other; and there must have been an end of the *Florentine* liberty, had not the *Pisans*, in attempting to throw off *Fagiolani*'s yoke, given his army such a diversion that the *Florentines* received a breathing-time.

The Pisans rebel against Fagiolani. IT was at this period that the famous *Castruccio Castruccani* appeared. His personal history will come more properly under that of *Lucca*. It is sufficient here to say, that he was at this time a young man of wonderful endowments, both of body and mind, and was one of the *Lucquese*, who, upon the late revolution, had been re-admitted into that city; where falling under *Fagiolani*'s displeasure, he was imprisoned, when he was at the height of his reputation, after doing *Fagiolani* the most important services. *Fagiolani* made no secret that he intended to put him to death, as he had done many other noble *Pisans* and *Lucquese*; but the latter took arms in his favour, and freed him from his imprisonment. *Fagiolani* hearing of this, marched out of *Pisa*, intending to reduce the contumacious *Lucquese*; but he was no sooner gone than the *Pisans* shut their gates against his return, while the *Lucquese* expelled him their city; and thus in one day he lost two principalities, and was obliged to fly with his son to *Luna*, now *Arici*. Both the *Pisans* and *Lucquese* after this put themselves under the protection of the king of *Naples*, to the great discontent of the *Florentines*, who were in hopes of being revenged upon the *Pisans* for their defeat at *Catino*; being afraid, however, of injuring the common cause by disunion, they at last ratified what the king had done.

New regulation about armour. THIS year is remarkable for a new regulation made in *Florence*, by which every horseman, who went to war, was to have his helmet, breast-plate, gauntlets, cuisses, and boots all of iron; a precaution which was taken on account of the disadvantages their cavalry had suffered from their light armour at the battle of *Catino*. *Guido*, a *Tuscan* count, whose estate lay in the neighbourhood of *Florence*, was then gover-

tor of the city under *Robert*, who grew daily more and more unpopular there; not so much from any real grounds of dissatisfaction the people had, but because the seeds of enmity still subsisting among the noble families, if one favoured the king, it was cause sufficient for the other to oppose him. *Guido* was perfectly well acquainted with the interests and dispositions of the *Florentines*, and acted with such incomparable wisdom and moderation, that he made up above fifty capital quarrels subsisting amongst noble families, and thereby all of them were reconciled to the king; so that he reduced *Florence* to such a state of tranquility and unanimity that it scarce had ever known before. This period is further remarkable for the good faith with which the *Florentines* continued to assist their allies, by supporting the *Guelphs* of *Cremona* and *Parma* against their enemies.

ROBERT king of *Naples* was at this time at *Genoa*, where A. D. 1316. a faction of the citizens put him in possession of that city. Meeting, however, with a strong opposition, he applied to *The Florentines*, who were then at peace both at home and ^{rentines} abroad, and their allies, for assistance, which was accordingly ^{affist the} sent him, and did him great service. The empire at this ^{king of} time was vacant, and had continued so ever since the death ^{Naples.} of the emperor *Henry* of *Luxemburg* in *Italy*. Pope *Clement V.* had condemned the memory of that emperor, and had reversed his sentence against *Robert* king of *Naples*. Not content with that, he pretended that *Robert* was his vassal, and that the holy see had a right to govern the empire during its vacancy; he therefore named *Robert* to be the imperial, or rather the papal vicar all over the imperial fiefs and possessions in *Italy*, and it was under that pretext he had got foot-in *Genoa*. The expelled *Genoese*, however, being supported by *France*, *Robert* could not have maintained his footing in that city, without the assistance of the *Florentines*. Upon the death of *Clement V.* *John XXII.* succeeded to the see of *Rome*. Although his father was only a shoe-maker, he pretended to the same right his predecessors had done of deposing kings, and disposing of empires; but the *Gibelins* interest was at this time very strong in *Italy*. The *Florentines* had weakened themselves by the great supplies they had sent to *Genoa* and *France* against *Robert*'s enemies. The bishop of *Arezzo* had again in a manner got possession of that city; and *Castruccio* of *Lucca*, who was a soldier of fortune, having been practised upon by the *Gibelins*, brought the *Lucquese*, whom he entirely governed, to declare against the *Florentines*. Thus *Florence* had a more formidable enemy than ever to encounter, no general in *Italy* being then thought comparable

parable to *Castruccio*, either for interest or reputation. All at once he invaded and laid waste the territories of *Florence*, and took many fortified places, proceeding as far as *Empoli*. The *Florentines*, upon this, were obliged to recall one thousand horse, who were serving the king of *Naples* in his *Genoese* wars. *Castruccio*, glad of this opportunity to shew his power, immediately marched towards *Genoa*, but was obliged to return by an irruption which the *Florentines* made into the *Lucquese* territories. His ambition was, if possible, to fight the *Florentines*; but the latter, conscious of his superiority, kept upon the defensive all that year, but not without a great loss of reputation as well as territory.

Their wars with Castruccio. NEXT year the *Florentines* made a league with *Spinetta*, a *Lucquese* nobleman of great property, whom *Castruccio* had injured; and raising two armies, they invaded the *Lucquese* territories from different quarters. With one army they laid siege to *Fighini*; and with the other marched directly against *Lucca*, retaking a great many places they had before lost. *Castruccio* lost no time in opposing this double invasion, and marched with wonderful expedition to the relief of *Fighini*. The *Florentines*, on his approach, abandoned the siege, and made a more hasty retreat than was consistent with their honour. *Castruccio*, however, could not bring them to any decisive action, and with great difficulty, and some loss, they returned to *Florence*. Upon which *Castruccio* recovered all the places he had lost, and took several others.

THE affairs of the *Florentines* were at this time in a low state, chiefly through the loss of reputation, and their having no man of great consequence to head them. They had suffered greatly by the succours they had sent to the king of *Naples*, and their other allies; and they were so involved in war and difficulties in the year 1321¹, that they were obliged to create twelve assistant presidents for the management of affairs: they likewise that year added some new fortifications to their city.

THE ancient league between (D) the *Florentines* and the *Pistoians* still subsisted, and the former sent *Julia*, one of

¹ ARETTINI, pag. 98.

(D) The following particulars of the league between the *Pistoians* and *Castruccio*, are taken from the *Pistoian chronicle* of *Janottius*, or *Jannoccius Manetti*, a *Florentine*, published by *Muratori*, tom. xix. pag. 987.

This *Manettius* is an unexceptionable author, not only as he was a *Florentine* of great rank and consideration, but governor of *Pistoia*. *Aretin* is very lame in this period of his history.

their

their best officers with a body of horse to the assistance of the latter, *Castruccio* having a strong party in their city, and an eye upon their government. At the same time *Pino*, a *Florentine* knight, was governor for the king of *Naples* in *Pistoia*. All that *Julio* could do, was to prevent *Castruccio* from making himself master of *Pistoia*; but he could not hinder him from actually laying the *Pistoian* territories under such heavy contributions, that the inhabitants wished for nothing so much as a peace, and some citizens of great eminence managed matters so, that they brought about a conference between *The Pistoians* *Castruccio* and *Pino* for that purpose; but they disagreed upon the terms ⁵. This treaty gave so great uneasiness to the *Florentines* that they sent for *Pino* to *Florence*; and in the mean time the *Pistoians* of themselves chose a new governor, one *Fumo*, a partisan of *Castruccio*. *Ormanni*, prior of the monastery of *Pescia*, was of the same faction, and extremely active in getting all the enemies to *Castruccio* removed out of the government. *Ormanni*'s influence was so great in the state, that he got the common people publicly to declare for a treaty with *Castruccio*. The *Florentine* government, understanding this, sent a formal embassy, consisting of six noblemen, and as many principal citizens, to dissuade the *Pistoians* from making, at least, a separate treaty. *Ormanni* hearing of this deputation, wrote to all the inhabitants of the *Pistoian* territories, desiring them to repair instantly to that city, if they were for peace with *Castruccio*. In the mean while, the *Florentine* ambassadors were received with the utmost politeness by *Ormanni*, and the heads of his faction; but by his management, the gates of the city and the palace were suddenly seized by the people, and all the magistrates, whom they suspected to be averse to peace, were displaced. *Ormanni* pretended to the *Florentine* deputies, that this had been done without his knowledge, and against his intention; but at the same time he privately invited *Castruccio* to advance towards *Pistoia*, to give weight to the revolution.

It does not appear, from *Manetti*'s relation, that *Ormanni* *Revolution* hitherto was more sincere with *Castruccio* than he had been with the *Florentine* deputies; who, upon the news of *Castruccio*'s approach, hastily left *Pistoia*, and with some difficulty saved two noblemen, whom *Ormanni* designed to have put to death. After this, he took upon himself the exercise of the government, drove out of the city all who opposed him, and left the people to be plundered and oppressed by his rapacious kinsmen. He still, however, endeavoured to keep fair with

Castruccio; but the latter, perceiving that *Ormanni* was only amusing him, made himself master of the greatest part of the *Pistoian* territory. This, together with *Ormanni*'s own insolence, rendered him extremely unpopular; and *Philip*, his nephew, a man of much greater address and moderation, stript him of his power; but behaved so as to keep well both with *Castruccio* and the *Florentines*; though it was not long before he was obliged to give up the government of *Pistoia* entirely to *Castruccio*.

WHILE this revolution was bringing about in *Pistoia*, the *Florentines* sent an army to the relief of their allies of *Siena*, while the turbulent bishop of *Arezzo* besieged and took *Franzoli*, and persecuted with fire and sword all the allies of *Florence* in the territories of *Arezzo*, who sent to *Florence* for assistance. The bishop was then besieging *Velona*; and though the *Florentines* might well have excused themselves, on account of the multiplicity of the wars they were engaged in, from undertaking a new one, yet they immediately ordered a powerful assistance to their confederates. But the bishop by this time had taken and razed to the ground *Velona*; upon which the *Florentine* auxiliaries returned home, as the bishop did to *Arezzo*. The difficulties in which the *Florentines* were now involved, seem rather to increase than damp their spirits. They incessantly put their allies, who were chiefly composed of exiled *Guelphs*, in mind of *Castruccio*'s power, and the danger the liberties of *Tuscany* were in from him; and this they did with such success, that they once more assembled a powerful army in *Florence*. This checked *Castruccio*'s progress for some time; and the *Florentines* even entered into a treaty with the *Genoese*, whom they assisted with a body of land-forces, upon condition that the *Genoese* should assist them with a fleet against the *Lucquese*, to give a diversion to *Castruccio*. While preparations were making for this expedition by land, an officer of approved fidelity, who had the command of three hundred horse, deserted with his men to *Castruccio*. The *Florentines* thought that this had happened through the corruption of the officer; and each dreading another, the expedition came to nothing. This gave an opportunity to *Castruccio* to make a fresh irruption into the *Florentine* territories, as far as *St. Miniato*; and then he returned triumphantly to *Lucca*, boasting that he had inflicted upon his enemies those calamities they had intended against him. In the mean while the bishop of *Arezzo* fell upon *Fagiolani*'s estates, which lay at the foot of the *Appennines*; and after taking several of his castles, he besieged *Rondino*. This small city and territory had been always faithful to their confederacy with *Florence*, and

An officer revolts from the Florentines.

and the inhabitants immediately implored its protection. The *Florentines*, with sorrowful hearts, found the danger they were encompassed with was such, that they could send no relief to their brave allies, who, after a resistance of some months, were obliged to give up their town to the bishop. In the mean while *Castruccio* had advanced as far as *Prato*, which lies almost half way between *Florence* and *Pistoia*, and but a few miles from both. This spread such an alarm through *Florence*, that the people, without waiting for orders, ran to arms, marched out of the city, and, to the number of twenty thousand, faced *Castruccio*. The latter was startled at such superior numbers to his own; but not caring to attack an enraged multitude, though he made dispositions for fighting, he withdrew in the night-time from *Pistoia*; so that next morning the *Florentines* beheld no enemy. *Manetti* informs us^a, though *Aretin* is silent on the matter, that *Raimond Cardoni*, who had been one of the pope's generals in *France*, was the *Florentine* commander in this expedition. It is certain, that the morning after *Castruccio*'s retreat, the *Florentines* were dreadfully mortified in perceiving they had no enemy to fight. The common people, and all who had served as volunteers in the expedition, were for pursuing the enemy; but the nobility opposed them. This begat such differences in the army, that it was resolved to refer the matter to the council of presidents at *Florence*; but debates running as high amongst them as they had done in the army, the common people, who had been left behind, being joined by the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and country, who all of them, on this occasion, repaired to *Florence*, forced their magistrates to continue the expedition, and to attempt the reduction of *Lucca* itself. This tumultuous resolution is as tumultuously expressed by the *Florentine* historians. It is certain, that an incredible number of people, in hopes of bringing *Castruccio* and his army in chains to *Florence*, marched to join their army near *Prato*. But when they came upon the spot, the whole formed an unwieldy disorderly concourse; and after a few altercations with the nobility, the main body returned to *Florence*, where new difficulties started on the following occasion.

WHILE the *Florentines* were trembling at the approach of *Castruccio* to *Prato*, they passed a decree, by which the *Florentine* exiles, who were very numerous, and all of them men of service, were promised re-admission into the city, if they would appear in arms, and join their countrymen against *Castruccio*. This brought a great body of exiles to the *Flo-*

Florentine camp; where the nature of the disputes between the nobles and the people who returned to *Florence*, convinced them, that they would have some difficulty in being reinstated in the immunities that had been promised them. Being better mounted than the rest of the Florentine army, which was now on its march back to *Florence*, they thought to have got the start, and to have entered the city before them; but the prevailing party within the walls shut the gates against them; they therefore were obliged to encamp without the gates. Next day the main army re-entered the city, and the exiles marched to *Prato*, from whence they sent eight deputies to treat with the magistracy and people of *Florence*.

Divisions in Florence.

THOSE deputies found the city greatly divided. The re-admission of the Florentine exiles had been carried through by the presidents, who insisted upon the performance of the public faith; and they were joined by the nobility, who, being now cured of their attachment to the pope, sought to strengthen their interest by the re-admission of the exiles. The people, on the other hand, opposed that re-admission, not only from a spirit of pertinaciousness, but on account of the behaviour of the nobility in the late expedition. The party of the nobles and magistracy, however, prevailed so far, that the deputies of the exiles had a public hearing. In this audience they strongly urged the decree of the presidents in favour of their re-admission. Upon their withdrawing, one of the shrewdest among the popular advocates insisted, that the presidents, who were but trustees of the public, were not authorized, by the constitution of their government, to make any such decree without the consent of the people, whose sense ought to be consulted upon the occasion. Great objections were likewise raised against the exiles for their leaving their camp, and attempting to force their way into the city. It appears from *Aretini*^k, as if, in such cases of debate, the *Florentines* had proceeded to ballot, which, in this question, went greatly against the exiles; upon which the assembly was dismissed, and the exiles came to a resolution of forcing their way into the city. This could not be done without consulting their friends within the walls; and while that was in agitation, the citizens, more than suspecting the matter, doubled their guards, and manned their walls; so that when the exiles, to the number of fifteen thousand, came to execute their design, they perceived it had been discovered, and found themselves under a necessity of abandoning it.

The exiles disappoint ed.

ⁱ ARETINI, p. 100.

^k Ibid. p. 102.

THEIR appearance before the gates was evidence sufficient to the people that they had accomplices in the city; but the popular proceedings on this occasion, though without precedent, were, beyond all example, wise and moderate. Having no positive proof against any one, and yet convinced that some of them were guilty, they met in a body, and every one writing down the name of the person he suspected, all the notes were thrown into a kind of balloting box; and upon examination it was found, that, by the plurality of the assembly's tickets, their suspicions were fixed on three persons, *Amerigo* or *Americo Donati*, *Teggia Frescobaldi*, and *Lotteringo Gerardini*. Those noblemen being cited, appeared before the magistracy, where they justified the suspicion of the people, by owning that they knew of the conspiracy of the exiles, but that they had not encouraged it. This being what is called, by the law of *England*, misprision of treason, each had a moderate fine (A) imposed upon him, and were subject to a slight short banishment. This sentence being pronounced, the people furnished themselves with what they called penons, from whence the *English* have the same word, which were diminutives of their great flags of arms, and to which they could resort on occasions, either when they could not join their great standards, or when their magistrates prohibited their being displayed.

AT this time, the constitution of *Florence* received a new *New regulations* and an important alteration. The election of magistrates had always, till then, been carried by a majority; but this in *Florence*, proving the source of great heats in the state, it was agreed that the electors, who consisted of the president and the members of the colleges, should write upon tickets, and inclose in a chest, the names of such citizens as they conceived to be proper for magistrates; and that, when the day of election came, so many of those names should be casually taken out, after shaking the chest or coffer, according to the number to be chosen; and those names that were first drawn were to be the magistrates elect. Their persons, however, were subject to two disqualifications; which were, that no man could be a magistrate who had served in the same post within three years, or who had a brother or near relation in the magistracy. Their authority was to continue three years and a half (B).

(A) *Aretin's* words are, *Duos-
bus millibus aeris singuli eorum
multati.* This sum, according to the best of my information, did not exceed 50*l.* sterling a-piece,

(B) Though this method of chusing by lots continued as long as *Florence* could be called a republic; yet *Aretin*, p. 103, thinks that its evil over-balanced its good consequences.

WHILE

WHILE *Florence* was thus providing for the security of her liberty, she was in danger of losing her territory, which *Castruccio* was laying waste on the one hand; while the bishop of *Arezzo*, on the other, took *Tifernum*, or *Citta di Castello*. The neighbourhood and power of the *Arezzian* prelate alarmed some of the *Tuscan* states so greatly, *Peruggia* particularly, that they renewed their league with *Florence* for three years, and resolved to attempt the recovery of *Citta di Castello*. *Castruccio*, who had excellent intelligence of the motions of his enemies, was at this time lying near *Fucetti*, a town of great importance on the frontiers of *Lucca*, but in possession of the *Florentines*. Being unable to take it by force, he had recourse to money, and corrupted part of its garrison with a large sum; so that he found admittance, in a dark and stormy night, with one hundred and fifty horse and five hundred foot. The uncorrupted part of the garrison, and the citizens, finding they were betrayed, ran to arms, and drove *Castruccio*, after a most bloody encounter, to the upper part of the town; where he was obliged to barricade himself and his troops, in hopes of his being joined next day by the main body of his army. But the neighbouring garrisons in the interest of *Florence*, suspecting what had happened, from the fires they saw lighted up in the night-time within the place, sent such reinforcements next morning to the garrison, that *Castruccio* could no longer maintain his ground; and receiving a wound in his face, he escaped with great difficulty, and with the loss of almost his whole party. This year there was, by tacit consent, a kind of a cessation of arms between the *Florentines* and the *Arezzians*; but the former joined their troops with the *Siennese*, the *Bolognese*, and their other confederates, in the expedition against *Citta di Castello*. By this time *Castruccio* had become intirely master of *Pistoia*, where he gave his daughter in marriage to *Philip*, who some time before had for that purpose poisoned his former wife.

Intestine divisions there.

THIS danger from abroad seemed rather to increase than abate the intestine divisions of *Florence*. The people attributed all their misfortunes to the mismanagement or corruption of their magistrates, whom they displaced at the next general election; and, amongst others, one *Nardi Bordo*, or *Berdo*, whom they resolved to impeach before *Robert*'s governor for treason. The presidents, either favouring the accused, or conscious of his innocence, sent him abroad in a public character; and, when the day of trial came, his brother, attended by the officers of the presidents, pleaded his employment as an excuse for his absence. The president, who was *Bordo*'s enemy, over-ruled this plea; and from words they

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they proceeded to blows. The president, favoured by the people, remained master of the field ; and not only pronounced sentence against *Bordo*, but banished his brother out of the city.

THE war all this while was going on briskly between the *Proges* of *Florentines* and their confederates, who had still *Raimond* at the war their head, and *Castruccio*, who remained on the defensive, shut up in *Pistoia*. *Raimond*, to draw him to a battle, made dispositions as if he was about to besiege *Ticiani*, and sent out foraging parties to the very gates of *Pistoia*. Those movements amused *Castruccio*, so that *Raimond* made himself master of *Capiano* and *Faconi*. This great success of the allies gave the *Florentines* such spirits, that they reinforced their army under *Raimond*, so as that the whole amounted to twenty thousand foot, besides horse. They then besieged *Topalci*, a very strong place, with a garrison within it of five hundred men, but very unwholesomely situated on the side of a lake. The besieged, expecting every day to be relieved by *Castruccio*, made an obstinate defence ; but the diseases which the allies contracted, during the siege, ruined their army. *Castruccio* advanced to the relief of the place, and did all that an able general, at the head of an army inferior to that of his enemies, could do to raise the siege (D) ; but being defeated in several encounters, the town was yielded to the allies. A great division now succeeded amongst them, concerning their subsequent operations : some were for returning to *Florence*, on account of the great mortality that had happened in their army, and the diminution of their troops by leave of absence, and other accidents. The majority, however, carried it for an expedition against *Lucca* itself. As the ground, over which the army was to march, was very woody and uneven, an advanced party of one hundred horse were detached before to reconnoitre. They were attacked by the *who are* like number from *Castruccio*'s army, which remained still in *defeated*. the neighbourhood ; and both parties being supported from their main bodies, a general engagement followed, in which the bravest on both sides were killed, and *Castruccio* himself was wounded ; but the day was decided in his favour, though

(C) The reader is to observe, that the face of the country of *Tuscany* is now so greatly altered, that several places mentioned here have now hardly any existence. Nor are the *Italian* writers themselves agreed about

the situation of them. I have therefore thought proper, where there is any doubt concerning them, to keep as near as I can to the names given them by *Aretin*.

Rai-

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Raimond made an orderly retreat, and even laid some claim to the victory.

RAIMOND, however, could not re-inspire the *Florentines* with courage sufficient to keep the field, and their dejection after the battle corresponded to their presumption before it. *Castruccio*, on the other hand, sensible of the important victory he had obtained, made dispositions for carrying on the war against the *Florentines* with greater vigour than ever. For this purpose he applied to *Galeazzo*, viscount of *Milan*. He sent to his assistance his son *Azo*, a young prince of great fire and courage, with eight hundred horse, who immediately set out for *Lucca*. While they were upon their march, *Castruccio* found means to spread so many suspicious reports amongst the *Florentines*, that their general did not find it safe for him to march to intercept the *Milanese*. But no sooner was it known that the latter were in the neighbourhood of *Lucca*, than the *Florentine* army fell back to *Topalci*, and from thence to *Fucetti*. They were pursued by *Castruccio* and the *Milanese*, who fell in with their rear, and drove the *Florentines* into such a situation, that they had no safety but by fighting. A desperate battle ensued, in which their lieutenant-general under *Raimond*, being (as it is said) corrupted by *Castruccio*, gave way; and the *Milanese* horse making themselves masters of a bridge by which the *Florentines* were to retreat, a terrible slaughter followed, in which the *Florentines* were cut in pieces, and their general with his son were taken prisoners by *Castruccio*, who likewise made himself master of all their camp and baggage. *Castruccio* improved this victory by conquering the *Florentine* territory, and laying it waste to the very gates of *Florence*, which he insulted for some days with all the indignities he could devise. He then returned by the way of *Prato* to *Lucca*, where he paid his *Milanese* auxiliaries out of the immense booty he made in the field. This punctuality was so pleasing to *Azo*, that, in revenge, as he said, for the *Florentines* having always taken part against the viscounts of *Milan*, he led his horse once more against the *Florentines*; but not being able to bring them to a battle, he braved the inhabitants within their walls, returned to *Lucca*, and from thence home.

FLORENCE was at this time in a most deplorable situation. *Castruccio* renewed his ravages, and burnt down all that his fury had spared before. This obliged the country people, with their families, to fly to *Florence*, which created first a famine, and then a pestilence. There must now have been an end of that republic, had it not been for the moderation of the bishop of *Arezzo*, who began to grow jealous of *Cas-*

Castruccio's greatness. The latter again and again solicited that prelate, and the *Arezzians*, to revenge the former injuries and losses they had suffered from the *Florentines*, and to undertake the siege of that city on one side, while he carried it on on the other. The prelate firmly rejected this proposal; upon which *Castruccio* carried his devastations into the *Florentine* territories lying towards the vale of *Mugelli*, at the foot of the *Appennines*. The reader who knows the fertility and riches of the *Florentine* territory, will not be surprised at *Castruccio* still finding fresh objects of rapine and devastation. He met with no opposition in the field; but upon his return towards *Segni*, which lay within sight of *Florence*, the *Florentines* sent out one thousand foot and two hundred horse, to dispute an advantageous pass by which he must march. Had this order been expeditiously executed, *Castruccio*, in all probability, must have been defeated, or, at least, forced to resign the effects and cattle he had taken; but he had got clear of the pass before the *Florentines* came up, and arrived safe at *Segni*; where he was so well pleased with his successes, that he ordered money to be struck in commemoration of them¹.

THE *Florentines* bore their misfortune with incredible constancy: they named two new officers to take care of the fortifications of the city, which were repaired and improved, and took precautions for preventing *Castruccio's* return to the vale of *Mugelli*. In the mean while the pope, being exasperated with the bishop of *Arezzo*, for having taken *Città di Castello*, and holding it against his express injunctions and commands, struck off *Cortona* from the see of *Arezzo*, and named one *Rainer*, of the family of *Uberti*, for its first bishop. *Guido*, bishop of *Arezzo*, looking upon the erection of this new bishopric to be a robbery committed upon himself, immediately laid siege to *Laterina*, while the *Arezzians* demolished the houses, and plundered the estates of the *Uberti* family. *Laterina* was taken and razed to the ground by the prelate, who after this took *Sabinum*, which he likewise levelled.

THOSE successes of the bishop of *Arezzo* tended *Castruccio* jealous in his turn. He offered to treat with the *Florentines* for peace, and for that purpose employed the chief *Florentine* prisoners who were in his hands. The *Florentines* were so exasperated by the losses they had sustained, that they not only declined all advances towards a peace, but deprived the friends and relations of the captives of all places of power

¹ ARETIN. pag. 90.

and trust they had in the government, lest they should favour the negotiations. At the same time they raised fresh troops, and, though their capital enemy was in a manner at their gates, they sent two hundred horse to the assistance of their *Bolognese* allies. Upon this *Castruccio* laid siege to *Murli*, a town in the neighbourhood of *Prato*. This place was bravely defended by *Adimar* and *Pattio* against the utmost efforts of *Castruccio*, who was at last obliged to turn the siege into a kind of blockade : but in the mean time he renewed his incursions to the gates of *Florence*, from which his troops were driven with great loss by the *Florentines*. He then resumed the siege of *Murli*, which continued to make a gallant defence ; but the garrison having no prospect of relief, was at last obliged to deliver up the place, after an honourable capitulation.

who resign their city to the prince of Tarentum.

DURING those distresses, the *Florentines* applied for protection once more to the court of *Naples*, and resigned the government of their city, for ten years, into the hands of *Charles* prince of *Tarentum*, son to that king, who made great preparations for taking possession of his new government. A *Frenchman*, whose name was *Peter*, then commanded the *Florentine* army ; and a great number of his countrymen serving in *Castruccio*'s troops, he found means to enter into a conspiracy with them for delivering the important fortress of *Segni* into his hands. This conspiracy was discovered, and the heads of it were put to death ; but this discovery tended only to render *Castruccio*'s troops jealous of one another, so that he came to a resolution of razing the place. *Peter*, who knew nothing of the discovery, advanced with a body of troops against *Segni*, where he found the gates shut against him ; while *Castruccio* himself renewed his ravages in the *Florentine* territories. Soon after this *Castruccio* demolished *Segni*, and removed his head-quarters to *Carmini*, where he over-reached the *Frenchman* in his own arts, by means of certain emissaries, who pretended they would betray *Carmini* into his hands. *Peter* marched with a body of troops to take possession, as he thought, of that place. In his march he fell into a strong ambuscade, which had been formed by *Castruccio*. His troops were partly put to the sword, and partly, with himself, taken prisoners, and put to death in cold blood by *Castruccio*, on pretence that *Peter*, by his intrigues, had transgressed the laws of war. This disaster served to redouble the instances of the *Florentines* at the court of *Naples*, for hastening the march of *Charles* to their assistance. They increased the revenue they were

were to pay him, and engaged to defray the expence of six thousand additional troops while the war lasted.

ABOUT this time cardinal *Ursini* arrived at *Florence*, as legate from the pope, and waited some time for the arrival of *Charles*, to consult upon the means of restoring the tranquility of *Tuscany*. *Charles*, in his approach to *Florence*, spent some time at *Sienna*, to secure his interest in that city; and at last he entered *Florence* in vast pomp, and with such a retinue as alarmed many of the *Florentines*, who signified their apprehensions that their public liberty was about to fall a sacrifice to *Charles* and the legate.

GALEAZZO, the artful viscount of *Milan*, was well apprized of their apprehensions; and being an enemy at once to the pope and the king of *Naples*, he prevailed with the *Gibelin* faction, both in *Florence* and all over *Italy*, to invite the emperor *Lewis V.* of *Bavaria*, to come in person to their assistance. *John XXII.* continued still to sit in the papal chair, and had again and again excommunicated *Lewis*. The latter, however, receiving great encouragement in *Germany*, as well as in *Italy*, to proceed in the expedition, passed the *Alps*, and came to *Trent*, with his empress. He there summoned a general assembly of all the *Italian Gibelins*; and his prospect of success was so fair, that in the beginning of next year he marched to *Milan*, where he was crowned king of *Lombardy*, by the hands of the turbulent bishop of *Arezzo*: but *Lewis*, being poor, he fleeced the *Italian* states so immoderately, that they soon became tired of his government.

Castruccio was by him honoured with the title of his vicar in *Tuscany*, and still continued the war against *Florence*. The courage of *Charles*, the new *Florentine* governor, was far from answering expectations. Instead of taking the field in person, he gave the command of his army to *Novello*, one of his officers, who took *Monte Alverno* in sight of *Castruccio*, and besieged *Artimini*, which surrendered upon an honourable capitulation. While *Novello* was in this career of success, he was recalled by *Charles*, to oppose the emperor, who had passed the *Appennines*, and was in full march towards *Pisa*. *Novello*'s return to *Florence*, gave *Castruccio* leisure to pay his respects to the emperor, and to make him a present of a considerable sum of money. By this time the *Pisans*, having conceived an invincible aversion to the emperor, came to a resolution to deny him admittance into their city. This was the more remarkable, because they were amongst the first of the *Italians* who had invited him into *Italy*; but his exclusion was owing to the rapaciousness of himself and his attendants,

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1327.

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great numbers of whom were *Franciscan* monks^m. The *Pisans*, however, that they might keep some measures of decency with him, offered him sixty thousand florins, if he would postpone his visit to their city. The offer was refused, and the *Pisans* dismissed all the *German* cavalry that was in their pay, but kept their horses; and came to the resolution, if they were attacked, to call to their aid *Charles* and the *Florentines*. *Lewis* had intelligence of all those proceedings, and *Florence* owed her liberty, at this time, to the firmness of the *Pisans*, and the differences between *Castruccio* and the *Bishop of Arezzo*.

State of Italy.

THE state of *Italy* was now very singular. The pope had less power there than he had in any part of the Christian world. There was indeed a great party who called themselves *Guelphs*; but they affected this distinction only to keep themselves independent of the Imperialists, and his holiness durst not even trust his person in *Rome*, but generally resided at *Lyons*, or some other part of *France*. Notwithstanding this, though the pope had little power, he had great influence in *Italy*. Being insatiably covetous, he had amassed five and twenty millions of florins of gold, above six millions sterling money, for the places and benefices he sold; and the states and princes, who called themselves *Guelphs*, paid him no other acknowledgment for the great convenience they found in sheltering themselves under his name and authority. Thus the pope and they were of mutual service to each other. The extravagant power of excommunicating sovereign princes, which he assumed and exercised, served them as a pretext to keep them free from the imperial yoke. The emperor, on the other hand, carried his claims to as extravagant a pitch as the pope, by pretending to succeed to all the rights and dominions of the old *Roman* emperors in *Italy*, and even to that of making popes; while at the same time he was childishly devoted to the superstition and follies of the papal religion; and his power in *Italy*, like that of the pope, consisted in a great measure in the convenience which the *Ghibellines* found in opposing their enemies under the sanction of his authority.

LEWIS thought it of dangerous consequence to his affairs to be refused admittance into *Pisa*, and appointed commissioners to treat with the magistracy, who would not suffer them to enter the city; but consented to send deputies to treat with the *bishop of Arezzo*, upon their receiving a safe

^m VOLTAIRE.

conduct

conduct for their return, which they accordingly did; but nothing could be agreed upon. The deputies in going back to *Pisa*, were intercepted by *Castruccio*; and the bishop complained of *Castruccio* to the emperor, as if the affront had been offered to his honour, under which the deputies had treated. *Castruccio* replied with equal spirit, and each recriminated on the other; but it was very discernable, that the emperor was most inclined to favour *Castruccio*. This dis-
Death of
gusted the prelate so much, that he left *Lewis*, and probably the *bishop* would have reconciled himself to the pope and the *Florentines*, of *Arezzo*, if he had not died in his journey to *Arezzo*.

AFTER the bishop's departure, *Castruccio* acted as general and sole minister to the emperor. The *Pisans* continuing refractory, their city was besieged and taken; but we know of no severities inflicted on the inhabitants, farther than that they were burthened with the entertainment of the emperor for almost two months, and forced to furnish him with a sum of money, and other necessaries, for continuing his journey to *Rome*.

CHARLES of *Naples* no sooner heard that the emperor was set out for *Rome*, than calling together a general assembly of the *Florentines*, he laid before them the necessity he was under of returning to defend *Naples* against the emperor and *Castruccio*; but he acquainted them, that he would leave them for his deputy-governor *Philip*, one of his ablest generals, with one thousand horse to assist him. He then he set out for *Naples* by the way of *Sienna* and *Perugia*.

UPON the departure of *Charles*, *Philip* resolved on an enterprise, which makes a great figure in the *Florentine* history; *taken by* and that was no less than the surprizal of *Pistoia*, where the *Florentines* *Castruccio* had left seven hundred men in garrison, all of them choice troops. He concerted his measures with two *Pistoian* *Guelph* exiles, who promised to be his conductors, and a *Neapolitan* nobleman, whose name was *Simon Tosa*ⁿ. All others were ignorant of his design; and this probably was the chief reason why it succeeded. In consequence of their agreement, he marched to *Prato*, where he prepared scaling ladders, and other instruments and machines for his purpose; and being attended with a body of two thousand foot, and six hundred horse, he arrived that very night under the walls of *Pistoia*. It was then the dead of winter, and the frost so severe, that the waters in the ditches were passable, whereby the exiles came near enough to the walls to mount them by the assi-

ⁿ *MANETTI*: ubi supra, pag. 1044.

tance of their scaling ladders; and they were followed by about one hundred of their party; while those without, passing the ditches, attempted with pick-axes, and other instruments they brought with them, to penetrate the walls, in which at last they made two small breaches.

IN the mean while the commandant of the place, in going his rounds, perceiving what was passing, alarmed the garrison, who, at first imagining that the town had been betrayed by the inhabitants, were somewhat backward in standing to their arms; but seeing the townsmen, who were by this time likewise alarmed, charge the enemy with great vigour, they seconded them so well, that the *Florentines* who had entered must have been cut in pieces or driven back, had not the breaches been so widened, that *Philip* entered them at the head of some of his horse, by which means he somewhat checked the fury of the townsmen and the garrison. Notwithstanding this, the latter was so well supported, that the assailants must have been repelled with great loss, had they not found means to set fire to the gates, by which the whole body, both of horse and foot, entered the place, and with great slaughter to themselves, as well as their enemies, gained some ground, and pushed on towards the market-place. This success was in a great measure owing to the active intrepidity of *Philip*, who exposed himself to all kinds of danger, and ordered a body of his horse to secure the breaches, so as to take from his own soldiers all hopes of flying. The assailants were likewise greatly favoured by the confusion and hurry of the women, children, and the more fearful part of the citizens, which greatly alarmed and disordered the garrison and townsmen; and *Castruccio*'s two sons, retiring with the garrison to the citadel, the townsmen returned to their several homes. The *Florentines*, seeing now no enemy, dispersed themselves all over the town; so that when *Philip* marched to force the citadel, he was attended with a very inconsiderable number of his soldiers, and those mostly officers. The garrison observing this, attacked him with great fury; and it was with the utmost difficulty he could maintain his ground till day-break, when his straggling soldiers, hearing of their general's danger, and ashamed of their own irregularities, rejoined him; while the garrison retired to the citadel, which they soon after abandoned. The *Florentines*, becoming thus absolute masters both of the town and citadel, again gave a loose, not, perhaps, without leave from their general, to the spirit of rapine, and plundered equally friends as foes. As to *Philip*, having settled affairs, and left a garrison in *Pistoia*,

he returned, in ten days from his first setting out upon his expedition, to *Florence*, where he was received with triumphal honours.

IN the mean while, the emperor and his consort had entered *Rome*; and though he had been formerly excommunicated by the pope, he was received there as emperor by the *Gibelins*, and crowned emperor, by two excommunicated bishops, on the seventeenth of *January*, 1328, without taking the usual oath of fidelity to the holy see. The *Romans*, at this time, seemed to have forgot there was such a person as a pope in being. The *Colonna*, the *Ursini*, the *Savelli*, and *Conti* families, who were the great barons of *Rome*, and its territory, supported the imperial against the papal dignity; and *Lewis* appeared on all occasions in imperial robes, and as lord paramount of all *Italy*. *Castruccio* continued to be still his distinguished favourite; and such was the confidence he reposed in him, that he gave him not only the title of count, but the government of *Rome*.

THERE is some reason for believing that those honours were paid *Castruccio*, not more on account of his personal merits, than from the apprehensions *Lewis* was under from his active ambitious spirit. When *Castruccio* understood, (which he did in three days after the thing happened) that *Pistoia* was lost, he forgot himself so far as even to reproach the emperor for having obliged him to attend him; and without more ceremony he left *Rome*, attended with his own troops, who were one thousand cross-bows, a weapon at that time greatly used in *Italy*, and six hundred chosen horse, and set out for *Pisa*; but in his march, through impatience and solicitude, he left his troops behind him, and through almost impassable dangerous roads he entered *Pisa*, with no more than twelve followers. The *Pisans*, seeing him so slightly attended, received him with great respect; and his first care was to place a well-provided garrison in *Murli*, which lay in the neighbourhood of *Pistoia*. He then returned to *Pisa*, where, being supported by the Imperialists, whose cause he said was the same as his own, he raised money for executing his designs.

GRATITUDE is seldom the distinguishing virtue of republicans. Notwithstanding the extasies with which the *Florentines* had received *Philip*, upon his return from his *Pistoian* expedition, they soon fell at variance with him when, he insisted upon their being at the expence of providing all things and *Philip* necessary for keeping possession of *Pistoia*. They pleaded, that they had punctually performed all agreements with his master, and that he ought to provide for the safety of the

place out of the plunder he had carried from it. *Philip* replied, by urging the laws and practice of war; and thus, in the heat of the dispute, the security of *Pistoia* was unprovided for. *Castruccio* was minutely informed of all that passed; and, before the parties could come to an accommodation, he besieged *Pistoia* with a great army, which he had assembled at *Pisa* and *Lucca*.

Pistoia besieged,

SIMON TOSA, the *Florentine* nobleman we have already mentioned, commanded at that time in *Pistoia*, with a garrison of one thousand foot and three hundred horse, assisted by all the *Pistoian* *Guelphs*. No sooner was it known at *Florence* that the siege was formed, than the citizens there, proceeding from the extreme of frugality to that of public spirit, offered to devote their lives and fortunes to *Philip* for the relief of the town, and actually raised an army of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse; at the head of which *Philip* went to give battle to *Castruccio*. The latter's intelligence was so good, that he knew the place had within it but two months provision; and being no stranger to the abilities of *Philip*, he resolved to act upon the defensive; but in the mean while he seemed to make such dispositions for engaging, as prevented the *Florentines* from attacking him in his camp. *Castruccio* made use of the time which this delay gave him, in fortifying his camp with trees and palisades, which he cut down in the neighbourhood; so that when the *Florentines*, tired out with long expectation, actually attacked it, they found it impregnable. This disappointment threw the *Florentines* into great consternation. In vain they challenged *Castruccio*, by the sound of all the trumpets in their army, to fight them; and at last, finding no other object to employ them, they resolved to plunder the defenceless territories of *Pisa* and *Lucca*, which they accordingly did. Even this did not shake *Castruccio* in his purpose. Almost three months were now elapsed since the siege had been formed. The garrison was reduced to the last mouthful of their provision; they saw their friends abandon them; they had no farther prospect of relief; and *Castruccio* wisely offering them an honourable capitulation, they surrendered the place, and marched out with what we now call the honours of war.

*THE Florentine historians*², with great justice, think this retaking of *Pistoia* to be the most shining action of *Castruccio's* life; and undoubtedly, every thing considered, it shewed a vast superiority of military genius over all his cotemporaries.

² *ARETTINI*, pag. 116. *MANETTI* ubi supra, pag. 1048.

ries. It was, in that age, a new spectacle to behold a conqueror take possession of a strong city in the sight, as it were, of a far superior army sent to relieve it. The *Florentines* could scarce believe their own eyes; but within a very few days they received still more mortifying news. The emperor, who had all this time remained at *Rome*, provoked by the pope's bull, by which he was divested of all his titles and possessions, summoned together at *Rome* a general assembly, wherein he was so presumptuous as to act as pope. He ordered no bishop to be absent above three months, and two *peror acts* days journey, from their fees, under pain of deprivation, and *as pope*. others being elected in their room. He then passed sentence of death upon all heretics, and particularly upon the pope, whom he termed *John de Cabors*, from the place of his nativity, and whom he likewise condemned for high treason against the imperial dignity. After this *Lewis*, in another grand assembly of clergy and laity, produced a cordelier, called father *Peter de Corvaria*, and asked the assembly whether they would have him for their pope. Upon their answering in the affirmative, he invested him with the papacy, by putting a ring on his finger, and throwing a robe over his shoulders. He then gave him the name of *Nicholas V.* together with a solemn induction into the papacy; and he was crowned by his hands, as if his first coronation had been irregular. *Robert* king of *Naples* was doomed to the same death, as pope *John* had been by *Lewis*; nor is it easy to conceive what could drive so prudent a prince, as *Lewis* is acknowledged to have been, into such frantic measures, if he had not intended to reside in *Italy*. Without hazarding farther conjectures, it is certain that he was disappointed in the assistance of a fleet he expected from *Sicily*; and he was so far from being able to make any impression upon *Robert* by land, that he every day expected to be besieged in *Rome* by that prince. At the same time he had certain intelligence from *Germany*, that the princes there were forming cabals against him, and that he was in danger of being stripped of the imperial dignity. For these and other reasons, but above all, because he saw some of the great *Roman* families disgusted with his conduct, he removed from *Rome* to *Terni*, and openly declared, that he intended to make himself master of *Florence*; by which declaration all the *Tuscan-Gibelins* resorted to his army, which thereby became very formidable.

THIS impending danger, with the certain accounts the *Danger of Florence.* *Florentines* received at the same time of the great preparations making against them by *Castruccio*, and the petty states which lay towards the foot of the *Appennines*, threw them into the

the utmost consternation ; but they soon recovered themselves, and, like men of sense, they resolved to provide against the worst, and to sell their liberties as dear as they could. They summoned their confederates to their assistance; strengthened, repaired, and revictualled their garrisons, and augmented their forces, determining bravely to wait for the event. Two incidents happened which gave them vast relief. The Sicilian fleet, commanded by *Peter*, son to the king of *Sicily*, joined by that of the *Genoese Gibelins*, was now at sea ; and *Peter* sent several messages to the emperor, entreating him to return to *Rome*. This produced a kind of a negotiation, which relaxed the preparations of the emperor, who had by this time advanced as far as *Arezzo*, and gave the *Florentines* a farther respite. The other incident was far more in their favour ; for at this very critical juncture the famous *Castruccio*, their capital enemy, died, being worn out by his military fatigues. His death was followed by that of their other implacable enemy, *Galeazzo*, viscount of *Milan*, which happened at *Pescia*.

Death of Castruccio.

Good fortune of the Florentines.

THE *Florentines* could scarcely give credit to their good fortune, when they heard of the death of *Castruccio*, who left behind him two sons, yet in their nonage, and under the tutelage of their mother and relations. As soon as the emperor, who was still in treaty with the *Sicilians*, heard of *Castruccio*'s death, he went by sea to *Pisa*, and gave over all farther thoughts of molesting the *Florentines* ; who, being freed from that terror, thought now of acting offensively. Their first attempt was upon *Artemini*, which had been taken from them by *Castruccio* : they attacked it with so much vigour, that, though it was very well garrisoned, they carried the town, and granted a capitulation to the castle, after eight days siege. In the mean while *Lewis*, who still remained in *Italy*, came to *Pisa*, and there deprived *Castruccio*'s children and friends of the government, which he bestowed upon *Tarlati*, brother to the late bishop of *Arezzo*. From thence he went to *Lucca*, and, notwithstanding all the presents given, and applications made to him by *Castruccio*'s widow, he gave the government of that city to one of his own generals ; but exacted heavy contributions both there and at *Pisa*, as an acknowledgment for their recovered liberties.

ABOUT this time, to compleat the good fortune of the *Florentines*, their governor *Charles*, son to the king of *Naples*, died. The *Florentines* considered his death as a great deliverance, on account of the prodigious sums of money which his rapacious *Neapolitans* carried from *Florence*. They, therefore,

fore, applied themselves to the regulation of their government with great assiduity, and instituted two councils for the management of their most important affairs ; one composed of plebeians only ; the other, which they called the mixed council, equally of plebeians and nobles. They likewise restricted the duration of the gonfalonier's office, from six to four months.

THIS year the *Florentines* gave a signal proof of the firmness and wisdom of their government. The emperor *Lewis*, who was still at *Pisa*, notwithstanding the vast sums he had exacted of the *Italian* states, was both poor and contemptible ; and eight hundred of his cavalry left his service for want of pay. Their design at first was to have surprised *Lucca* ; but being disappointed, they subsisted by ravaging the neighbouring country ; and at last offered their service to the *Florentines*, who, after long deliberation, rejected it, as being too dangerous for their public liberty. This refusal multiplied disorders in the open country ; and *Lewis*, being afraid of the consequences, treated with them, by *Azo*, now viscount of *Milan*, who engaged to pay them the arrears they demanded. The mutineers accordingly named some agents, who received the money from *Azo*, but carried it off to *Germany* ; and this disappointment farther incensed the mutineers, who were the flower of the emperor's army, so that he came to a resolution of immediately returning to *Germany*. *Castruccio*'s sons thought this a favourable opportunity for endeavouring to reposess themselves of *Pistoia*, which had likewise been taken from them, and garrisoned by *Lewis* ; and drawing together a great number of their father's friends and followers, they found means to enter the place, but were soon driven out by the inhabitants.

THE historian of *Florence*² takes notice, though not in the order of time, of a kind of *Catilinarian* conspiracy, which was this year formed at *Florence*, to burn the city, and admit into it the troops of *Lewis* and *Castruccio*. We are likewise told, that upon searching the houses of the inhabitants, evidences of the plot were discovered ; and that, some of the conspirators being put to death, the city returned to a state of tranquility. We are however apt, from the manner in which this plot is introduced and related, to believe that it was of the *Florentine* government's own making, to give them a handle for taking off some citizens they suspected.

THE emperor had now passed the *Appennines* in his return to *Germany*, in no very creditable circumstances. He had

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² *ARETIN.* pag. 118.

left the pope of his own creation at *Pisa*, in a most forlorn condition ; and he was refused admittance into *Milan* by *Azo*, whom, till then, he took to be his creature. During his treaty with the mutineers, who had left his service, he had sent *Marco Visconti*, one of his chief officers, to their camp, as a hostage, and he was there detained ; but being a person of great abilities and credit in the army, they no sooner heard of the emperor's departure for *Germany*, than they chose him to be their general, and encamped on an eminence that overlooks *Lucca*. Having now the face of a regular army, the *German* garrison of *Lucca* put *Marco* in possession of that city, and he offered to give it up to the *Florentines*, on two conditions ; first, that the *Florentines* should pay his army all their arrears, which amounted to a very large sum ; secondly, that some provision should be made for the family of *Castruccio*, with whom *Marco* lived in the most intimate friendship. The matter was most seriously debated at *Florence* ; and *Aretin*^b has given us a very fine speech made by *Pino Tosa*, a *Florentine* nobleman, to persuade his countrymen to accept of the offer. Private animosities, however, prevailed so greatly at that time amongst the *Florentines*, that it was rejected, on pretext that the sum required was too large, and that *Lucca* would entirely fall under the dominion of the *Florentines*, without their being at such an expence.

FLORENCE, from being but a few months before on the brink of perdition, was now at the summit of her glory, courted and revered by all the free states of *Italy*. The *Pistoians* sent a deputation to implore her friendship and protection, which the *Florentines* readily granted. The terms were, that all the *Pistoian* exiles should be restored, and that the *Florentines* should be put in possession of *Murli*, *Carmini*, and other places. This advantageous treaty induced the *Florentines* to bestow a particular compliment upon those *Pistoians*, who had been most active in bringing it about. *Giacomo Stroza*, a *Florentine* nobleman, or knight, was deputed by the republic to repair to *Pistoia*, where, in her name, he invested four of the inhabitants with the equestrian honours of *Florence*, and made each of them a handsome present in money. Magnificent public entertainments of feasting and shews were exhibited at the same time. This peace, so honourable for both parties, occasioned many of the proprietors of forts in the territories of *Lucca* to put themselves under the protection of the *Florentines*, and even the *Pisans* had the spirit to expel out of their city *Tarlati*, the imperial governor left

*Prosperity
of the Flo-
rentines.*

them by *Lewis*, and to call in *Marco Visconti* for their protector. *Visconti* after this repaired to *Florence*, where he was received with distinguished honours, and renewed the negotiation between the *Florentines* and the *German* garrison at *Lucca*. This negotiation proving ineffectual, *Marco* left *Tuscany*; and the *Pisans* immediately offered to strike the bargain which the *Florentines* had rejected, by paying the *Germans* their arrears, on condition of taking possession of *Lucca*. This step was considered by the *Florentines* in so unfavourable a light, that they immediately denounced war against the *Pisans*, and invaded their state. About this time *Catino*, a town which had put itself under the protection of the *Florentines*, expelled their garrison; as did several other places, by the instigation of *Castruccio's* party and family. *Americo Donati*, a *Florentine* nobleman, was appointed to the command of an army for reducing them; in which he succeeded so well, that the *Pisans* now sued for peace and obtained it. *Catino*, however, still held out, and a new scene was opened at *Lucca*. There the *Pisans*, being unable or unwilling to perform their promises to the garrison, *Spinola*, a *Genoese* nobleman of immense riches, was, by the *Germans*, put in possession of the city, and acted with great lenity, in hopes of reconciling the *Lucquese* to his government, offering, at the same time, to enter into a treaty with the *Florentines*.

THE latter had all along flattered themselves of becoming masters of *Lucca*, without any expence: they therefore rejected all *Spinola's* advances, pressed the siege of *Catino* with more fury than ever, and practised with the garrisons in the neighbourhood to induce them to throw off the *Lucquese* yoke, which some of them did. *Spinola* and the *Lucquese*, upon this, marched against one of the revolted garrisons, which they took, and put all the *Florentines* in it to the sword. They then returned home in high spirits, to make new and more powerful levies for the relief of *Catino*, being encouraged by a report that they were to be strongly supported by the emperor. This extraordinary shew of resolution in the *Lucquese* determined the *Florentines* to more vigorous operations against the town, which they now compleatly surrounded with a strong rampart and ditch, the last being filled with water from a neighbouring river. According to the *Florentine* historian², this work would have done honour even to the old *Romans*. He tells us, the ditch and the rampart ran through a level plain six miles in length; that where it was impossible to carry it on, by reason of the unevenness of the ground, a

² LEON. ARET. Hist. Flor. p. 122.

wall was run up, which was strengthened with bastions at a small distance from one another; and that the compass of the whole was about twelve miles. *Spinola*, however, receiving a reinforcement of *German* horse, attacked this fortification with great obstinacy; but was beaten off, through the excellent dispositions made by the *Florentines*, who seem in this siege to have copied the conduct of *Castruccio* at the siege of *Pistoia*. At the extremity of the ditch lay the castle of *Sevia*, and, by reason of its great distance from the *Lucquese*, the guard was but slight in that quarter. *Spinola*, understanding this, marched in the night-time a body of troops, which forced their way within the *Florentine* entrenchments, being favoured by a strong attack which the *Lucquese* made upon another quarter. The *Florentines*, however, perceived their danger, by their enemies drawing off from the attack as soon as their party made a signal of their having entered the entrenchments, and hastening to support them. The *Florentines*, being nearest to the place of danger, were the first who attacked them, and fought with such vigour, that the *Germans* and *Lucquese*, who had entered the entrenchments, were either driven out of them, or obliged to take refuge in *Catino*. This disappointment did not daunt the spirit of the *Lucquese*, who, in their attack at *Serra*, made *Giacomo Medicis*, a noble *Florentine* knight, prisoner. The operations were carried on with infinite obstinacy on both sides; but so much to the advantage of the *Florentines*, who were perpetually relieving one another from their capital, that *Spinola* was at last forced to retreat to *Pescia*; and the garrison of *Catino*, unable to hold longer out, surrendered the place upon an honourable capitulation. The *Florentines* debated long amongst themselves, whether they should demolish *Catino*; but the strength and importance of its situation determined them to preserve it.

The Florentines
besiege
Lucca.

THE success of the siege of *Catino*, and some other advantages obtained about the same time, gave such reputation and spirit to the *Florentines*, that they resolved to besiege *Lucca* itself; to which they were greatly encouraged by the losses the *Lucquese* had lately received, their now having no allies they could depend upon for relief, and the distressed state of the emperor's affairs in *Germany*. The anti-pope, who had been created by the emperor, after skulking for some time about *Italy*, was sent prisoner by the archbishop of *Pisa* to his rival *John XXII.* before whom he presented himself with a halter about his neck, and was by him committed to prison, he died three years after. The *Florentines*, having now no where enemy in *Italy* they could dread, laid a vigorous siege to *Lucca*, and made themselves masters of all the neighbouring fortifications.

cations. The place was defended by *Spinola*, who was on the point of giving it up, when affairs took a sudden turn against the besiegers. About the year 1331, *John* king of *Bohemia*, son to the emperor *Henry* of *Luxemburg*, marched with an army into *Lombardy*, in quality of vicar of the empire. Having reduced *Brescia*, and a great many places in that neighbourhood, *Bergamo* particularly, he received a deputation from *Spinola* and the *Lucquese*, offering to put themselves under his protection, provided he would raise the siege. *John* had his reasons for attempting to sooth the *Florentines*, and sent an ambassador to *Florence* to prevail with the magistracy and people to recal their troops from before *Lucca*; but all applications of that kind proved ineffectual, and *John* marched with his army to raise the siege. This would have been no easy matter, had not a spirit of mutiny happened at that very time to take possession of the *Florentine* troops, who had insulted the *Lucquese* with the most wanton abuse; so that the *Florentine* generals thought proper to draw off their army, *The siege is* after having continued for almost five months before the place *raised*.

Simon, a noble *Pistoian*, who acted as *John*'s general, upon the retreat of the *Florentines*, found an easy admittance into *Lucca*; and, after establishing his master's authority there, he entered the *Florentine* dominions at the head of twelve hundred horse and two thousand foot, and having laid them waste, he returned without any loss to *Lucca*: an insult for which he must have dearly paid, had it not been for the jealousies and divisions which still reigned amongst the *Florentines*. About this time *John* made himself master of *Parma*, *Cremona*, *Pavia*, *Modena*, and other places; so that he grew very formidable in *Italy*. He found, however, that he could not maintain his ground without leaguing himself with the pope; and, to the amazement of all *Europe*, from being mortal enemies, they ran into a strict alliance with one another. His holiness, on this occasion, employed his legate at *Bologna* as his plenipotentiary; and though he hated *John*, yet he knew his affairs were so embarrassed in *Germany*, that he must be quickly obliged to quit *Italy*, and therefore that his conquests could not be very permanent. *Robert*, king of *Naples*, and the *Florentines*, had hitherto continued faithfully attached to the pope; but seeing this unnatural conjunction between his holiness and *John*, they entered into a confederacy against both, in which they were joined by several of the other *Italian* states. The consequence of this alliance was, that the *Pistoians* put themselves under the protection of *Florence*, and even admitted a *Florentine* garrison into their city. Continuing however to exercise the outward marks of government,

ment, they were considered neither as being the subjects nor the allies of *Florence*. The *Lucquese*, about the same time, besieged and took possession of the small town of *Barga*, which was under the *Florentine* protection, the *Florentines* in vain endeavouring to raise the siege.

The system of power in Italy altered.

By this time the whole system of power in *Italy* was changed; but it must be said, to the glory of the *Florentines*, that they stuck much firmer than any other *Italian* state did to the principles of their constitutional independency. *John*, king of *Bohemia*, had been obliged to return to *Germany*; but he had left his son *Charles* at the head of his affairs and armies in *Italy*. The strict alliance that still subsisted between *Charles* and the legate of *Bologna*, at last prevailed with the princes of *Ferrara*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, and even *Milan*, though *Azo*, as we have already seen, was the sworn foe of *Florence*, to join in the confederacy with the *Florentines* and the king of *Naples*: and we may form some estimate of the several degrees of power the parties were possessed of, by the contingents each was obliged to send to their common defence; for of three thousand horse which they agreed to bring into the field, the *Florentines* were to furnish six hundred; the king of *Naples* as many; *Mastino*, prince (who was commonly then called Dog) of *Verona*, eight hundred; *Azo*, viscount of *Milan*, six hundred; and the princes or dukes (for their titles at this time were as unsettled as their power) of *Ferrara* and *Mantua*, two hundred each. The legate was making war in the *Ferrarese* when he heard of this powerful confederacy taking place; and he immediately sent deputies to expostulate with the *Florentines*, and, if possible, to draw them off from the alliance. The answer returned by the *Florentines* was modest, but firm: they represented the great services they had often done to the see of *Rome*; but seemed surprised at being reproached for entering into measures against the son and grandson of the emperor *Henry* of *Luxemburg*, who had been their mortal enemy. This situation of affairs in *Italy*, recalled *John* king of *Bohemia* from *Germany*, and he was met by his son *Charles* at *Parma*. Here he learned, that *Mastino* of *Verona* had seized *Brescia* and *Bergamo*, as *Azo* had *Pavia*. *Charles*, who brought back with him a small but choice army, endeavoured to retake *Pavia*, and to relieve the citadel, which still held out; but being baffled by *Azo*, he was obliged to retreat to *Parma*, after laying waste the *Milanese*. His confederate the legate had better success. He beat the *Ferrarese* in a pitched battle, and laid siege to *Ferrara* itself. The besieged immediately applied for assistance to the *Florentines*, who appeared very willing to relieve them; but found it an enter-

enterprise of great difficulty, the victorious legate being in possession of all the country of *Romagna* and the *Bolognese*, as *John's* troops were of all the strong important passes by the way of *Modena* and *Parma*. The *Florentines*, however, that they might not be wanting to their allies, sent them four hundred horse, under the command of two young noblemen, *Stroza* and *Scala*, by the long detours of *Genoa*, *Milan*, and *Verona*, in all which cities they were received with the greatest respect and affection. They arrived at *Verona* just as king *John* and the legate were preparing to give a general assault to *Ferrara*, and the king was for that purpose bringing a reinforcement from *Parma*. They were prevented by the ardour of the *Florentines*, who no sooner threw themselves into *Ferrara* than they resolved to attack the camp of the besiegers. The *Florentine* historian^b is, with great justice, proud of his *Florentines* countrymen's behaviour, on this occasion, against the best troops of *Germany*, whom they defeated with great slaughter, ^{defeat the} *Germans*. or drove into the *Po*, where numbers were drowned by the breaking down of the bridge. The victory was so complete, that all *Romagna* revolted from the legate; and *Bologna* would have done the same, had it not been kept in awe by *John's* German horse. While *John* was thus employed in assisting the legate, *Castruccio's* sons, having drawn together a large body of their father's friends, who were still very numerous in *Italy*, surprised *Lucca*; but the citadel holding out, *John* made a quick march, and dispossessed them of their new conquest. This year was remarkable for prodigious inundations all over *Italy*; and the bridges at *Florence*, over the *Arno*, being broken down, it appeared like two cities, which gave some uneasiness to the jealous plebeians, lest the nobles, who lived in a separate quarter, should make use of that opportunity to cabal against their liberty; but the public resumed its tranquillity when the loss was repaired by some temporary bridges.

S E C T. V.

Containing the History of the war between Florence and Scaliger, prince of Verona. The *Florentines* purchase *Arezzo*; they are defeated by the *Pisans*; accuse the duke of Athens for their stadtholder, or governor; conspiracies against him; he is driven out. Diffentions in Florence; ascendancy of the people.

IT was now high time for the confederate states to consult ^{A general} measures for their future operations, and to divide their ^{confederacy} conquests. Deputies from all of them met at *Lerice*, then ^{be} takes place.

^b *ARETIN.* pag. 126,

longing to the *Genoese*. Here great disputes arose: at last it was determined, that the viscount of *Milan* should keep possession of *Cremona*, the prince of *Verona* of *Parma*, the duke of *Mantua* of *Reggio*, the duke of *Ferrara* of *Modena*, and the *Florentines* of *Pisa*. It is to be observed, that some of those territories remained still to be conquered; but the confederates agreed not to lay down their arms till each was in full possession of his allotment, which determined them to prosecute the war with double vigour. They began with the legate, a *Frenchman* by birth, and in his manners insolent, severe, and haughty beyond expression. He had fled to *Bologna*, after the victory the confederates had obtained near *Ferrara*; but the emperor being now returned to *Germany*, he was so unpopular at *Bologna*, that the inhabitants ran to arms, beat his guards, and forced him to fly to the citadel, which he had built for bridling that city, and to which the *Bolognese* laid close siege. The *Florentines*, though they had no reason to be satisfied with the legate's person, yet they could not consider his character without wishing to save him. They therefore sent four deputies, with three hundred horse and a large body of foot, to *Bologna*, where the deputies mediated for the legate; and with infinite difficulty, after negotiating for several days, it was agreed, that his passage should be safe, upon his surrendering the citadel to the townsmen. The people, however, held the legate in such abhorrence, that they would have torn him to pieces, had he not been guarded by the *Florentines*, night and day. He was first carried to *Florence*, and from thence to *Pisa*, where he embarked for the pope's dominions, who was still at *Avignon*.

The German mercenaries mutiny.

AMONGST the unconquered places, partitioned out by the treaty of *Lerice*, was *Parma*, which was now besieged by the confederates, while the *Florentines* undertook that of *Lucca*. The rendezvous of all the confederates being before *Parma*, the *Florentines* demanded that a body of troops should march over the *Appennines*, to assist them at the siege of *Lucca*. In the mean while, the legate, by his intrigues and money, having debauched the *German* mercenaries who served in the confederate army, they mutinied, and threw themselves into *Parma*. Their desertion obliged *Scaliger* (A), prince of *Verona*, to raise the siege of *Parma*, and the *Florentines* to give over that of *Lucca*. The siege of *Parma* was soon after resumed by *Scaliger*, and the *Florentines* made dispositions for

(A) This was his true name; and the two learned *Scaligers*, *Joseph* and *Julius*, pretended that he was their immediate ancestor. He was called the *Mastiff*, or *Mastiff* of *Verona*, from a dream, concerning a mastiff dog, which his mother pretended she had, when she was with child by him.

carrying on that of *Lucca*; upon which *John* king of *Bohemia*, as sovereign, made a present of that city to the *French* king. A vast number of *Florentine* merchants, men of great property, resided then in *France*; and that king immediately intimated to them the gift that had been made him, in hopes that their interest would prevail with their countrymen to give over the siege of *Lucca*. But he was deceived; for the *Florentines* still continued their preparations; and the *French* king being informed by the king of *Naples*, that *John* had disposed of a territory in which he had no legal property, the claim was dropt. This year, *viz.* 1334, died pope *John XXII.* and his death gave a great turn to the affairs of *Italy*. He was succeeded by *Benedict XII.* who, like his predecessor, resided at *Avignon*. The *Florentines*, the better to succeed in their designs against *Lucca*, negotiated a treaty with *Peter*, the governor or prince of *Arezzo*, who had employed the great treasures, left him by his brother the bishop, in dispossessing the neighbouring noblemen of their fiefs and castles. This drove them, particularly *Nerio Fagioli*, the son of the *Fagioli* who had been dispossessed by *Castruccio*, to league themselves with the *Perugians*, who hated *Peter*; and *Nerio* surprised *Burgo*, a town about fourteen miles from *Arezzo*; but the castle holding out, *Peter* prepared to march to its relief. The *Perugians* endeavoured to divert him, by invading the territories of *Arezzo*; but were defeated with great slaughter by *Peter*. The *Florentines*, upon this, mindful that the *Perugians* had been their ancient allies, took part with them, and broke off their treaty with *Peter*, who was supported by the *Genoese*. This attachment of the *Florentines* to their al-Honourab's lies, was to them more honourable than advantageous. *Scaliger* was by this time in possession of *Parma*, as the duke of the *Florentines*. *Mantua* was of *Reggio*, and the *Ferrarese* of *Modena*. In short, all parties in the confederacy, *Florence* excepted, were in the quiet possession of the spoils allotted them.

WHEN *John* king of *Bohemia* left *Italy*, he committed the government of *Parma* and *Lucca* to three brothers, called *Ruffo*, nobles of *Parma*. Two of them commanded in that city when it was taken by the *Veronese*; and it was agreed that the third brother should surrender *Lucca* to *Scaliger*, upon certain terms. The *Florentines*, far from opposing this convention, forwarded it, in hopes that *Scaliger* would make no other use of it than that of facilitating their taking possession of *Lucca*. *Scaliger*, accordingly, having promised to repay to the three brothers a large sum they had advanced to the king of *Bohemia*, took possession of *Lucca*; but when the *Florentines*, by their deputies, demanded that the terms of the confederacy should be fulfilled, he required that the money he

repaid should be refunded to him. The sum was no less than three hundred and sixty thousand crowns of gold (B), which may answer to about one hundred thousand pounds sterling. The cunning *Veronese* thought that the mention of so much money would deter the *Florentines* from prosecuting their demand; but as *Aretin*^d justly observes, it is almost incredible to what extremes their public spirit often drove them: for they, who, but twelve or fourteen months before, had refused to pay the fourth part of that sum to the *Germans* for the same end, offered to raise it for *Scaliger*; who thereupon invented other pretexts for delay; and the *Florentine* deputies, perceiving they were trifled with, returned home. *Scaliger* fore-saw the consequences, and was the first to take the field: upon which the *Florentines* immediately declared war against *Scaliger*, the *Veronese*, and all his abettors in his injustice.

Power of Scaliger.

THE reader is to observe, that *Scaliger* was at this time one of the richest and most powerful princes in *Lombardy*. Being in possession not only of *Verona*, but of *Parma* and *Lucca*, besides a vast number of other places along the *Apennines*, his dominions had a ready communication one with another, and he was sure of having the *Pisans* for his friends. Add to this, that his court and army were rendezvous for all the malcontents of *Italy*; and being naturally vain, as well as ambitious, he was in hopes of becoming master of all *Tuscany*.

General reflection.

AFTER the many expensive and bloody wars that the *Florentines*, for half a century past, had maintained by turns against almost all the states of *Italy*, and sometimes against the most powerful princes in *Europe*, it is astonishing to think with what spirit they entered upon hostilities with their new enemy of *Verona*. But we are to consider, that, by means of their foreign commerce, the encouragement they gave to all ingenious arts, the strictness of their discipline, and the regularity of their government, they were now prodigiously rich; but their riches, far from enervating them, inspired them with ideas of rivalling the old *Romans*, not only in their sentiments, but their power. They proceeded, however, to war with the greatest economy, regularity, and resolution. They appointed twelve treasurers for raising the public money, and six managers for distributing it in the service of the field, and for attending the camp and councils of war. They sent deputies to *Milan*, and to all their confederates in *Lombardy*, to

^d Page 128.

(B) We have in this transaction followed *Manetti*, who wrote after *Aretin* (1).

(1) *Vide Manetti apud Murat. tom. xix. p. 1055.*

repre-

represent to them the falsehood and treachery of *Scaliger*; and they renewed their alliance with *Perugia* and *Sienna*, in order to give a diversion to *Peter of Arezzo*, if he should join with *Scaliger*. The *Perugians*, animated by the *Florentines*, attacked the territory of *Arezzo*, and surprised *Citta di Castello*; which discouraged the *Arezzians* so greatly, that many of their forts fell into the hands of the *Florentines*.

We are not to forget, for the honour of *Florence*, that while she was thus prosecuting an expensive war, she was cultivating the arts of peace, to more perfection than they were to be found in any other part of the world. Though the *Greeks* had not yet imported their literature into *Italy*, the *Florentines* had reformed themselves from that barbarous taste in the fine arts, that still continued to infect all the rest of *Europe*. *Giotto* at this time worked in *Florence*, where he ^{the marble} was in great reputation; and though he cannot be said to have ^{tower built} carried the arts of architecture and painting to the perfection ^{by Giotto,} they afterwards attained, yet the good manner he introduced in both had more merit over the barbarous state in which he found them, than any after-improvements had over him. This year, according to *Aretin*, viz. 1335, he founded, and afterwards brought to perfection, the famous quadrangular marble tower, said to be one hundred and forty-four ells in height ^o, which now stands near the cathedral of *Florence*.

THE war still continued; but *Scaliger* being obliged to go to *Verona*, the scene of action lay in the *Arezzian* territories, ^{attacks} which the *Florentines* and *Perugians* ravaged with vast fury. *Florence*. Intelligence came, in the mean while, that *Scaliger* was advancing through the *Romagna*, against *Florence*, with eight hundred horse; upon which the *Florentines* sent an army to join their allies the *Bolognese*, and to intercept his march. This news encouraged the garrison of *Lucca* to make some incursions upon the *Florentine* territories, and the *Florentines* attempted to transfer the seat of the war to *Lombardy*; but *Scaliger* was so formidable there, that they could get no state to join them but that of *Venice*, which became now jealous of the neighbourhood of *Verona* to that of some of their territories. In consequence of this alliance, a body of *Florentine* troops marched to *Treviso*, where they were joined by some *Florentines*, and entered into hostilities ^{Hostilities} against the *Veronese*. ^{continue.} By this time, the brothers, the *Ruffi*, finding that *Scaliger* trifled with them, as he had done with the *Venetians*, and refused to pay the money he had promised them, were, for their representations on that head, expelled out of *Lucca*, and threw themselves into the town of *Pontremoli*, where they were besieged; but were, upon their application, taken into the

* *BUSCHING's New System of Geography*, vol. iii. p. 122.

alliance of the *Florentines* and *Venetians*. The siege of *Pontremoli* still continuing, *Peter Ruffo*, who was esteemed an excellent officer, repaired to *Florence*, and offered to the magistracy there to give them possession of *Lucca*, if they would put him at the head of a body of troops for that purpose. He accordingly received eight hundred horse, and marched against that place. His true design was to draw off, to the defence of *Lucca*, the troops that were employed at the siege of *Pontremoli*. The *Italians*, as yet, knew little of the art of besieging places, farther than blockading them, and forcing them to surrender by famine; so that the governor of *Lucca*, leaving a few to man the walls, fell, with all the other troops he could assemble, upon the *Florentine* territories. This obliged *Ruffo* to draw off from *Lucca*, and a battle soon followed; in which the *Florentines*, with great difficulty, came off conquerors, *Scaliger*'s general being made prisoner, with many others, and a great number killed in the pursuit. Two days after this, the *Florentine* army returned to triumph to that city, where *Ruffo*, on the credit of his late victory, was appointed general of the combined army of the *Venetians* and *Florentines* serving against *Scaliger* in *Lombardy*. *Ruffo* behaved so well in his new command, that he gained a vast number of advantages over the enemy, and drove them to the walls of *Padua*, which was then in possession of *Scaliger*. *Ruffo* however could not bring the *Veronese*, though they were greatly superior to him in number, to a battle; and therefore he besieged *Bovolenta*, which lies within seven miles of *Padua*. His attacks were so furious, that *Scaliger* thought now of nothing but covering *Verona*. He found means, however, to bring over, by the force of money, to his interest one thousand *German* horse, who served as mercenaries in *Ruffo*'s army, who, setting fire to the camp of the confederates, marched off in the night-time. *Ruffo*, undaunted by this desertion, repaired the damage his camp had sustained, and continued his operations, being still at the head of a formidable army. The other states of *Lombardy*, now seeing the danger of *Scaliger*, whom they all hated, entered into the confederacy against him; and a great army of *Milanese*, *Ferrarese*, and *Mantuan*, with *Lucino Visconti* at their head, rendezvoused at *Mantua*, intending to proceed against *Verona* itself. At the same time *Charles*, son of *John* king of *Bohemia*, took *Belluno* and *Feltri*.

The courage and conduct of Scaliger.

SCALIGER, though surrounded by so many powerful enemies, was not deficient in his conduct, either as a warrior or a statesman. As *Lucino*, who by this time had been joined by a detachment of two thousand four hundred horse, under *Marsilio*, *Ruffo*'s brother, had marched within a few miles of

Vero-

Kereus, he left that city at the head of three thousand horse and a body of foot, and offered battle to the confederates, which *Lucino* declined, though his army was greatly superior to that of *Scaliger*. This cowardice, or treachery of *Lucino*, so disgusted the troops under his command, that they immediately left the service. Upon this, *Scaliger*, to improve his good fortune, took post three miles below *Bovolonia*, where *Ruffo* was still encamped, with a view of intercepting *Marsilio*, in his return to join his brother ^f. *Aretin* tells us, *Ruffo* was at this time in such danger, that he ordered his soldiers to gather great quantities of bitter herbs, which grew in the neighbourhood, and to throw them into the waters of the *Brent*, which supplied *Scaliger*'s army, and which thereby became so bitter as to be rendered unserviceable both to man and horse; so that *Scaliger* was obliged to decamp, and *Marsilio* rejoined his brother. *Ruffo*, without losing time, marched directly to *Padua*; where the citizens, instigated by *Ubertino Carrara*, opened the gates to his army, and cut in pieces *Scaliger*'s garrison, which was commanded by his brother *Alberto*, who was sent prisoner to *Venice*. But the joy which this important conquest occasioned at *Venice* and *Florence*, was quickly damped by the death of *Ruffo*, who, in storming *Monselice*, a place in the neighbourhood, received a wound in his thigh, which proved mortal upon his return to *Padua*. He was survived but a few days by his brother *Marsilio*, who died of grief at the loss of *Ruffo*. About this time the *Milanese* made themselves masters of *Brescia*.

PETER, surnamed *Saco*, had still possession of *Arezzo*, *The Florentines* and was strongly solicited by the *Arezzians* to make peace with *rentines* the *Florentines* and their allies. This application served only *purchase* to render *Peter* jealous of the *Arezzians*; and he resolved *Arezzo*; to make the best terms he could with the *Florentines*, having many reasons for not trusting the *Perugians*. The bargain was soon struck. *Peter* agreed to deliver up *Arezzo*, and all its dependencies, for ten years, into the hands of the *Florentines*, upon condition that he himself, whose mother was a *Florentine*, and his kinsmen, should, from thenceforward, be deemed citizens of *Florence*; that they should remain in possession of all their private estates and effects; that *Peter* should receive forty thousand crowns; and that seventeen thousand more, which he had borrowed from the *Arezzians*, should be paid to his mercenaries for their arrears. This negotiation being finished, twelve *Florentine* noblemen immediately repaired to *Arezzo*, where, to the great joy of the people, they took possession of that government.

^f LEONARD. ARETIN. p. 134.

which is
reclaimed
by the Pe-
ruginians;

but with-
out effect.

The Vero-
nese in-
vaded by
the Flo-
rentines;

who enjoy
some years
of peace.

THE *Peruginians* complained bitterly of this proceeding, as being expressly against the treaties subsisting between them; and sent deputies to *Florence*, who exclaimed in very harsh terms against the *Florentines*. The answer of the latter (for *Arezzo* has given us the speeches of both, or rather has made speeches for them) recriminated in as sharp terms, by accusing the *Peruginians* of insincerity, and telling them, that no terms ought to be kept with traitors. Upon cooler thoughts, however, both parties came to an accommodation; and the *Peruginians* obtained possession of some towns of no great consequence in the *Arezzian* territory. *Scaliger*, hearing of those transactions, reinforced his garrison of *Lucca* under *Accio*, one of his generals; upon which the *Florentines* again took the field, and ravaged the territories of *Lucca*. This term, however, occurs so often in the *Florentine* historians, and the practice is so often repeated, that we cannot believe that it means any more than a body of troops subsisting for a few months, on free quarter, amongst their enemies; and, in so fertile a country as *Italy*, the damage they did being generally repaired by next season, the like inroads were renewed.

NEXT year the *Florentines* and *Venetians* invaded the *Vene-*
ze; and after insulting that city for some days, and gaining several advantages, they laid siege to *Vicenza*. This obliged *Scaliger* to send a deputation to *Venice* to treat of peace, which was so favourably received, that the terms were soon settled. The marquisate of *Treviso*, one of the most delightful countries in *Italy*, with that city and territory, was ceded by *Scaliger* to the *Venetians*; and a proviso was left in the treaty, that, if the *Florentines* should incline to come into the peace, they should be put into possession of *Pescia* and *Bugiani*, and remain masters of all their conquests in the *Lucquese* territory. It was likewise stipulated, that all the *Lucquese* exiles, who served in the combined army, should be re-admitted to their estates and privileges in that city. The negotiation thus ended, the treaty was communicated to the *Florentines*, who, after long debates, disapproved of it; but sent three of their first noblemen to try if they could negotiate better terms at *Venice*. This was found impracticable; and the terms the *Venetians* had stipulated for them were agreed to, all parties being heartily tired of the war.

THE *Florentines*, after this, continued for some years in peace, and unmolested by any of their neighbours. This results from the labours of the field, and a few seasons that were unfavourable for the productions of the earth, together with some accidental storms of thunder and lightning, filled the minds of the *Florentines*, who were naturally superstitious, with

with many dismal apprehensions. These perhaps were greatly increased by an adnumberment of all the citizens living within *Florence*, which took place in the year 1339, who were found to amount to ninety thousand, which is twenty thousand more (C) than it is supposed to contain at present. This adnumberment was occasioned by the magistrates wanting, in the time of scarcity, to ascertain the quantities of provisions which it might be necessary to import. Next year a plague broke out in *Florence*, which carried off sixteen thousand people in its city and territories. About the same time intestine divisions put the *Florentines* in arms, on account of a foreign magistrate who had been advanced to the government of the city, for two years, by the heads of the plebeians. His name is not mentioned by *Aretin*; but he tells us, that two great families, the *Bardi* and *Frescobaldi*, put themselves at the head of the nobility, with an intention to overturn the *Florence*. *Tumults in* magistracy; but they were disappointed by the spirit of the people, who immediately ran to arms, and obliged the nobility to abandon their undertaking. The people then returned peaceably home; but the chief of the nobility were impeached before the presidents, and none of them crossing the *Arno*, to appear in their own defence, sentence passed against them; in consequence of which their houses were demolished, and applications made to all the states confederated with *Florence* not to receive or protect them; so that the exiles were obliged to take shelter in *Pisa*, the ancient and natural enemy of *Florence*.

SOON after this, the *Mantuans* encouraged the people of *Parma* to throw off *Scaliger*'s yoke; and he found himself so hardly beset by the *Mantuans* cutting off all communication between *Verona* and *Lucca*, that it was plain he could not keep the latter. The *Florentines* and the *Pisans* immediately became competitors for the prize, which was fairly put up by *Scaliger* at public auction, to be carried by the best bidder. The *Florentines* outbid the *Pisans*, by offering for the place *The Flo-* *rentines* *purchase* *Lucca*.

(C) See *Busching*, tom. iii., p. 121. We are not, however, quite satisfied whether, under the word *cives*, *Aretin*, from whom the above adnumberment is taken, comprehends all the inhabitants, men, women, children, and servants. That he does not, seems most probable; be-

cause of the vast armies, sometimes amounting in the whole to above thirty thousand men, that we have mentioned to have marched out of *Florence*; a number of fighting men by far too great to be furnished by a city that contained no more than ninety thousand inhabitants.

THE *Florentines* being thus in possession of *Arenzzo*, and likely to be so of *Lucca*, by means of the wealth they had gained in commerce, began now to be dreaded all over *Italy*. The *Pisans*, irritated by their disappointment of acquiring *Lucca*, set on foot a general confederacy against them, into which *Lucino*, who, by the death of *Azo*, was now viscount of *Milan*; and all *Scaliger*'s enemies, who were very numerous, entered, as did the *Milanese*, the *Mantuans*, the *Parmesans*, and the *Paduans*; all of whom sent their contingencies of troops to assist the *Pisans* in the siege of *Lucca*, which was now formed. The *Florentines* upon this, having formally required of the *Pisans* to raise the siege, invaded the *Pisan* territories; but the siege was pressed more warmly than ever. *Lucca* was still in the possession of *Scaliger*, who now summoned the *Florentines* to fulfil their bargain; and the latter were so generous, that they agreed to pay all the sum they had bargained for, but seventy thousand crowns, and gave hostages for the payment. Still a difficulty remained of the *Florentines* taking possession, which at last was removed by their breaking through the *Pisan* army; and no sooner were they masters of the city and eitadel, than they relieved their hostages by paying the stipulated money.

They are defeated.

THIS event gave infinite joy and spirits to the *Florentines*, who saw the *Pisan* camp from the walls of *Lucca*. The garrison was so strong, and the place so well provided with every thing, that the *Pisan* army must have returned home without any farther attempt, had not the *Florentines* within the city precipitately resolved to attack them in their entrenchments. This attack was made within eight days after the *Florentines* became masters of *Lucca*. The *Pisans* were commanded by *Giovanni Visconti*, and *Enrico, Castruccio's* son, served under him; as did all the *Florentine* exiles, who formed the most considerable part of his army, which was drawn up in three lines, as that of the *Florentines* was in two. The first line of the latter consisted of two hundred chosen knights on horseback, supported by three thousand cross-bow-men; and they made so furious a charge, that they drove the first line of the *Pisans* back upon their second, where they took prisoners *Visconti* the *Pisan* general, and *Enrico, Castruccio's* son, with several other persons of great quality; but the third line of the *Pisans* supporting the disordered troops of their two first lines, victory was snatched from the *Florentines*, whose second line was so far from supporting their first, that they fled to *Pescia* without striking a stroke. The first line of the *Flerentines*, being thus left exposed, suffered greatly, and victory declared herself in favour of the *Pisans*: the remains

main's of the first line however bravely fought their way back to *Lucca*.

THE loss the *Florentines* received in this defeat was far less than was at first reported at *Florence*. They remained in possession of all their standards, and their illustrious prisoners; and the government, having recovered its first consternation, applied, by députies, to *Robert* king of *Sicily* for protection, offering at the same time to submit, as usual, to any prince of his blood whom he should send as his governor or vice-roy at *Florence*. *Robert* received the députies very coldly, and insisted upon the rendition of *Lucca* to him, as being his property, and torn from him by the treachery of *Fagiolani*. The *Florentines* had foreseen this demand, and they instructed their députies to comply with it; but *Robert*, suspecting they would insist upon the payment of the money it had cost them, declined interesting himself farther than by sending an ambassador to dissuade the *Pisans* from continuing the siege of *Lucca*, which he affirmed to be his property. The *Pisans* returned him good words, but continued the siege with greater vigour than ever.

THE *Florentine* affairs wearing thus a bad aspect, the people began to suspect, perhaps without any grounds, that *Peter* <sup>Their mis-
erable sit-
uation,</sup> the late lord of *Arezzo*, would seize that opportunity to reinstate himself in that government. *Peter* was then living in one of his castles in the country; and the *Florentine* magistracy, as if they had been convinced of their danger, ordered the people to take arms and to surround the place. The madness of popular jealousy did not stop here. *Tarlati*, brother to *Peter*, was then one of the most distinguished officers in the *Florentine* army; and it was chiefly by his means, that the remains of their first line had made so noble a retreat, as they did, to *Lucca*. But his conduct being irreproachable, the people grew the more jealous of his credit in the army, and of the power he might thereby acquire to favour his brother. An order, therefore, was sent from *Florence* to put him under arrest at *Lucca*, which was obeyed without confining him to prison; and he was allowed to ride abroad in company with *Giacomo Medici*, the *Florentine* governor of *Lucca*. One day, as they were reconnoitring on horseback without the gates, *Tarlati* put spurs to his horse, and fled to the *Pisan* camp. His escape confirmed the *Florentines* in their worst suspicions of *Peter's* designs; and after forcing him and all his relations to surrender themselves, they were brought to *Florence*, where they were committed to prison, while all their fine palaces in that city were demolished, and their castles in the country taken.

and distress.

THE Florentines being disappointed of assistance from the king of *Naples*, were advised by *Scaliger* to apply to the emperor *Lewis*, who was about this time at *Trent*, and who was greatly exasperated against the *Pisans*, as well as a mortal enemy to the pope and the king of *Naples*. Though this advice was plausible, and supported by a great party in *Florence*, yet the people were so prepossessed against the emperor, that no progress was made in the negotiation. Upon this the *Florentines* took two thousand horse into their pay, besides six hundred they hired of the *Ferrarese*, and five hundred of *Scaliger*, all which joined to their own troops made a formidable army ; and they preferred *Malatesta* of *Rimini*, a celebrated general of those times, to the command of it. Early in the spring he marched to the relief of *Lucca*, which continued still besieged by the *Pisans* ; but the swelling of the rivers, and the badness of the roads by the rains, frustrated his expedition ; and the *Florentines* were driven to their usual recourse of ravaging their enemy's country. Notwithstanding this the *Pisans* still continued the siege of *Lucca*, which being now reduced to the last extremity, the garrison capitulated to deliver up the place upon honourable terms for themselves, in the ninth month of the siege. This, according to *Aretin*², is a shameful period in the *Florentine* history ; and yet it is easy to account for, by reflecting upon the unreasonable jealousy the *Florentines* entertained of their nobles : This jealousy disqualified the nobles from the command of their armies, and led them to apply to the gainful arts of commerce, which seems, in fact, to have been their principal inducement to expend so much blood and treasure as they did, in acquiring and maintaining the possession of *Lucca*.

Their dis-
sensions.

THEIR resentments at the loss of that city hurried them into far greater calamities, by inspiring them with animosities amongst themselves, each party blaming the other for its misconduct, and all of them disagreeing about the means of recovering from their distresses (D), though all of them agreed upon the fatal expedient of preferring *Gualtieri*, the titular duke of *Athens*, to be their general. He was by birth a *Lombard* ; and having served in their former wars under *Charles* prince of *Naples*, was well acquainted with their dispositions, the nature of their government, and the state of

² ARETIN. pag. 138.

(D) Upon this occasion *Mantegni* quotes *Aretin* and his words, which fixes the priority in point of time to the latter ; a circumstance which otherwise might have been doubtful.

their parties. He was at *Naples* when the *Florentines* invited ^{They chose} him to take upon him, not only the command of their army, ^{the duke of} but the government of their city. Their good opinion of *Athens* for him was greatly increased by the modesty of his retinue when ^{their stad-} he entered their capital. It soon appeared how much they were ^{bolder.} deceived. That age abounded with soldiers of fortune; and *Gualtieri* was one who erected vast projects upon a very moderate share of abilities to support them. He had long portioned out the dominion of *Florence* to himself, and his ambition being now gratified in part, he studied how to make himself absolute, and to ingross the whole of the government. His history, and that of his new subjects, on this occasion is instructive. The state of *Florence*, like almost all other states, consisted of three kinds of people. The first were the nobles, who, by the constitution of the government, had been so long accustomed to the exercise of trade and other arts, that far from thinking it to be a disgrace to their nobility, they boasted of their industry, and began now to look upon wealth as the best nobility. Not only their fortunes, but their ideas, being raised above those of the vulgar, a kind of an antipathy subsisted between them, which was confirmed by the democratical nature of their government. The next class was the middling sort, who, with plain strong sense and great industry, had acquired moderate fortunes, and who, in a regular state, ought properly to be termed the people. These affected no public changes or revolutions, but those that were absolutely indispensable to the security of their property. The last class was the plebeians, who hated the first class, and envied the second.

GUALTIERI had sagacity enough to perceive that the ^{His ty-} second class would be the great obstacle to his ambition. The *rally and nobility* had submitted to him, because they thought his power *cruelty*. was but temporary, and that they had at any time interest enough to displace him as soon as he had answered their end, in abolishing the democratical part of the constitution, which they had never ceased to consider as an invasion of their rights. *Gualtieri* admitted them so far into the secret of his conduct, as to acquaint them that he intended to bend the chief force of his power against the middling citizens, which would enable him more effectually to serve the nobility, but that he could not succeed without making himself extremely popular amongst the lower ranks, and that, however he proceeded, the nobility must appear neutral. The reader is here to observe that the *Arezzians*, the *Volterrans*, and the *Pistoians*, had followed the example of the *Florentines* in chusing *Gualtieri* for their *stadholder*, which is the term that

ap-

approaches nearest to his office. The titles he assumed were duke of *Abens*, lord of *Pistoia*, *Arezzo*, and *Volterra*. He governed *Florence* in person; but had his substitutes in the other three states.

GAULTIERI was sensible, that without peace abroad it must be impossible for him to succeed in his ambitious schemes at home. He was therefore no sooner formally invested with supreme power at *Florence*, than he made a most dishonourable peace with the *Pisans*, to whom he relinquished the possession of *Lucca* for fifteen years, on their engaging to re-deliver it to the *Florentines* at the expiration of that term. He pretended that the situation of affairs rendered such a peace necessary, and that the misconduct of certain citizens in the purchase of *Lucca*, as well as in other transactions, ought to be punished with the utmost rigour. The citizens he hinted at were the most respectable in all the commonwealth: most of them were noble, but without the pride too often attached to that honour, and all of them devoted to the constitution of their country, by endeavouring to keep up a balance between the first and second classes of their fellow-citizens. At the head of these was *Giacomo Medici*, who had been lately governor of *Lucca*, and a principal agent in the *Florentine* purchase of that city. This nobleman lost his head; and it was with great difficulty that the friends of *Oriella* and *Ricciardo Riccio*, who stood in a still greater degree of popularity, prevailed with the tyrant not to put them to death likewise; but *Altovita*, another nobleman, shared the fate of *Medici*.

The Florentine presidents oppose the tyrant,

THE populace at first applauded those acts of cruelty as examples of justice, and adored *Gualtieri* as a man who had no respect of persons. The nobility, though they perceived themselves to be mistaken in their measures and connections with the tyrant, durst not oppose him; but, the wisdom of the *Florentine* constitution appeared now in its full lustre. The presidents, whose authority in judicial cases never had been abolished, manfully withstood all the terrors of the tyrant. When he summoned the people to a general meeting, in order to take upon himself the absolute government, the presidents privately told him that he had exceeded his powers, because, by their capitulation with him, none but they could issue such summonses. The tyrant's answer was, that he intended to give the people liberty to declare their sentiments, without which they could not be called free. After a good deal of altercation it was agreed, that next day, when the assembly was to be held, the presidents should move the government to be decreed to him for one year, under the ~~same~~ ^{like}

limitations that it had been yielded before to *Robert* prince of *Naples*. The tyrant, however, had taken his measures so *well*, that he was ushered into the assembly by some of the *made lord* principal nobility, and his person was guarded by a number of *Flo-* *plebeians*, with arms concealed under their cloaths. One of *rence*. the presidents rising from his seat, made the motion agreed upon the night before ; but he was interrupted by a general cry, that they would have *Gualtieri* for their governor without any limitations. The presidents being thus deterred from farther opposition, the nobility carried the tyrant on their shoulders to the palace, where they placed him in the *chaise* of state.

AREZZO and *Pistoia* continued still to be under the *Flo-* *rentines* ; but *Gualtieri*, under the plausible pretence of abolishing that subjection, now received them under his own immediate dominion, and placed governors in both. He then made some alterations in the disgraceful peace with the *Pisans*. *Arezzo* ^{and seizes} The terms were, that they should possess *Lucca* for fifteen years, ^{and Pis-} and then restore it to its liberty ; and that in the mean while *toia*. the *Lucquese* exiles should be restored, and the *Florentine* captives released ; that the *Florentines* should keep the forts they had in the *Lucquese* territories, and that the *Pisans* should pay them annually nine thousand crowns ; but that all the friends of the *Pisans*, who had been expelled from *Florence*, should be restored to their country and effects. To qualify those and some other shameful conditions^a, it was agreed, that the *Florentines* should name the chief magistrate of *Lucca* during the fifteen years ; but, as *Aretin* very justly observes, this was in reality next to nothing, as the *Pisans* were in possession of the citadel and the military power. The numbers of captive and other nobility which, by this peace, were restored to *Florence*, strengthened the tyrant's party, as they thought they owed their liberty to him. He then invited into his service all his countrymen who were in *Tuscany*, and out of them he formed a body-guard of about eight hundred horse. After that he entered into a league with the *Pisans*, the real intention of which was to bridle the *Florentines*.

HAVING proceeded thus far, he turned the presidents out *His policy*. of the palace allotted for them, and took possession of it himself. He was too prudent to abolish their office ; but he left them only a shadow of its power. He totally abrogated the institutions of the companies and their gonfaloniers. He deprived their citizens of their arms, and made himself the sole fountain of preferments and honours in the state. His ava-

^a *ARETIN*, pag. 140.

A. D.

1343.

A conspiracy is formed against him.

rice was insatiable : he appropriated all the public money to his own private use, and cancelled all pecuniary contracts that had been made by the public. The collectors and receivers of his taxes were all of them foreigners. Part of his great wealth he employed in fortifying his palace, so as to render it, to all intents and purposes, a citadel ; and he was so shamefully negligent of the public faith, that he suffered the hostages, who had been given to *Scaliger*, to be detained for non-payment of the money for which the state was engaged.

It may seem surprising how *Gualtieri* should succeed in this tyrannical proceeding with a people so quick-sighted, and so jealous of their power, as the *Florentines* were ; but he was as artful as he was ambitious, and played off each party in *Florence* against the other, with so much dexterity, that he prevented their uniting in any common plan of opposition. His insolence and cruelty, however, got the better of his prudence. When any of the citizens complained of his officers, he ordered the complainants to be publicly whipped, without so much as enquiring into their grievances. He ordered a citizen's tongue to be pulled out by the roots ; and having banished another upon suspicion, he seemingly pardoned him ; but no sooner was he returned to *Florence* than he put him to death. At last despair and hatred got the better of fear amongst the *Florentines*. The tyrant seldom appeared abroad, and his guards always attended his own person. This gave the *Florentines* of all ranks opportunities of caballing against him ; but the subject of their meeting being discovered to him by means of one *Burneletti*, a *Florentine* nobleman, several of the conspirators were seized, and, by the force of torments, discovered all they knew, before the other conspirators were aware that their plots were revealed. The depth of the conspiracy, and the quality and numbers of those concerned in it were so great, that the tyrant was astonished, and at a loss how to proceed. His first care was to call into *Florence* troops from all the neighbouring garrisons : he then summoned to his palace three hundred of the principal citizens, all or most of whom were conspirators, with a design to strike off their heads, but under the pretence of taking their advice concerning the conspiracy. All those proceedings took up six days, and upon the seventh the citizens, instead of obeying the tyrant's summons, as one man, rose in arms. It then appeared that three several conspiracies had been formed, each without the knowledge of the other ; but all now united against the tyrant, and, with what arms they could command, they besieged him in his palace or citadel. At first he endeavoured to make

resistance;

resistance; but finding them resolute, and that there was not in all *Florence* a family that had not entered into a general conspiracy, he proposed to treat. For this purpose he gave liberty to all whom he had imprisoned on account of the conspiracy, and particularly to *Antonio Adimari*, one of the greatest men in *Florence*, and to the presidents, whom he dismissed with unusual marks of regard, and sent from his palace the popular standards, as pledges of their recovered liberties.

THE head of the conspirators was *Angelo Acciavoli*; and no *He is besieged and* popular conspiracy was, perhaps, ever so regularly carried on. *expelled.* The citizens laughed at the tyrant's compliances and offers; but, though they had no settled authority to guide them, they met in the great church, where they chose fourteen of their number, the bishop being their principal, for resettling the government of the state. Notwithstanding this, the siege went on with more fury than ever; and the tyrant, finding at last that he must yield, thrust out of the citadel those officers and guards whose cruelty had rendered them most obnoxious to the people, by whom they were instantly put to death. Their punishments somewhat softened the fury of the besiegers; and the bishop, with his adherents, soon brought them into such a temper, that, upon a parley, *Gualtieri* consented to deliver up the citadel into the hands of the fourteen, and to divest himself of all power over *Florence*. It was wisely, at the same time, stipulated by the fourteen, that he should ratify those articles as soon as he quitted the *Florentine* territories. All that he demanded in return was his life, which the fourteen with difficulty preserved, by keeping him for two days within the castle, under a strong guard, and sending him off in the night-time to *Casantino*, where he ratified the articles. His tyranny over *Florence* continued above nine months. It is remarkable that the *Arezzians*, the *Pistoians*, and the *Volterrans*, as if all had acted in concert, received their liberties, and expelled the tyrant's troops at the same time.

Though the *Florentines* had been beyond all example unanimous in expelling their late tyrant, they were far from being so as to the manner of resettling their government. Their city and state were at this time in the utmost confusion; nor could they be said to have any other magistracy than the fourteen they had chosen. To them was referred the care of resettling the government. Upon deliberation they agreed, that the power of the presidents, who had made so glorious a stand against the late tyrant, should be restored: thus far the government was to stand on its old

old foundation. Something new, however, was proposed to be introduced, and that the nobility, who had been highly instrumental in expelling the tyrant, should, for that reason, as well as to prevent future dissensions, which had been so fatal to the state, be capacitated to act as presidents, and in other posts of the magistracy. This innovation was likewise agreed to: no measures, however, were taken for restoring the courts of justice, and the institution of companies, it being alledged that such precautions were now rendered useless, by the nobility being consolidated with the commonalty in the government. The number of the city wards was reduced from six to four; of which the *Transarnine* ward was one. When the general election of presidents came on, four were chosen from the nobility, and eight from the commonalty; and they took possession of the palace, and all the badges of authority they had been deprived of by the tyrant. All those regulations took place by the sole authority of the fourteen; but they were more specious than lasting, and though well meant, they were impracticable.

Civil dissensions. THE people, seeing four noblemen upon the bench of the presidents, exclaimed against adding to a power that was even too formidable before; and to tell the truth, says *Aretin*^a, they had some reason. Heats and animosities soon revived in *Florence*, where it was publicly said, that by driving out one tyrant they had admitted hundreds. The bishop saw, that civil commotions were upon the point of again breaking out. Though he himself was of one of the noblest families in *Florence*, he advised the fourteen to submit the modelling of the state to an assembly of the people, as being the only means of retaining somewhat, whereas by an obstinate perseverance they might forfeit all. This moderate counsel was rejected with great acrimony, and some marks of contempt for its author, whom they put in mind how scandalously the plebeians had supported the late tyrant. The prelate, who was a man of resolution, retorted on the nobility their conduct on the same occasion; and words grew so high, that they reached the ears of the people without doors, already ripe for an insurrection. In an instant they were in arms, broke into the palace, pulled the nobility from the bench of the presidents, and ordered them to return home in a private station. This attack was what the nobles had so little foreseen, that they could that night come to no general resolution. Next day, the people resolved to lose no time, and attacked, one by one, all the houses of the nobility, situated

^a *Ibid.* pag. 143.

in the *Cisarnine Florence*, which they easily reduced, but without offering any violence to their persons. The nobility being more powerful in the *Transarnine Florence*, the people expel-
found more resistance there; at last they prevailed, and, *led from* though they had plundered and destroyed a few palaces where *the magis-*
they had met with the greatest opposition, yet they treated *tracy*.
the nobles and their families with becoming respect, declar-
ing that they fought from motives neither of hatred nor re-
venge, but of love to their country, the constitution of which
was dearer to them than themselves.

THE people's conquest over the nobility was glorious, *The Flo-*
chiefly through the moderation with which they proceeded. *rentines*
Their first care was to restore the ancient forms of their con- *restore*
stitution, with some immaterial variations; and the chief *Arezzo to*
posts in their government were bestowed on such plebeians *its inde-*
as affected the smallest pomp, and possessed the least power. *pendency.*

EVER since they had had the dominion of *Arezzo*, they had
been embroiled on its account, as *Saco*, its former master,
was still powerful enough to maintain his pretensions. The
Florentines, therefore, with equal wisdom and magnanimity,
came to a resolution of restoring to *Arezzo* its indépendency.
For this purpose a solemn deputation was sent from *Florence*,
to compliment the *Arezzians* upon having so nobly recovered
their liberty, and to present them with a public instrument,
by which the *Florentine* people resigned for ever all title to
any right of dominion over that city. The deputies executed
their commission in the most solemn manner, and the pre-
sent was received by the *Arezzians* with the utmost raptures
of joy and gratitude. Soon after a confederacy was formed
between the *Perugians*, the *Siennese*, the *Arezzians*, and the
Florentines, who were placed at the head of it.

THE *Florentines*, on farther consultation, considered them- *and make*
selves as being still in a state of war with the *Pisans*, because *peace with*
they did not think themselves bound by the peace the *tyrant Pisa*
had made. As the *Pisans*, however, had concluded it upon
the principles of good faith, the *Florentines* consented to re-
new it with very few alterations. All those and other less
important transactions happened the same year the tyrant was
expelled.

NEXT year the *Florentines* passed some very severe laws A. D.
against their nobility, particularly, that such of them as were 1344.
in foreign services should, on being summoned, repair to *Florence*, on pain of forfeiting all their estates and effects. *Severities*
The motive of this law obviously was, lest those noblemen *against the*
should acquire such power and interest abroad, as might en-*nobility.*
able them to disturb the peace of the state at home. About

the same time another severe act passed against them : for a prosecution was ordered against the governors of all forts and castles belonging to *Florence*, most of whom were nobles who had been appointed by the tyrant. History is silent as to the penalty inflicted upon them ; but we are told that several, especially noblemen, were condemned on that account.

Gualtieri solicits the court of France. In the mean while, the expelled tyrant was soliciting his cause at the court of *France*, where he represented the *Florentines*, and the treatment he had received, in the most odious colours, insisting upon being indemnified for all his losses out of the estates of the *Florentines* who were settled in that kingdom. His complaints were so well received, that the latter sent advices of their danger to the magistracy of *Florence*, in the most affecting terms. This had no other effect on the *Florentines*, than to make them pass what we may call an act of attainder against the tyrant, and to publish a reward for any one who should bring in his head : at the same time he was publicly executed in effigy, with the utmost marks of infamy and detestation. Those proceedings, however, did not prevent the *Florentines* from sending an ambassador to vindicate their conduct at the court of *France*. Soon after his departure ambassadors came from the king of *France*, demanding restitution of what had been taken from the tyrant, to the amount of a prodigious sum. The *Florentines* received and treated them with all the respect due to their master ; but exposed the cruelty, avarice, ambition, and oppressions of the tyrant with such strength of eloquence and evidence, that the ambassadors had nothing to reply. They then shewed them his act of abdication, which he had ratified at a place where he could be under no apprehensions of danger. After their audience, the ambassadors were treated in the most elegant sumptuous manner.

THIS year the *Florentine* government surmounted a difficulty which in that age would, perhaps, have been unsurmountable by any other people. The state had borrowed from its subjects a large sum of money, amounting, to the best of our calculation, to about sixty thousand pounds sterling. The low state of the public finances, at this time, did not admit of the government paying off the debt, yet the public credit

Original of paper credit. must be supported. As a middle way, every creditor had assignments made to him, on the public revenue, at the rate of five per cent. the money itself being heaped up in the form of a mount or bank (both which terms are still in use). Those assignments were transferable like our stocks, and negotiated in the same manner, their value rising or falling according to the prosperity or distresses of the state. According

to *Aretin*² (E), from whom we have this curious account, the *Florentines* stock was negotiated in the same manner as bargains are for any other mercantile commodity. Here we, perhaps, have the first rise of paper credit. We have in the note given *Aretin's* words, which, to those not acquainted with mercantile affairs, are not quite clear.

IN the beginning of the following year, the *Florentine* people seem to have been so much intoxicated with their prosperous situation, that they forgot their usual moderation. Their historians exclaim against one law they then passed as being unjust, and against another as being ungrateful. By the former the clergy was abridged in all their privileges. The latter was a kind of an act of resumption, which cancelled all grants that had been made by the public to citizens for their past services, by which many were obliged to return great part of their estates, to the ruin of their families.

A. D.

1345.

THE same year is noted for an event not much to the honour of *England*. The *Florentine* family of the *Bardi* were *bankruptcy* then the greatest bankers in *Europe*, and had partnerships *on account* in most trading nations. They had lent *Edward III.* king ^{of Eng-} _{land.} about seven hundred thousand crowns of gold, to assist him in his *French* wars; and his majesty not being punctual in his remittances, the *Bardi* became insolvent. As they were in such high credit, that there was scarce a family in *Florence* that had not money in their hands, the calamity was general, and occasioned such distrusts between man and man, as amounted to a stagnation of public credit. It appeared, however, upon inspecting the bankrupts accounts, that the company owed about two hundred thousand crowns less than the king owed them.

To add to the misfortunes of the *Florentines*, they understood that *Philip*, then king of *France*, had so far taken part

² *Ibid.* pag. 146.

(E) *Nominibus eorum, quibus debebatur, tributum descriptis annui redditus e publico constituti sunt, quina singulis centenis. Quantitates vero ipsas in unum coacervatas, a similitudine cumulandi, vulgo Montem vocavere; idque in civitate postea servatum. Quoties respublica indiget, cives tributa persolvunt: solutorum vero pensiones annuas percipiunt. Himationes cumulationesque pecuniarum bellis quidem crescunt: pace minuntur, propterea quod, abundante republica, dissolutio fit crebra atque peremtio. Quantitatum vero descriptarum & venditio est civibus inter se & permutatio, atque (ut in ceteris mercimonii) tempore, pro spe, pro commodo, minuitur earum preium atque augebitur. In emtorem eadem commoda, quae solitus ipse percepturus erat, transferuntur.*

with their late tyrant, that he had ordered all *Florentines* and their goods to be seized, who should be found sixty days, after the date of the order, within his kingdom. He was induced, no doubt, to this severity by the vast support the *Florentines* had given to his enemy and rival the king of *England*.

A. D. 1346. **N**EXT year a general famine prevailed all over *Italy*, and the *Florentines* were obliged to buy up vast stocks of grain in *Africa*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicily*, which were imported into *Florence*. Their humanity on this occasion was as signal as their providence; for they gave bread to incredible numbers of women, children, and poor people, who flocked to their city from the country and the neighbouring states, who had not been so provident. Their compassion for the poor extended still farther; for they limited the cases and forms of arresting a poor debtor. All their precautions, however, could not hinder a pestilential disease from breaking out in the city, which is generally the consequence of famine, and of a place overstocked with numbers of strangers.

Charles of Luxemburg chosen emperor. **D**URING this year the *Florentines* received a fresh mortification, by their hereditary enemy *Charles of Luxemburg*, son to *John* king of *Bohemia*, and grandson to the emperor *Henry*, being raised to the imperial dignity. This elevation, however, had no immediate ill consequence to the *Florentines*, who about this time acquired the sovereignty of the town of *St. Miniato*, which was delivered to them through the irreconcileable dissensions that reigned in the place. Famine and pestilence still prevailed all over *Italy*, in the *Florentine* territories especially, which were this year visited by a new guest, *Lewis*, grandson to *Robert* king of *Naples*, their ancient friend and protector. It is not our intention to enter here into a description of this prince and his family's fortunes, which may be found in other parts of this work. The *Florentines* resolved not to intermeddle in the dispute between him and the king of *Hungary*, who had driven him out of *Naples*, and forbade his entering into their city. This year it is said, that no fewer than sixty thousand *Florentines* died; many of whom being men of the first rank in the state, there was for some time an almost total cessation of public business. All that the *Florentines* could do, was to repress the incursions of some robbers, who came from the *Appennines* to make their advantage of the public distresses. Next year passed in almost the same inactivity, only the people of *Colle* and *Gemiani* submitted to the *Florentines*, their former masters, being impelled thereto by their domestic dissensions. Some strong places belonging to the *Ubaldi*, which sheltered robbers upon the *Appennines*, were likewise taken.

THE

A. D.
1350.

THE year 1350 produced great events in *Florence*. *Giovanini Visconti* was then bishop and master of *Milan*, and the most powerful prince then in *Lombardy*, having added *Bologna* to his other dominions. The *Florentines*, alarmed by the neighbourhood of so powerful and arbitrary a prince, consulted how to oppose him if he should attempt to extend his territories, and for that purpose planned an alliance with *Scaliger*, and the other *Tuscan* states, who were equally jealous of his power, and, amongst others, the pope himself. A general meeting of deputies from all the confederates was held at *Arezzo*, where the pope's legate likewise assisted; but, *Scaliger's* death and many difficulties intervening, the negotiations came to nothing. *Visconti*, to avail himself of a *Visconti's* juncture so favourable to his ambition, detached *Scaliger's* artifice, son and successor from the confederacy, as he did several others who had been invited into it, and made them his friends. All this while he affected to keep a good correspondence with *Florence*; and, that he might disguise his true designs, he ordered his general *Barnabo* to besiege *Imola*, a strong city in the *Romagna*, his army then lying at *Bologna*. Amongst his troops were many of the *Bolognese*, and others, who were overawed or suspected by him, particularly the inhabitants of *Faenza* and *Friuli*, whom he obliged to serve in his army, lest they might excite commotions against him in his absence. The troops, however, he chiefly depended upon, were three thousand horse and four thousand foot, chiefly mercenaries, headed by *Barnabo*. The garrison of *Imola* made a vigorous defence, so that he was obliged to turn the siege into a kind of blockade. While this lasted the *Florentines* had intelligence that the *Pisans* were about to declare for *Visconti*, and that he was concerting measures for making himself master of *Pistoia* and *Prato*. The last is a small city, but in those days well fortified, and of all others of the greatest importance to the *Florentines*, because of its neighbourhood to *Florence*. They knew that the inhabitants were torn into factions, which was the great encouragement *Visconti* had; and they resolved, if possible, to be before-hand with him. After a short consultation, a large body of troops were instantly in arms, and they marched to *Prato* with the greatest speed but regularity, and pitched their tents before the town, without offering the smallest hostility. The *Pratones* were equally surprised by their friendly, as they had been by their hostile appearance; and the *Florentines* reasoned with them so mildly, but effectually, that, opening their gates, they received them as their protectors.

THIS important and unexpected success determined the *Florentines* next to attempt *Pistoia*, a city of much greater power and strength, likewise in the neighbourhood of *Florence*. A sedition that had lately happened there, gave the *Florentines* a pretext for offering its magistrates a body of troops for preserving the peace of their city. The offer was accepted of; but a very few of the *Florentines* were introduced into *Pistoia*, and these were bound by an oath of fidelity to the magistracy. Their numbers were one hundred horse, and one hundred and fifty foot. The *Florentines*, despairing thereby to gain their ends, resolved, if they could, to surprise their countrymen by a masterly exploit. They privately sent for the exiles, who had been driven from *Pistoia* in the late insurrection; and it was agreed, that they should surprise that city in the night-time by a scalade; and that one *Peter*, who was a commissary of the *Florentine* army, should be sent before to dispose the *Florentines* there to favour the attempt. *Peter* never discharged this commission. The exiles, however, thinking themselves sure of the *Florentines* within, performed their part with the utmost intrepidity; but after the greatest part of them had got over the wall, the *Pistoians* took the alarm, and a fierce encounter ensued, which was manfully sustained by the exiles, in a sure confidence of their being joined by the *Florentine* part of the garrison. The latter, however, knowing nothing of the conspiracy, fought as bravely against them as the *Pistoians* did; and, at last, the exiles were obliged to retreat by the same way they came in. The *Pistoians*, at first, imagined the attempt to be the act of their own exiles; but coming to the truth, by examining their prisoners, they became doubly intent upon guarding their city and liberty: but, though they were exasperated to the highest degree, they gave an honourable dismission to the *Florentine* part of their garrison, on account of their fidelity and courage.

after some
failure of
success.

IT was perhaps this failure of success, chiefly, that opened the mouths of the *Florentines* against their presidents, as if they had by their treachery rendered the *Pistoians*, a people remarkably brave and resolute, their enemies; and had, as it were, driven them into the arms of *Visconti*. The wiser amongst the *Florentines*, however, reflecting that there was now no hopes of gaining over the *Pistoians* by fair means, counselled the people to lay aside all animosities, and to attempt to gain their point by force. This counsel was approved of, and in three days time *Pistoia* was besieged by fifteen thousand *Florentines*; a prodigious number, when we consider the havock of the late pestilence. The *Pistoians* prepared to make a brave defence; but the *Florentines* shewed such reluctance

tance at hostilities, that daily conferences passed between the besiegers and the besieged. At last all difficulties were got over, by means of the friends the *Florentines* had in *Pistoia*, and the *Pistoians* unanimously received a *Florentine* garrison.

Before this event, *Visconti* and his chief officers had always mentioned the *Florentines* in terms of great respect and ~~sends an~~ friendship; but he now summoned together his friends all over army into *Tuscany* and *Lombardy*. He acquainted them, that he had discovered a conspiracy that had been formed by some *Bolognese* lords, for betraying that city to the *Florentines*, whom he inveighed against with great bitterness. He then made a kind of a deduction of all that their several countries had suffered from the *Florentines*, and told them, that their only way to have reparation and revenge was for every state to exert itself all at once to fall upon them, and that he himself would lead them the way. His speech was received with vast applause, a great army was assembled, and the command of it given by him to *Olegiano*, one of his relations. His expedition was so great, that he passed the *Appennines*, and encamped near *Pistoia*, before his march from *Bologna* was heard of. All that the *Florentines*, under their great astonishment, could do, was to throw a strong reinforcement of horse and foot into the city, and to send a deputation to expostulate with *Olegiano*. His answer was, that he was come, by order of the bishop of *Milan*, to obtain satisfaction for the losses and outrages his friends and allies had received from the *Florentine* people; and that they must either take him for their arbiter, or expect the consequences. The deputies upon this left the camp, and he made dispositions for besieging *Pistoia*. His real intention, however, was to excite a revolt within the city in his favour; but being disappointed of that hope, and finding the *Pistoia*, and garrison prepared for a vigorous resistance, he broke up the ^{in which he} ~~sieges~~ ^{against} *Pratense* towards ^{in vain.} *Florence*. His army, according to *Aretin*, consisted of above ten thousand horse and six thousand foot, besides a great number of auxiliary troops and volunteers. It soon appeared, that *Olegiano*, as he had done at *Pistoia*, depended more upon the *Florentine* dissensions than upon his own army, for the reduction of the city. All he did was taking a few inconsiderable places, and ravaging the open country; for after his troops had paraded for some time before *Florence*, he drew them off towards the vale of *Mugelli*. Upon this the *Florentines* ^{Siege of} *Scarperia*, a garrisoned place they had there, and a town now famous for its cutlery ware. Tho'

this place was not fortified round, yet the inhabitants and the garrison baffled all the attempts of their enemies, and made an incredible defence.

Continuation of the rentines THIS unsuccessful expedition of *Visconti* against the *Florentines* occasioned commotions all over *Lombardy* and *Tuscany*. *Saco* made an irruption upon the towns of the *Upper Arno*, and attempted to take *Varico*. He was opposed by the

people of those parts, and by three hundred *Florentine* horse, with some *Arezzians*, under the command of *Ricasolani*, who immediately prepared to fight *Saco*. The latter stood upon the defensive; and *Ricasolani*, knowing his troops were but raw, forbore to attack him, so that *Saco* in the night drew off his army. *Ricasolani*, after this, though the *Arezzians* had left him, took *Agnani*. *Visconti*, all this while, was not idle: he sent an ambassador to persuade the *Pisans* to break off their league with the *Florentines*, in which case he promised to assist them with a strong body of troops under *Barnabo*. The *Gambacurti* were then the most powerful family in *Pisa*, friends to the *Florentines*, and no strangers to *Visconti*'s ambition. By their advice and influence, his ambassadors were dismissed, without any other reply, than that the *Pisans* would send their answer by deputies of their own. *Visconti*, finding he was trifled with, sent other ambassadors to *Pisa* with more splendid retinues, and with instructions to address the people in a general assembly. Their discourse was artful, and adapted to the innate hatred the lower ranks of *Pisa* had against the *Florentines*. But *Françesino Gambacurti*, the head of that family, in a very fine speech, shewed that the ruin of *Florence* would be but a prelude to that of *Pisa*. When he finished, the question was put, and it was unanimously carried, that the peace with *Florence* should be inviolably preserved on the part of *Pisa*.

The Florentines augment their army THE *Florentines*, perceiving the practices of *Visconti*, increased their domestic forces; and took into their pay two thousand five hundred *German* horse, who were joined by two hundred *Siennese*, and six hundred *Perugian* cavalry was hourly expected. The garrison of *Scarpa* still continued to hold bravely out, and the *Florentines* had resolved to employ all their power to raise the siege, when *Saco* defeated the *Perugians*, as they were marching to join their allies. The *Arezzians*, therefore, were obliged to detach themselves from the main army, and to return home, that they might baffle any attempts that might be made against them. This defeat obliged the *Florentines* to alter their measures, and damped the *Scarpa*ans, who were now reduced to the greatest distress. *Vicedomini*, a *Florentine* nobleman of great spirit, to

set

set a generous example to his countrymen, broke through the besiegers camp in the night-time, and entered Scarperia with thirty horse. This was but a feeble reinforcement; and *Medici*, a *Florentine* of great courage, taking advantage of a stormy night, entered the enemy's camp, where it was weakest, with one hundred horse, and, with the loss of twenty, he carried the rest safe into the town. Those reinforcements, though but inconsiderable, gave such spirit to the besieged, *and raise* that they baffled the most vigorous attempts of their enemies *the siege of* with unparalleled courage and perseverance; so that the besiegers were at last obliged to repass the *Appennines*, and return to the *Bolognese*.

THE *Florentines* made noble acknowledgments for the *their gene-* services performed them on this occasion. They doubled the *rosity*. pay of every common soldier of the garrison; they freed the townsmen from the payment of all taxes for ten years; they presented *John* and his brother *Silvester Medici*, who were honoured with knighthood, with five hundred crowns of gold each, to be expended on their arms and equipages, and one hundred and fifty for their table: but some noblemen, who had likewise signalized themselves, particularly the *Donati*, the *Ruffi*, and the *Vicedomini*, were misrepresented to the people.

ABOUT this time the family of the *Brändali*, then the most powerful in *Arezzo*, entered into a correspondence with *Visconti*, and some other of their discontented countrymen, for seizing that city. One of the conspirators happened to be appointed to the custody of a tower, that commanded a gate leading into the country, which gave their fellow conspirators an assurance of success that they could not dissemble. As the magistrates were examining those they suspected, *Visconti's* *Arezzo* troops appeared before the gate, and the conspirators stood to *preserved*. their arms within the city. The *Arezzians*, however, attacked their foreign enemies, who were in number six hundred foot and three hundred horse, so resolutely, that they obliged them to retreat, and give over their attempt. The tower and the houses of the conspirators continued, nevertheless, to make a resolute defence; and, after three days assault, it was agreed, that the conspirators should depart safe out of *Arezzo*. *Saco*, however, about the same time, succeeded in surprising *Burgo*, a town of some consequence belonging to the *Perugians*; and the town of *Anglari*, belonging to them, surrendered to him likewise.

IT now drew towards winter, and it was agreed amongst *The Tus-* the confederate states of *Tuscany*, who were the *Florentines*, can confe- the *Arezzians*, the *Perugians*, and the *Siennese*, that they *deracy re-* should *newed*.

should make the most vigorous preparations for continuing the war next year. The Florentine magistrates, on this occasion, are severely reprebanded by their historian, for dismissing their native troops, and taking a body of foreigners into their pay. The confederates sent deputies to *Avignon*, where the pope then resided, to invite him into the confederacy against *Visconti*; but they returned fraught with promises, and nothing else. During those transactions, *Scarpa*, which had been so bravely defended, was surprised by a party of *Visconti*'s troops, who had been encouraged to the attempt by the dissensions subsisting between the townsmen and the garrison; but the latter, forgetting all animosities, soon recovered the place, and drove the enemy out. During the same winter, *Sac*, having ravaged the *Perugian* territories, obliged, or engaged, the people of *Cortona* to declare for *Visconti*.

Negotiations with the emperor,

IT was now known at *Florence* that the pope and the French court had been prevailed upon, by *Visconti*, not to intermeddle in the affairs of *Tuscany*; so that the confederates were obliged to throw their eyes for assistance towards a power, whom they had some time before considered as their capital enemy: this was the emperor *Charles IV*. He had no reason to be well satisfied with the *Visconti* family; and upon the confederates secretly applying to him, he agreed to send a private agent to *Florence*, to concert measures for their relief. About this time the *Florentines* besieged, but in vain, the fort of *Vertina*, a castle held by some exiles, chiefly of the *Ricasolani* family; and *Ruffo*, the *Florentine* governor of the valley of *Mugelli*, failed in an attempt to relieve the castle of *Lozola*, besieged by the *Ubaldini*: for this he was dismissed from his command, which was given to another, who relieved the place, and beat the enemy.

and the pope, who outwits the confederates.

THE *Florentine* deputies now renewed their solicitations at *Avignon*, as their last effort with the pope, who, far from complying, prevailed upon them to agree to his mediating a peace between *Visconti* and the emperor; and the former being excommunicated, his holiness took off from him all the ecclesiastical censures, and even remitted to him the possession of *Bologna* for twelve months; and all this in consideration of a vast sum of money paid him by *Visconti*. This done, all further talk of a peace vanished; by which the *Florentines* plainly saw that they had been deceived and overreached by his holiness. As they themselves had been partly accessory to their own disappointment, they were almost ashamed to complain; but they rejected a truce for a year,

proposed by the pope, between them and *Visconti*. The confederates then renewed their applications to *Charles*; and, after various negociations, it was agreed, that he should march to their assistance with an army against *Visconti*, upon their paying him a subsidy, and acknowledging him to be the head of the *Roman* empire. The exiles in the castle of *Vertina*, who had before baffled the attempts of the *Florentines*, were now obliged to surrender upon a capitulation, and the place was levelled to the ground. During the summer of this year the *Florentines* prosecuted the war against *Saco*, whose estates they ravaged, and then defeated him in a pitched battle.

To counterballance those advantages, the allies of *Visconti* took some places in the *Perugian* territories; but the *Perugians* receiving a seasonable reinforcement of eight hundred horse from *Florence*, compleatly defeated their enemies, and retook the places. The *Arezzians* were not so successful: they distrusted all assistance offered them by the *Florentines*, and their territories were plundered by their enemies, especially by *Saco*. A great number of other flying actions happened the same year, of little importance, and endless to recount.

DURING those transactions, the reputation of the *Florentine* government gained ground. *Visconti* saw he had been misinformed; and that the riches brought them by foreign commerce were inexhaustible, and would always enable them to maintain powerful armies in the field. Add to all this, he was now infirm in his health, and had lost all hopes of gaining the *Pisans*: he therefore applied to *Francesino Gambacurti*, his former opposer at *Pisa*, to mediate a peace between him and the confederates. That nobleman readily undertook the office, and the *Florentines* as readily embraced the proposal. Deputies from all parts met at *Serezana*; and, after great alterations, it was agreed, that a peace should be concluded between the *Florentines* and their confederates, on the one part; and the bishop of *Milan*, his adherents, and dependents, on the other; that the bishop should withdraw all his troops and garrisons from *Tuscany*, and never after make war upon any of the *Tuscan* states; that he should restore all he had taken from the *Pistoians*, and leave *Burgo* to its ancient freedom. If the *Florentines* should attack the *Pisans* or the *Lucquese*, the prelate might send them assistance; and the *Florentines* had the same liberty, if either of those states should be attacked by the prelate. All the *Florentine* and *Perugian* exiles, on account of the late war, were to be restored; but no other, unless expressly named in the treaty. *Saco* and his family were to be restored to all their possessions in the *Arezzian* territory; but

but none of them were to come nearer than the distance of four miles to that city ⁴. Such were the general terms of this treaty, which contained a great many other articles and precautions, with regard to the exiles. According to *Manetti* ⁵, the terms of this peace were inviolably kept on both sides, till the time of *Visconti*'s death, which happened a few years after.

False musters punish'd. So honourable a peace gave the *Florentines* now some respite to look into their domestic concerns. Their first inquiry was into the state of their army, where they found the most scandalous abuses had been committed by their commissaries, and others, who had made false musters. Some of the delinquents were brought to condign punishment; and the *Florentines* honourably discharged all mercenaries from their service, and intirely betook themselves to the arts of peace, which they were allowed to cultivate only for a few months.

Original of the Florentine war with the German banditti. THE discharge of the foreign mercenaries, though a measure wise and equitable in itself, brought great troubles upon all the *Tuscan* states. Most of the mercenaries finding now no employment in *Italy*, and consisting of outlaws from *Germany*, *France*, and other nations, united themselves under the command of one *Moriali*, a *Frenchman*, or a *Lombard*, (for the *Tuscan* historians use the same name for both) and resolved to lay all *Italy* under contribution. They were soon joined by many *Italians*, and their numbers amounted to above eight thousand horse and four thousand foot, all of them regular veteran troops, besides an immense number of servants and attendants upon their camp. They set out upon the principle of rapine; but each state was at liberty to redeem itself from their ravages, upon paying the contributions at which they were taxed. After ravaging some parts of *Italy*, they passed the *Appennines*, and invaded the territory of *Perugia*, which was obliged to pay them the contributions they demanded. The *Florentines* in vain endeavoured to form a confederacy against them; for the banditti, as they were called, came within eight miles of *Florence*; and the *Florentines*, as well as the *Siennese*, were obliged to satisfy their lawless demands. They met with the same success at *Arezzo*, and at *Citta di Castello*, where they divided their plunder; and about the beginning of *October* they went into winter-quarters, wherever they could make them good.

Conduct of Charles. ABOUT this time the *Genoese*, who had for some time the emperor maintained an unequal war with the *Venetians*, and other

⁴ ARET. p. 162.

⁵ MANETTI ubi supra, pag. 1065.

enemies, submitted themselves to the protection of *Visconti*, and put him in possession of their city. Upon this the *Venetians*, the *Paduans*, the *Verones*, and the *Ferrarese*, with all *Visconti*'s ancient enemies, applied to the emperor *Charles*, who at their request entered *Italy*; but stopt at *Padua*, till he should see what turn affairs should take. In this critical conjuncture *Visconti* died, and was succeeded in his dominions by his brother's children. Their unanimity was so great, that *Charles*, despairing of any revolution in his favour, brought about a truce between the *Milanese* and their enemies; and, after remaining some days at *Milan*, he marched to *Pisa*, and was admitted into that city. While he remained there, the *Florentines*, the *Siennese*, and *Arezzians*, sent him a joint deputation; but it soon appeared that the *Siennese* had separate views, and intended to put themselves under the emperor's protection. The people of *Volterra* and *Miniano*, without the knowledge of their allies the *Florentines*, surrendered themselves and their territories to *Charles*; and at last it was found, that the *Florentines* and the *Arezzians* were the only states who remained firm in the principles of their confederacy. On the other hand, *Saco* and *Fagiolani* complained to the emperor of the hardship of the terms imposed upon them by the treaty of *Serazana*; but *Charles*, whose great aim was to get money, gave no satisfaction to either party, though he seemed rather to incline to the cause of the *Arezzians*. The *Florentines* applied to him with better success; and, by the assistance of a round sum of money, obtained all they requested. From *Pisa*, *Charles* marched to *Volterra*, and from thence to *Miniano*, and was received in both places. From thence he went to *Sienna*, where he was likewise received, but not without opposition. The *Florentines* at this time were, of all the *Italian* states, his favourites, for having, by a prudent compliance, furnished him with money, which carried him to *Rome*, where, with his empress, he was solemnly crowned.

ABOUT the beginning of the year 1355, *Charles* set out *Death of* from *Rome* for *Germany*, and, passing through *Tuscany*, he in- *Saco*. duced the *Florentines* and their allies in all their demands; for which he is blamed by the *German* historians, as having bartered all the imperial demesnes in *Italy* for money. This year the *Florentines* fortified *Cassano*, which had proved a retreat for the banditti, who, during the emperor's abode in *Italy*, seemed to have been pretty quiet. About this time *Saco*, formerly lord of *Arezzo*, died, aged above eighty years, which he, almost without interruption, spent in the field. The day of his death was celebrated by the *Florentines* as that

of their deliverance. The terrors of the banditti were again renewed, and the *Florentines* fortified some other places against them. But other dangers threatened the state. The emperor, in all his proceedings, had declared himself a *Guelph*; and that faction at *Florence* had power enough to carry an *act* against any *Gibelín*, or the descendant of one, holding any place of trust or profit in the state. This renewed all the public distractions there, and fresh acts passed to strengthen the power of the plebeians.

The Florentine staple removed to Talamone.

ABOUT this time the *Florentines*, whose trade was now arrived at a prodigious height, finding that the *Pisans* wanted to extort unreasonably for the liberty of landing goods in their ports, ordered their merchants to land them at *Telamone*, now a small fortified town in the *Stato de gli Presidi*. The *Pisans*, perceiving that they were deprived of that valuable intercourse, gave frequent interruptions to the *Florentine* traders, who were obliged to carry their commodities by a long land-carriage to *Florence*. But the *Florentines*, with a spirit becoming a free people, resolved not to be braved by the *Pisans*, even at sea; and hired of the *Provengals* fifteen ships of war, with which they not only protected their own trade, but carried terror to *Pisa* itself.

Progress of the banditti. THE terror of the German banditti still hung over the heads of the *Florentines*. They now again appeared in the

kingdom of *Naples*: from thence they proceeded to *Lombardy*; and, after ravaging the *Milanese*, they marched to the *Bolognese*, from whence they endeavoured to penetrate into the *Florentine* territories; but the *Florentines* had taken care to fortify the passes of the *Appennines* so well, that they found it impracticable to proceed: Upon this they promised to retire towards their own country, without scarcely touching on the *Florentine* grounds, by the *Casantin*. The *Florentines* either could not, or would not, oppose this proposal; but, after they had entered upon the mountains, the country people, who had suffered so greatly by their depredations, fell upon the second division of them so furiously, with stones from the tops of the rocks, which every way surrounded them, that most of them were killed, without being able to make the smallest resistance; and all their booty fell into the hands of their conquerors, many of whom were women, who shared equally with the men in their spoils. As to the first division of the robbers, they reached *Decumani*, a small village belonging to the *Florentines*, carrying along with them the *Florentine* deputies, who had agreed to their march, and whom they threatened with destruction, as soon as they heard of the total discomfiture of their companions. Nothing could have saved them,

part of whom are destroyed.

them, had not the robbers been here surrounded in the same manner as their companions had been by the country people, equally intent upon revenge and plunder. The deputies interposed, and by saving the robbers from their rage, they saved themselves, though with great difficulty, and without being thanked by either party. The country people were exasperated at being disappointed of their prey, and the banditti upbraided the *Florentines* with breach of faith.

ABOUT this time the *Florentines* effected an accommodation between the *Perugians* and the *Siennese*, and obliged both ^{Their force increased.} parties to stand to their award. The overthrow of one part of the banditti served but to inspire the other with thoughts of vengeance; and their rage was increased by *Conrade Lyndo*, their general, a *German* soldier of fortune. He had been taken prisoner, and stript of his all, when their second division was destroyed; but, finding means to escape, he now rejoined his followers. The late peace between the *Siennese* and the *Perugians*, added three thousand *German* horse, who were then dismissed, to the banditti. By this junction they were so formidable, that they resolved no longer to hazard themselves in mountainous marches, but to force their way through the champaign country into *Tuscany*, which they proposed to invade by the way of *Perugia*, to save them the danger of passing the *Appennines*. The vast circuit which this obliged them to take was of little inconvenience to men who lived by plunder, and who were marching through the finest countries in *Europe*. They met with no interruption on their march, and before they arrived at *Perugia*, the inhabitants sent deputies, who paid them a sum of money for the indemnification of their city; and their example was followed by the *Siennese* and the *Pisans*. Thus the fairest and most populous provinces in *Italy* were laid under contribution by a set of lawless ruffians, whose progress increased their numbers, as their barbarity did the horror in which they were held. Wherever they met with the least resistance, ruin to the inhabitants was the certain consequence: they demolished towns, desolated countries, slaughtered people, and nothing but money could buy off their ravages.

IT was upon this occasion, that the wisdom and magnanimity of the *Florentines* shone out with a lustre equal to that of the greatest states of antiquity. Instead of being intimidated by the example of their neighbours, or the numbers of the ^{Magnanimity of the Florentines} banditti, they considered them as monsters, whose progress and crimes, far from being any inducements to submit to them, were the strongest motives for destroying them. After the banditti had carried all before them, they collected together all their force, and declared that *Florence* was the only

object they had in their eye when they undertook their long march, and that she was to expect no favour. The most respectable citizens of the Florentine allies came to *Florence*, to persuade the people and magistrates that they had no way to avoid certain destruction, but to send deputies to treat with the *ruffians*; and that they might buy their peace cheaper than their quarters for a single day in their territories would cost their state. Those and many other specious arguments were disdained by the *Florentines*, who continued their warlike preparations, and chose *Pandolfo Malatesta* for their general. Instead of waiting within their walls, *Malatesta* led his troops to the field against the banditti, and arrived at the *Pesa* just at the time when they had begun to march from *Sienna* towards *Florence* with their full force. But when, contrary to their expectations, they understood that the *Florentines* had even imposed silence upon all advocates for an accommodation with them, and were waiting for them in order of battle, they were startled; and, after loitering for some time in the *Siennese*, they turned off towards the *Volterrano*, from thence to proceed to *Pisa*. The *Florentine* army followed them; and passing the *Alsa* at *St. Miniato*, they again offered battle to the banditti, who declined it, and marched off towards the *Lucquese*. They were pursued by the *Florentines*; and now it appeared, that no true courage can animate a lawless set of men; for the banditti still continued retreating.

Admired by all Italy. THE attention of all *Italy* had for some time been employed upon the firm conduct of the *Florentines*, and it now became their admiration. The most distant states interested themselves in the fate and support of so much magnanimity, and wanted to share in the glory. The king of *Sicily*, *Barnabo* duke of *Milan*, the *Paduans*, and the *Ferrarese*, sent troops to serve in the *Florentine* army. Those of *Barnabo* were headed by his son *Ambrofini*. The *Arezzians* sent them two hundred horse, and as many foot, all of them picked troops; and fifty of the greatest *Neapolitan* nobility served as volunteers in the campaign. The *Germans*, at last, drew up upon a high ground, where they thought it was impracticable for the *Florentines* to assault them; but while dispositions for attacking them next day were making, the banditti set fire to their camp in their night, and drew off with vast precipitation towards *Lucca*, from whence they fled into the *Genoese* territories in their march towards the *dutchy of Monferrat*.

The banditti repulsed.

Reflection.

THUS ended, to the immortal honour of *Florence*, a danger that threatened great calamity to her state. It is probable, that had the banditti prevailed against *Florence*, a new kingdom, such as that of the *Lombards*, would have been erected

in Italy; and nothing but their want of a proper head, and some other colour to their cause than that of mere robbery, could have prevented their success. All Europe was then full of soldiers of fortune, who, in time of peace, had no means of subsisting but by rapine and plunder, as we shall soon have an opportunity of shewing more at large.

THE Florentine general and his army, upon their return from the campaign, made a triumphal entry into Florence, *where handsome presents were bestowed upon all the auxiliary troops*; and never did the Florentine name appear with greater *lustre*, nor their state with more authority, than they did on that occasion. Perhaps their general was a little too delicate, in point of form, when he refused to pursue the banditti into the *Lucquese*, for fear of violating the peace with the *Pisans*, who then held *Lucca*. Soon after the army's return to *Florence*, intelligence came that the banditti had made their appearance near *Pavia*, then belonging to *Barnabo*. Upon this the Florentines immediately ordered a detachment of one thousand horse to *Barnabo's* assistance.

BUT the banditti-war was not the only war this year carried on by the Florentines. The *Ubertini* and *Tarlati* continued still to be leading families in the *Arezzian* state; and the chief of the *Ubertini* had served the Florentines against the *banditti*, and had lost his son in the campaign. This ingratiated his family so much with the Florentines, that they gave the youth a most magnificent public burial, and bestowed the honour of knighthood on his surviving brother. Great animosities subsisting between the two families, the *Ubertini* persuaded the Florentines to declare war against *Bibienna*, then a strong place in the *Casantine*, held by the *Tarlati*, but now an open market-town. The siege continued for two months; but the place was at last taken, and delivered up to the Florentines. Its reduction was followed by the surrender of the neighbouring forts held by the *Tarlati*, (of whom *Saco*, whose memory was so obnoxious to the Florentines, had been the head) which were given to the *Arezzians*, and his two sons carried prisoners to *Florence*.

NEXT year, differences broke out between *Barnabo* and *Olegiano*, *Visconti's* nephews and successors; and *Olegiano* found himself obliged to make a surrender of *Bologna* to the pope's legate. Upon this *Barnabo* marched an army into the *Bolognese*, to dispute his taking possession of it. A desperate war ensued; in which, notwithstanding the recent connections between the Florentines and *Barnabo*, the former could not help wishing success to the legate, as being the less formidable neighbour. This war, however, did not divert their

attention from their domestic concerns. One *Nicola Accioli*, who had been long first minister to the king and kingdom of Naples, and a man of great power and abilities, had for some time resided in *Florence*, on the part of the legate; and had acquired so much authority there, that the people imagined he aspired to a seat in their magistracy. Upon this suspicion *Law passed in Florence.* they passed a law, that no man could be a magistrate of *Florence*, who was the governor of, or held a post in any other town. Next year *Volterra* was reduced to the obedience of the *Florentines*, through the dissensions of its own citizens. By this time, thro' the removal of the *Florentine* staple to *Telamone*, the *Pisan* state was rendered almost a desert, and their ports abandoned. They had, from time to time, interrupted the *Florentine* navigation into *Telamone*; and such heart-burnings arose between the two states, that it was plain an open breach must be the consequence; a colourable pretext now being only wanting, which soon presented itself. The castle of *Petrabona*, belonging to the *Pisans*, had been seized by some private persons, and was now besieged by their former masters. *Pietro Gambacurta*, being then an exile from *Pisa*, lived at *Florence*; from whence he made several incursions, at the head of his own followers, into the *Pisan* territory. His being protected by the *Florentines*, gave the *Pisans* a pretext for entering upon hostilities; and the *Florentines* undertook to raise the siege of *Petrabona*, which, however, was taken by the *Pisans* in their sight.

War with Pisa.

THE *Florentines* looked upon this event as a disgrace to their arms, and in a few days after fell into the *Pisan* territory with a great army, in which were eight hundred horse and four thousand foot, all of them mercenaries. They encamped near *Pacciole*, and reduced most of the neighbouring garrisons. Their general in this expedition was *Bonifacio Lupo* of *Parma*, who, being a regular bred soldier, seldom deigned to consult with the *Florentine* presidents, who always attended their generals in the nature of field-deputies, or any of the other *Florentines*. This haughtiness rendered him disagreeable to the state, and *Rodolfo Varanio* of *Camerino* took his command. The new general instantly led his troops to the walls of *Pisa*, and having forced his enemy's lines, which they thought impregnable, he found himself in an open plentiful country. Having wasted or burned all in the neighbourhood of *Pisa*, he intercepted letters from *Pacciole*, directed to the *Pisan* government, informing it of the weakness of the place, on account of the flower of the garrison and inhabitants having marched to plunder the territory of *Volterra*, and begging for a reinforcement. *Varanio*, upon this, marched directly to *Pacciole*,

école, and arrived time enough to make such a disposition of his troops as to cut off the return of marauders to the town, which was reduced to such straits, that it was agreed, by a Pacciole capitulation, the place should be given up, if it was not succoured by a certain day. The commandant of the citadel refused to agree to this capitulation; but a large breach being made in the walls, the Florentines entered the place sword in hand, in hopes of having the plunder of it. But upon the townsmen, who had made the capitulation, throwing themselves upon their knees before Varano and the Florentine presidents, and laying the whole blame of the resistance upon the commandant, they were saved from plunder. This act of compassion ruined the authority of Varano in the army, especially with the mercenaries; and though he took a few more places in the neighbourhood, yet two thousand horse deserted from him; and he was at last obliged to resign his command to Pietro Farnetio, who was esteemed one of the best officers in Italy.

THE war between the Florentines and the Pisans all this time went on briskly by sea. The former had hired two great galleys from the Genoese, commanded by Perino Grimaldi, and enter the two others were sent them from the kingdom of Naples, through the credit of Acciaioli. Those four great vessels, as Pisa. they were in those days thought, proved an overmatch for all the Pisan marine. They made descents all along the enemy's coasts, where they took some places of strength and importance; and at last they even entered the harbour of Pisa, by breaking through the great iron chain which secured it, and which, carrying it off with them, they hung up in the old temple of Mars at Florence, as a trophy of their maritime power, where it is said to hang to this day.

EARLY in the spring, after Farnetio received his command, he attempted to surprise Lucca, but miscarried; and five hundred Florentines were defeated by their enemies in the neighbourhood of Barga, then besieged by the Pisans. Those checks served only to excite Farnetio to do something that might more than counterbalance them. He entered the Pisan territory, and came to a general engagement with their whole force; in which he gave his enemies a total defeat, by taking prisoner their general, with a great number of their soldiers, and almost all their military ensigns, which he carried back in great triumph to Florence. His modesty was equal to his glory. The Florentines, who, in all affairs of government and war, affected to imitate the Roman republicans, in a full assembly offered him a crown of laurel; but

he refused it, as being too great an honour, till he could perform some service of greater consequence to the state.

SOON after this, *Farnetio* again invaded the *Pisan* territory, and skirmished with his enemies at their very gates. We know not, however, that he made any dispositions for besieging the city: but it is certain, that, instead of celebrating, as was the custom of the *Italians* in those days, affrontive abusive games before the places they could not take, he struck under the walls of *Pisa* some coins, which carried his own device, that of a fox couchant ^b. His successes delivered *Barga* from the long siege it had sustained; for no sooner were they made known to the besieged, by a detachment of horse thrown into it by *Farnetio*, than the garrison made so brisk a sally, that they drove their enemies out of their entrenchments, and forced them to abandon the siege. The *Pisans* must now have submitted to whatever terms the *Florentines* had pleased to impose upon them, had it not been for two events. The first was the death of the brave *Farnetio*, who was carried off by a pestilential disease, in the midst of his victories. The history of the next event has its rise in that of *England*; and *Aretin* ^c has recounted so many curious particulars concerning the *English* adventurers of that time in *Italy*, unmixed with the fictions that prevailed concerning them, that an *English* reader must be pleased with an authentic information; the whole being hitherto justly deemed little better than a romance. We find ourselves, however, obliged to turn back to the *English* history to make our narrative clear.

*Cafe of the
banditti,
and the
English
mercena-
ry.*

UPON the conclusion of the treaty of *Bretigny*, in 1360, between *Edward III.* of *England*, and king *John* of *France*, a peace succeeded between the two nations, which deprived a vast number of soldiers of their bread, both princes keeping few troops more than were sufficient for garrisons ^d. It happened, that, during the war, numbers of *English* gentlemen and others had given leave to their retainers to build houses, which were generally fortified, upon lands conquered from the *French* king, and given by king *Edward* to his great lords, which lands now reverted to the *French* crown by the treaty of *Bretigny*. Many of the possessors of those castles, as they were called, refused to give them up, and were therefore proclaimed traitors by *Edward's* orders, though they pretended that they were in the pay of the king of *Navarre*, who disclaimed them; so that they were obliged to submit. Most of the owners of the castles were men who had seen

^b ARETIN, p. 173.

^c Ibid. p. 173.

^d BARNE'S Life of *Edward III.* p. 611.

a great deal of service, and were either gentlemen by birth, or had raised themselves by their merit. Being afraid to return to *England*, and unable to subsist in *France*, they consulted together how to make their fortunes by their swords, and *Italy* naturally presented itself first to their thoughts. All *France* at this time was filled with robberies by disbanded soldiers, who, in the spring of the year 1361, assembled at *Givry* in *Bresse*, to the number of sixteen thousand; many of them headed by the same leaders who had commanded them in time of war. Their first intention was to march to *Avignon*, to plunder the pope's immense treasures there. King *John* sent against them *James of Bourbon*, one of the most considerable noblemen in *France*; but the companions, or late-comers, (for they went by both names) soon beat his army with great slaughter, and he himself was killed, together with his son. It is hard to say what the consequence might have been, had not the *English*, to the number of four thousand horse and two thousand foot, detesting the cruelties and excesses of their companions, separated themselves from the main body, who soon after dispersed themselves into different parties, and were taken either into the pay of the pope, or of other princes.

THE *English* were commanded by Sir *John Hawkwood*. *Account of* This extraordinary person was a native of *Heningham* in *Essex*. Sir *John* His father was a tanner, and he himself bound apprentice to Hawk- a taylor, and by taking himself to the practice of arms, he wood, distinguished himself so greatly that he received the honour of knighthood, and probably before the peace of *Bretigny* he acquired a considerable property as well as rank. His first design, and that of his officers under him, was to offer their services to *Florence*, preferably to all other states, on account of the great losses the *Florentines* had suffered by the money they had so generously lent to the *English*. According to *Aretin*⁴, they actually made the offer immediately upon the death of *Farnetio*; but their demands being too high, the *Florentines* rejected them, and they were obliged to enter into the service of *Pisa*. The same author gives another reason for their preferring the service of *Florence* (and it is confirmed by our histories and records) which is, that there was at that time so great a number of *Florentines* in *England*, that the *English* looked upon those in *Italy* as their own countrymen.

FROM this it appears, that *Hawkwood* did not enter *Italy*, as is commonly thought, single and unattended, but at the

* *ARETIN*, p. 173.

for the expedition, the *English* left them at *Figline*, and forming all the *Florentine* entrenchments in the night time, they came by break of day to *Ripoli*, within two miles of *Florence*, before their march was heard of. The whole city was instantly filled with uproar and consternation, and every man who could carry arms drew out before the gate; so that, including the army which was then in *Florence*, their number could not be fewer than thirty thousand men, against six thousand *English*; but they never once thought of attacking the enemy; all their care was to defend themselves. From *Florence* the *English* returned to *Figline*, with a great many captives, and a large booty; and from thence marched to *Arezzo*, so that, to use *Aretin's* own words, they knocked by turns at the gates of *Florence* and *Arezzo*, taking *Figline* in the midway, and nothing, continues he, could be more terrible than the sound of their name.

By the close of the campaign, however, the captives the *Stratagem* *English* had made were so numerous, and their booty so un-^{of the Eng-} wieldy, that they were at some loss in contriving how to lish. carry them back to *Pisa*, especially as the way was encumbered and difficult. But this they effected by the following extraordinary stratagem. They sent a formal message to *Florence*, inviting the presidents to assist in celebrating mass with them in *Salviano's* church at *Florence*, on the thirteenth of *November*. Were not the fact so well attested as it is by their own historian^a, one could scarcely imagine that the *Florentines* were absurd enough to give implicit credit to the message, and instead of making dispositions for harrassing and preventing the retreat of their enemies, they thought of nothing but of preparing to defend themselves by the appointed day, while the *English*, setting fire to their camp at *Figline*, returned unmolested to *Pisa* with all their plunder and prisoners.

IT is astonishing that a people, who, but a few months before had behaved with such firmness and intrepidity as the *Florentines* did against a numerous *German* army, should tremble within their own walls at the sight of a handful of *English*, whose motives for fighting were much the same as those of the *Germans* had been: but it is impossible to account for the difference of dispositions, which the alteration of circumstances may make amongst a people. The *English* were received in triumph by the *Pisans*, and by them admitted to winter in their city. According to our author, they had no reason to be fond of their new guests; for they had nothing

^a *Ibid.* pag. 174.

they

they could call their own; the *English* engrossing all both without and within doors. As to the *Florentines*, they no sooner heard that the *English* were gone into winter-quarters than they took the field, and totally defeated the *Pisans*, who were besieging *Barga*. The *Pisans* applied to the *English*, who refusing to make a winter campaign, the *Pisans* were every where worsted.

they hire troops:

DURING the winter both parties prepared for a vigorous campaign. The *Florentines* hired troops in *France* and *Germany*, and the *Pisans* took into their pay three thousand *German* horse. The *Florentine* mercenaries did not arrive time enough to prevent the *Pisans* from opening the campaign with great advantages; but it does not appear that the *English* had ever been fond of acting in conjunction, with the *Pisans*; for this year they crossed the river *Marina* in a separate body, and fell into the vale of *Mugelli*, where they got great booty, and made many prisoners. As to the *Pisans* and the *Germans*, they encamped between *Prato* and *Pistoia*. The *Florentines* were thus obliged to divide their troops; part were allotted for the defence of the city, and part to check the depredations of the *English*, who, however, returned to the *Pisan* camp, without seeing any enemy. The rest of the campaign consisted as usual of horrid depredations; and the *Florentines*, from their walls, had the mortification to see their territory all in flames around them, and to hear the voices of their enemies, while they were besieging their city. In the mean while, however, a *Florentine* body of horse scoured the country round *Pisa*, and attempted, to take *Leghorn*, but were obliged to return home, lest their retreat should have been cut off.

The English bought off by the Florentines;

IT is probable that the *Pisans*, before the end of this campaign, would have made themselves masters of *Florence*, had not the *Florentines* tampered with the *English*, by offering them large sums to change their party. The *English* pleaded their honour, and refused to fight against the *Pisans*; but were prevailed upon not to fight against the *Florentines*, and offered to enter into their service against any other enemy than the *Pisans*. But the *English* general, *Hawkwood*, with a spirit far above his birth, rejected a neutrality of any kind, and, at the head of one thousand of his countrymen, remained in the *Pisan* service. The defection of the *English* from the *Pisans*, gave the *Florentines* vast spirits, and they made *Galeoto Malatesta* general of their army, which now amounted to above ten thousand foot and four thousand horse, all regular troops: *Malatesta* was one of the best officers then in *Italy*, and he led his army without loss within

within four miles of *Pisa*. The *Pisans* of late had learned to despise the *Florentines*; and having an entire reliance on the valour and abilities of *Hawkwood*, they determined to give their enemies battle. *Hawkwood*, knowing how much his army had been weakened by the defection of the *English*, proceeded cautiously: he ordered a few squadrons of his horse to make frequent incursions towards the *Florentine* camp, and then to retire. This was repeated so often, that the *Florentines* at last disregarded their alarms, which *Hawkwood* observing, he ordered the assault to be renewed, and made dispositions for supporting his squadrons, who were then commanded to push on to the enemy's camp with his whole force. The *Pisans*, who made the attempt, were repelled by the valour of the *Arezzians* in the *Florentine* army, and, being seconded by the *Florentines*, eight hundred of them were killed, and two thousand taken prisoners. Upon this *Hawkwood* gave a signal for a retreat, which was performed ^{whose army} in such good order to *Sabina*, where the main body lay, that *nisi*. *Malatesta* ordered no pursuit should be made. After this the *Florentines* returned home, and made a pompous exhibition of their prisoners along the streets of their city. *Malatesta* then again took the field; but he scarcely had entered the *Pisan* territory when his army refused to march farther, unless they were gratified with double pay. With great difficulty he appeased them; but in a day or two after the mutiny again broke out with such fury, that bloodshed ensued, and *Malatesta*, not chusing to proceed while his army was in such a temper, returned to *Florence*.

THE *Florentines* retained so much of the *Roman* republican *Magnan-* spirit, that when defeated they refused to treat of peace; ^{but now that they had gained the victory, great numbers Floren-} amongst them began to talk of an accommodation, and sometimes urged it in the strongest terms. Some political considerations intermingled with this desire of peace; for the more sensible of the *Florentine* magistracy became apprehensive, if the *Pisans* were too far pushed, that they would throw themselves under the protection of *Barnabo* duke of *Milan*, who only wanted such a pretext to make himself master of *Tuscany*. At last, ^{Their peace} by the mediation of the pope, the *Pisans* sent deputies to *Pef-* ^{with the} *tia*, where they conferred with those from *Florence*. During ^{Pisans.} those conferences *Barnabo* prevailed with *John Agnelli*, a *Pi-* *san*, a creature of his own, to make himself chief magistrate, and this hastened the conclusion of the peace, which was both honourable and advantageous for *Florence*. *Petrabona* was given up to the *Florentines*; some *Pisan* fortifications were razed, and the *Pisans* were re-admitted to all their former immu-

thousand crowns of gold^a (A); but the *Lucquese*, having long lost their liberty, were consequently without property; and that noble city and fertile territory was not able to raise so poor a sum, though it was to purchase them the inestimable blessing of freedom. The *Florentines* generously and disinterestedly lent it to them, and sent it by some of their ablest citizens, who assisted the *Lucquese* in new modelling their state, they having, during their long thraldom, forgotten all the original principles of their constitution and government. The first step the *Lucquese* took to secure their recovered liberty, was to demolish the fort that *Castruccio* had built to bridle their city.

Great po-
lity of the
Floren-
tines.

THE *Florentines* at this time held in their hands the balance of power in *Lombardy*, if not all over *Italy*, and it is wonderful with what address and resolution they managed it. In resentment of *Barnabo* having stirred up the revolt of *St. Miniato*, they entered into a treaty with pope *Urban* at *Viterbo*, and sent eight hundred horse to the assistance of his legate at *Bologna*. *Barnabo* was at that time besieging *Reggio*, in the *Bolognese*; and while the *Florentine* horse were on their march, some of his party appeared about *Pisa*. This obliged the *Florentines* to recall their cavalry for some time; but *Barnabo*'s troops declined an engagement; and the *Florentines* resuming their march to *Lombardy*, came time enough to assist in beating *Barnabo*, and in raising the siege of *Reggio*. The excessive heats and fatigues of this campaign cost *Domenico*, the *Florentine* general, his life. Soon after a peace succeeded between the pope and *Barnabo*; and the *Florentines*, having withdrawn their troops from *Lombardy*, sent deputies to *Avignon*, to congratulate *Gregory XI.* upon his accession to the popedom. Those deputies found his holiness somewhat dissatisfied with regard to the state of affairs in *Tuscany*; but matters were somewhat cleared up when the *Perugians*, for want of the necessaries of life, were obliged to submit themselves to his legate, and that too without terms.

^a ARETIN, pag. 179.

(A) There is no such coin as eleven thousand and sixty-one a crown of gold in *Tuscany*; pounds one shilling and three-pence sterling, at the present but according to Mr. *Busching*'s calculation (1), the sum here rate of money. demanded seems to amount to

(1) See *Busching's Geography*, vol. iii. pag. 8.

A kind

A kind of an accommodation, however, was clapped up between his holiness and the *Florentines*, in which were included the *Pisans* and *Siennese*, the *Arezzians*, and the *Lucques*.

THE *Florentines* had now long preserved the face of domestic unanimity; they had met with no blows but what were easily recoverable, and the riches of their state at this time were beyond belief. The democratical part of their government was in some respects perhaps too prevalent; but it had the effect of preserving unanimity amongst the noble or great families. Some of those families, however, by accommodating themselves partly to the manners and partly to the professions of the plebeians, had risen to prodigious wealth and credit with their fellow-citizens. Of these the chief were the families of *Albici* and *Ricci*, who, having separate interests, split the whole state into factions. The *Florentine* plebeians, upon recollection, had good sense enough to conclude that one or other of those families might invade their constitution, and therefore a public act passed, that neither of them should be admitted into any post of trust or power in the state. This resolute but rational determination was succeeded by some years of so great tranquility, as to afford nothing material for history to transmit during that period, farther than, that all the power of the *Ubaldi*, the ancient enemies of the *Florentine* state, was then extinguished in the *Casantine*; and that many noble edifices, though erected in that infant age of true taste, now arose, and still do credit to *Italy*.

WE are now arrived at the year 1375, which opens a new scene of history. Ever since the time of *Clement VI.* the popes had generally been either *Frenchmen*, or in the *French* ^{1375.} *Great spirit*; and, residing at *Avignon*, they had managed their *rits of the Italian* possessions by legates, or governors, who of all mankind were the most execrable and oppressive. Under the specious shew of papal authority, they extended their tyranny over free states; they took the banditti, with which *Italy* then swarmed, into their pay; and they justified the most execrable of their actions, when unsuccessful, by their master's orders, and when successful, by the plenitude of their own power, both which they knew to be indisputable. Their excesses put the *Florentines* to great inconveniences. They had always professed themselves *Guelphs*, and so artfully had they managed matters, that the popes had never been able to dissolve their constitution. The papal court and legates, sensible of the *Florentine* system of policy, durst not break with their state, and depended upon accidents for bending them to the

the pope's will. An accident of that kind presented itself this year. The Florentine state was afflicted with famine, through the sterility of the season, and had applied again and again to the legate of Bologna for some relief, which he flatly refused them. The autumn promised well; but the legate, determined to impose the papal yoke on the necks of the Florentines, sent a great army into their territories, to prevent their reaping their harvest. The reader is here to observe, that all Italy continued still to be full of mercenary soldiers, and such were they whom the legate employed on this occasion; the Florentines, therefore, wisely resolved to see rather than fight their enemies, who, for money, became their good friends, to the legate's great surprize and disappointment. About the same time it was discovered, that the legate had practised with the inhabitants of Prato to revolt from the Florentines, which might have been attended with the ruin of the Florentine state.

They engage the Italian states to assert their liberties. THE elevated genius of the Florentine government and people again manifested itself on this occasion. All orders and ranks united in a hearty detestation of the clergy; but at the same time without any virulent expressions of their indignation. They chose eight of the ablest and most unexceptionable men in their state as a council of war; and the plan on which they proceeded, was the noblest that can be imagined, for it consisted in exciting the neighbouring states to assert their liberties. Impelled and assisted by them, the inhabitants of Citta di Castello took arms against the garrison that bridled them, and expelled it. The pope's legate at Perugia sent a body of troops to reinforce the garrison, and the Perugians took that opportunity of taking arms, expelling the legate, and making themselves masters of the strong citadel built to overawe them; all which they did by the assistance of the Florentines. After this the people of Spello, Gubbio, Forli, Viterbo, and a great many other places in the papal dominions, especially in the Pescara, declared themselves independent of the pope. In short, the flame that had been long smothered, now blazed forth in full fury. The Italians had long detested the pride and haughtiness of the legates, who, as our author elegantly expresses himself, employed no arts of government but soldiers and citadels. The Florentines, sensible of this, did all they could to spread the conflagration wider, their fundamental policy consisting in having as few powerful neighbours as possible. The people of Granavoli, a place now so inconsiderable, that it is scarcely

marked in the maps of *Italy*, took arms against the legate, and he sent *Hawkwood*, who, with his small band of *Englishmen*, was now in the pope's pay, from *Bologna*, to reduce them. Scarcely had *Hawkwood* left *Bologna*, when the *Bolognese*, having been before prepared by the *Florentine* council of war, took arms and asserted their own independency, which they had no sooner done than they received a powerful reinforcement from *Florence* to maintain it.

The view we have exhibited of the states of *Tuscany*, and its neighbourhood, is taken from the most unquestionable *Italian* authorities before the reformation; and therefore we cannot doubt that *Hawkwood* and his *Englishmen*, though they had been hired for convenience by the pope or his legate, in their own hearts most sincerely detested the papal tyranny. *Hawkwood*, perceiving that *Granavioli* was irrecoverable, took up his quarters in *Faenza*, where, according to our author*, a great many acts of violence, and some of cruelty were committed; and at last *Hawkwood*, perhaps, because he was not paid by the legate, sold the place to the *Ferrarese*.

POPE *Gregory* was then at *Avignon*, but was minutely informed of every thing that had happened in *Italy*, and had thundered out his excommunications against *Florence*. Upon this the *Florentines*, who were always decent, appointed *Alessandro Antilla* and *Donato Barbadorio*, two of the most learned and eloquent men of their state, to go to *Avignon*, and to plead the cause of *Florence* before the pope; but though they did this in the most moving manner, the interdicts against *Florence* were confirmed, and their goods sentenced to be confiscated wherever found. The spirit which *Barbadorio* manifested on this occasion was great and memorable. As *Courage of* soon as the pope had pronounced the sentence against his *a Floren-* country, he turned round to an image of God, and in the time *hearing of his holiness*, he exclaimed, "Oh God! we the *deputy*, "deputies of the *Florentines*, appeal to thy equity from this "unjust sentence of thy vicar. Thou who art subject neither "to deceit nor anger; Thou who lovest the liberty but not "the slavery of thy people; Thou who hatest tyrants, and "the lusts of tyrants, defend at this time the liberty of the "Florentine people, and become their auspicious guardian."

THE pope, in order to reduce the *Bolognese*, whose revolt *The pope* he entirely imputed to the *Florentines*, hired a body of *Bretons*, *takes the* who, in autumn this year, arrived in *Italy*; upon which the *Bretons* *Florentines* sent the greatest part of their own troops to defend *into pay*.

* ARETIN, pag. 181.

Bologna, and blocked up all the passes of the *Appennines*, to exclude the enemy from their territory. The legate of *Geneva* headed the *Bretons*, who consisted of six thousand horse and three thousand foot; but he affected to proceed with vast tenderness towards the *Bolognese*. He suffered no ravages to be committed in their territory, and sent several messages, offering them pardon and amnesty for all that had passed, which inclined a great number of the inhabitants to submit; and at last a conspiracy was formed for that purpose, which was defeated by the vigilance of *Varanio* of *Camerino*. The legate still continued to hover round the city. About the same time another conspiracy was discovered, for putting *Arezzo* into the hands of *Saco*'s sons; and the conspirators were brought to condign punishment. Towards the end of the summer the *Bretons*, being baffled in all their attempts against *Florence*, retired to *Cesena*, which opened its gates to them. The new guests, however, behaved with such brutality in their quarters, that the inhabitants ran to their arms, and after killing about fourscore of them upon the spot, drove the rest out of their city. The crafty legate seemed to side with the townsmen, and at last persuaded the latter to lay down their arms, which they had scarcely done when the legate again introduced his *Bretons* into the city, where they massacred three thousand of the townsmen.

and comes to Italy. WHILE the flames of war were thus spreading all over *Italy*, the pope having taken a fresh body of *English* into his pay, left *Avignon*, and came to *Italy*, in hopes of restoring the papal authority in that country. Being arrived at *Rome*, he invited the *Florentines* to treat of peace with him, and deputies were named accordingly; but after a month's conferences the pope's demands were so high, that they returned to *Florence* without any thing being concluded; upon which the *Florentines* made preparations for continuing the war with greater vigour than ever. In this they were secretly assisted by *Barnarbo* of *Milan*; and they found means to bring over to their service the *English* who were in the pope's pay. This defection gave his holiness vast uneasiness. The eight *Florentines*, who had hitherto acted as field deputies, had behaved so well, that their commissions were continued by the magistracy, to the great discontent of the people. The pope laid hold of this variance to widen the breach between them, and sent letters by his agents, directed not as usual to the magistracy, but to the people of *Florence*, loading the deputies with grievous accusations. But this expedient failed of success, and raised the people's indignation, not so much against the deputies as against the pope. The interdict still

con-

continued; but by the authority of the magistracy and people, all religious ordinances were celebrated in the churches as usual. At last the pope, who was *Gregory XI.* intrigued with *John* the bishop of *Arezzo*, to bring that city over from its alliance with the *Florentines*; but the *Arezzians* no sooner understood this than they ran to arms, and not only expelled the bishop and all his adherents, but burned down their houses, and put some of his relations, who had been engaged in the conspiracy, to death.

THAT same year *Rodolfo* of *Camerino*, the *Florentine* general, seized *Fabriano*, by consent of the citizens, who wanted *Fabriano* to put themselves under the *Florentine* protection; but when *seize* *Fabriano*. the *Florentine* field-deputies demanded, on the part of the *Florentine* republic, possession of the place, he not only refused to give it up, but went into the service of their enemies, and received from the pope the command of five hundred horse. Perhaps the admission of the *English* into the *Florentine* service, was the true cause of his defection. The *Florentines* hung his effigies, with all the marks of infamy, through the most public parts of the city, and deprived him of *Fabriano*. Towards the end of the year, by the mediation of *Barnabo* of *Milan*, a treaty was set on foot between the *Florentines* and the pope, who had now recovered full possession of *Bologna*, and the conferences were held at *Serezana*; but when both parties were on the point of an accommodation the pope died, and the negotiation was broken off.

S E C T. VI.

Two Popes elected; Discord in France; new Institutions there; farther Exploits of Sir John Hawkwood in the Florentine Service; Intrigues of the Emperor Charles IV. and his Journey to Rome; Disturbances at Florence renewed; the Duke of Anjou arrives in Italy; Sir John Hawkwood enters into the Service of the Emperor; Death of Lewis of Anjou; the Florentines lose and recover Arezzo; Revolutions of the Visconti Family in Lombardy; Distractions of Italy; great Power of Galeazzo Duke of Milan; Death of Urban the Antipope; the Florentines engaged in a War with the Milanese; Successes of the Florentines; Continuation of the History of the brave Sir John Hawkwood; Peace between

Galeazzo and the Florentines, who enter into a League with the French King in the Year 1395.

*Schism
in the pope-
dom.*

UPON the death of pope *Gregory XI.* the cardinals being met to chuse his successor, the inhabitants of *Rome* beset the conclave, and demanded that he should be a *Roman*, or at least an *Italian*, and not a *Frenchman* or foreigner; upon which *Bartholomew*, archbishop of *Bari*, a *Neapolitan*, was chosen. Being a proud intractable man, the cardinals pretended that they were under constraint when they chose him; and retiring to *Fundi*, they proceeded to a new election, which fell upon the bishop of *Geneva*; the same who had been the pope's legate in *Tuscany*, and had headed the *Bretons*. The first took the name of *Urban VI.* and the latter that of *Clement VII.* and thus the foundation of a schism was laid, which lasted from competitor to competitor to the year 1417. The *Florentines*, however, acknowledged *Urban* for the true pope, and the schism so wholly engrossed the minds of the public, that all farther thoughts of war between the pope and the *Florentines* were dropt.

*Civil dis-
sensions be-
gin at Flo-
rence.*

A STATE of tranquility thus succeeding, civil commotions as usual arose amongst the *Florentines*. The power of the eight officers, whom we have called field-deputies, became now formidable to the nobility, who loaded them with the blame of all that the *Florentines* had suffered from the interdicts of the popes; and their party being very powerful in the state, they renewed an absurd ill-grounded law, by which the posterity of those who had been proscribed, were disqualified from any share in the magistracy. Their proceedings were attended with great rigour and injustice, and admonitions were sent round to all they disliked, discharging them from their posts in the public, or disqualifying them from entering upon any. This tyranny at last became intolerable, and *Silvester Medix*, or *Medici*, who was then the gonfalonier, resolving to restrain it, presented some proposals to the magistracy for that purpose, which meeting with opposition, a general insurrection of the people ensued, in which the houses of those who had been the most forward in exercising this admonitory law were burnt or destroyed, and their owners would have undergone the same fate, had they not saved themselves by flight. An end being thus put to the admonitory law, eighty citizens were chosen to form a kind of court of appeal, to redress the grievances of all who had suffered by it. But this triumph of the populace was attended with fatal effects to the state. The lowest of the rabble,

rabbie, and men of the most desperate fortunes, thought they had as good a right as the most creditable citizens had to places in the magistracy, and began to form cabals and nightly meetings, each carving out the post he designed for himself in the government. The presidents having proof of those nightly meetings^b, four of the principals were ordered to be apprehended, that the bottom of their designs might be known. The mob upon this took arms, and demanded that their fellows should be released; but this not being immediately complied with, they burnt down the house of *Luigi Guicciardini*, who happened then to be gonfalonier, as they did the houses of a great many rich citizens; and they had even the insolence to hang, in the sight of the presidents themselves, one of the magistrates, who had been active in endeavouring to suppress them. They then proceeded to the palace of the presidents, and other public offices, which they broke open and plundered, and forced the presidents to resign their authority, and to return back as private men to their own houses. After this they entered the palace Michael in triumph, and chose *Michael Landi*, one of the meanest Landi amongst themselves, gonfalonier, and the rest of the magistracy chosen gonfalonier out of their own order; but seemed still to have some regard for *Silvester Medix*, and another knight *Benedict Alberti*: but their authority could not prevent the goods of the rich from being plundered, the best of the citizens from being driven into exile, and the most horrid outrages from being perpetrated.

THE Florentine historian^c on this occasion indulges himself in many very sensible remarks upon the danger of magistrates taking part with the people in their attempts, forcibly to regulate even what is amiss in a state. He observes, that tho' *Medix* was one of the worthiest men in *Florence*, and tho' the admonitory law was detestable in itself, yet the manner in which it was repealed was the occasion of all the public calamities that immediately ensued, by giving the common people an opportunity of knowing their own strength. A kind of miracle, however, interposed at this disorderly juncture in favour of *Florence*.

MICHAEL LANDI (A), the rebel's gonfalonier, tho' chosen by them for the desperate state of his fortune, and the intre-

^b ARETTIN, pag. 190.

^c Id. ibid.

(A) *Machiavel*, who, for particular reasons of his own, is more minute in describing those tumults, than perhaps becomes the dignity of so great a writer as he was, tells us that this very

and magnanimity.

intrepidity of his conduct, happened to be a wise, worthy, and brave man. He had served long abroad; had studied the nature both of men and government; and he had somewhat noble and commanding in his manner and person. Had it not been for his virtue, there had now been an end of the constitution and government of *Florence*, as the ungovernable passion of the people for blood, rapine, revenge, and devastation appeared every day to gather strength. *Landi* seems to have foreseen this, and endeavoured to stop its progress. Far from being daunted by the fury of his countrymen, he chaffized it with so much dignity of behaviour, that, desperate as they were, they durst not resist him. The mob, however, resolved to wreak their rage upon the presidents, whose palace they beset, commanding them to come down to their tribunal, to pass such laws as should be proposed to them, and which were in themselves detestable. The presidents had foreseen this attack, and having barricadoed their palace, they answered from a window, that they were resolved not to appear in public till the rioters had laid down their arms, and should attend them in a respectable manner, promising they would then pass such good laws as should be legally proposed. The rioters perceiving those presidents not to be of the same timid cast with their predecessors, departed, and in a few days after created eight presidents of their own, whom they invested with all the badges of public power. It is wonderful to consider the effects that even the appearance of public authority has upon the minds of men; for some of the most respectable citizens in *Florence* complied with the mock tribunal, which went on in the regular dispatch of business. This acquiescence gave the usurpers so much encouragement, that they ventured to send some of their officers, and of their clerks, to the legal presidents, demanding them to swear to the validity of their decrees and proceedings. The formality and solemnity with which this demand was made, startled the presidents so much, that they were inclined to comply, when the gonfalonier *Landi*, drawing his sword, cut one of the messengers across the face, ran another thro' the body, and drove the rest out of the house. He had gone too far to stop there; he snatched up the standard of justice, carried it into the street in one hand, with his drawn sword in the other, and being mounted on a very fine horse, he summoned all who wished well to

extraordinary person, when he was elected, happened to have the standard of justice in his hand; that by trade he was a comber of wool; that he was bare-footed, and had scarce a rag to cover him.

their

their country to attend him. Being soon surrounded by a band of brave worthy citizens, he resolutely proceeded to the place where the mock tribunal was held, but found it abandoned : for the party, understanding what treatment their messengers had met with, had taken arms, and were then marching through other quarters of the town, with a design to attack the palace of the presidents on its weakest side. The gonfalonier upon this returned to the palace, but found the avenues to it beset by the faction. That magistrate had *He subdues* had the presence of mind to put every part of the palace in *the rabble.* a state of defence against any popular attempt during his absence, and he attacked the rioters with so much intrepidity, that they were put to flight and totally dispersed.

THE peace of the city being thus restored, a new magistracy was regularly chosen at the stated time ; but a law passed that from thenceforth no president should be chosen out of the lower ranks of the people ; and even two, who had been elected, were on that account excommunicated, and their places supplied by two knights, one of whom was *Gregorio Scala*, one of the greatest citizens in *Florence*, and a professed enemy to the admonitory laws. Our historian ^b informs us, that the peace of the city was greatly confirmed by pope *Urban* relieving it from the interdict under which his predecessor had laid it.

AN elegant writer ^c observes, that the *Florentines* made the *Reflection.* same figure at this time in *Italy* as the *Athenians* had done in *Greece*. The fine arts appeared in no part of *Europe* but amongst them : and they were by far the most respected people in *Italy*. Their civil dissensions, however unhappy, increased their courage, and added to their experience. In matters of religion, though they professed themselves votaries to the see of *Rome*, they exercised the independency that became a free people, and were, perhaps, the most void of superstition of any we read of in history. When the pope touched upon the string of sovereignty over them, they acted with the same spirit against him, as they had done against the emperors and their own tyrants ; and what is most incredible in that bigoted age, his fulminations and interdicts served but to increase their unanimity in despising them, while in other countries they were dethroning princes, and subverting constitutions. Next to this the great character of the *Florentines* consisted in the good faith with which they fulfilled all their engagements, and in their passion for freeing all the other

^b *ARET.* p. 191. ^c *Annales de l'Empire, par VOLTAIRE*
^{ed} An. 1375.

states of *Italy* from tyranny. We do not pretend to say that this passion was entirely disinterested, because, as the *Abetians* did amongst the states of *Greece*, the *Florentines* always took the lead amongst those of *Italy*; but it ought to be mentioned, to their honour, that we have not upon record any act of unprovoked oppression that they were guilty of towards their neighbours; nor do we know one instance of their infringing the terms upon which any people came into their alliance, or under their protection (B).

State of Florence.

FROM the foregoing part of this history, our readers will easily perceive that there existed at this time in *Florence* three different ranks of men, the nobles, the commons, or plebeians, and the rabble. The former excelled in dignity and riches, the second in spirit and integrity, and the latter were distinguished by brutal force and unsteady counsels. The commons beheld with horror the precipice from which they had lately escaped, and to which they had been led by their too violent aversion to the nobility. *Aretin* and *Machiavelli* are very justly profuse in their commendations of *Michael Landi*, who, had he not been proof against all ambition and dishonesty, might have erected at this time, over his country, a tyranny worse than any she had yet experienced, nay worse than what she was threatened with by the duke of *Albion*. His wisdom was equal to his integrity. By his influence the corporations of the meaner sort of people were annulled, as were all the offices they had bestowed, his own and that of *Lewis Puccini*, and some others of high quality, excepted. In other respects the distribution of public honours was wise and politic, being divided between the greater and the lesser trades, of whom five of the latter and four of the former were always to reside with the magistracy, who were now all nobility, in the palace. This preference of the lower trades had a wo-

(B) We have hitherto chiefly followed *Aretin* in this history, both because he was prior in point of time, and most disinterested with regard to facts, not to mention the beauty of his style and manner. *Machiavelli* after him wrote indeed the history of *Florence*, but he adapted it to the juncture of time in which he lived; a consideration to which we ought to have no regard, especially as there is no material difference in facts be-

tween him and *Aretin*, or the other historians. But as we are now come to a period very near to that in which the family of *Medicis* began to make the chief figure in *Florence*, *Machiavelli*'s information, as to facts, must be supposed superior to that of any other historian of that age or country, and therefore we must consider his history as our chief directory to the year in which it is finished.

derful

derful effect in settling the minds of the poorer sort; but it laid the foundation of a new distinction in *Florence*, between the popular and the plebeian faction. The former, consisting of the rich citizens, and the latter of the poorer; but *Florence* at this time lay under another inconvenience, which may be said to have been inherent to its constitution. Placability and forgiveness formed no part of that people's character; and during those civil dissensions, which lasted three years, a great number of citizens had been driven into exile.

THOSE exiles naturally united in a body, and, having a strong party within the city, they became very formidable to the magistracy. At first they rendezvoused near *Sienna*, and *exiles*. they attempted to make themselves masters of *Fighini*, but were disappointed. After this, part of them entered into the service of *Charles of Durazzo*, who, at the instigation of pope *Urban*, was then making preparations for a war against the unhappy *Joan* queen of *Naples*, because she adhered to his rival *Clement*. This increased the uneasiness of the *Florentine* government, as *Charles* was strongly supported by his kinsman the king of *Hungary*. The *Florentines*, however, without being disconcerted with the difficulties they had to encounter, sent deputies to wait upon *Charles*, under pretence of mediating a peace between the *Venetians* and the *Genoese*; but, in reality, to discover his sentiments towards their state. The deputies were *Strozzi*, *Barbadario*, and *Benevenuto*. Having discharged their commission, they returned to *Florence*, where they differed in their report. *Strozzi* made light of *Charles* rentine and his power; but inveighed bitterly against the exiles. *Barbadario* was of a different opinion as to *Charles* and his views; *dors differ*. but said he had not given himself the trouble to enquire aught about the exiles, which brought him into a suspicion of favouring them. *Gianozzo of Salerno* was then lieutenant-general to *Charles* in *Italy*, and, assembling all the *Florentine* exiles, he made dispositions for marching from *Bologna* to *Florence*. The magistracy there being informed of this fact, and that a great party within the city was ready to receive him, the whole state was thrown into confusion. The informer was *Antonio* count of *Bruscoli*, a man of very bad principles; and he named amongst the conspirators some of the greatest nobility, particularly *Peter Albizi*, *Charles Strozzi*, *Capriani Maugion*, *Giacomo Sacchetti*, *Donato Barbadario*, *Philip Strozzi*, and *John Anselmi*. *Albizi* was then the most respected citizen of *Florence*, and was living upon his own estate in the country, where the *Florentine* soldiers seized him. Though his tenants could easily have rescued him, yet so conscious was he of his own innocence, that he commanded them

to desist, and went along with his guards. *Carlo Strozzi* alone escaped ; and, to increase the terror of the citizens, new levies of troops were made ; and four persons (A), of whom *Thomas Strozzi* and *Bennet Alberti* are only named, were appointed, with a kind of dictatorial power, to command the army and militia, and to take care that the state should receive no prejudice. The trials of the illustrious prisoners then came on, and all the horrors of a too democratical government appeared in their strongest colours. The judge, whose name we know not, appointed to try them, acquitted them, even of the suspicion of treason ; but such was the fury of the mob, that, besetting the tribunal, they would have torn him to pieces, had he not found them guilty ; and they were accordingly put to death. The mob then laid down their arms, and each returned to his own home. But they soon resumed them, when the time for the election of new presidents approached. The Florentine historians very justly bewail the state of their country at this time. They who presided in the government were conscious that they had been guilty of murdering the noblest and most innocent persons of the state, and trembled at the consequences. Then they added crime to crime for their own security. They admonished or banished all whom they suspected ; and every law they could devise was passed for their indemnification, and the continuance of their power. At last, by the advice of the council of four, that has been already mentioned, forty-six magistrates were created *, who, with the presidents, and the other magistrates, were to purge the state of all disaffected persons, and to settle the government as they thought proper. This new council made full use of their powers. They admonished, that is, they disqualified thirty-six citizens : they reduced twenty noble families to the rank of plebeians, and raised twenty plebeian to that of nobility ; besides enacting many severe laws against the unfortunate exiles ; and, to render their power as stable as possible, they made *Sir John Hawkwood* general of all the troops of the republic.

Charles of Durazzo. ABOUT this time, *Gianazzo of Salerno* enrolled in the service of his master *Charles of Durazzo*, all the Florentine exiles ; and seemed to make dispositions for besieging Florence itself with a great army of *Italians*, *Germans*, and *Hungarians*. He fell first into the *Siennese*, and then into the *Pisan* territory,

* MACHIAVEL, book iii.

(A) Machiavel says only though two of them were of two ; but Aretin mentions four, the dregs of the people.

tory, and both gave him a sum of money to prevent their being ravaged. *Gianazzo* then approached *Florence*, which likewise sought to buy its peace, *Hawkwood* being not yet arrived; but *Gianazzo* rejected all pecuniary offers, and insisted upon the exiles re-admission into the city. This demand was not complied with; and the *Florentines*, having sent an express for *Hawkwood*, put their city in a posture of defence. It appears, that neither *Charles* nor his lieutenant-general had any real design upon the *Florentines*, farther than to keep them neutral in the quarrel between him and *Joan* queen of *Naples*, whom he intended to dethrone. *Gianazzo*, however, marched within nine miles of *Florence*; but *Hawkwood*, by this time having entered upon his command, soon checked his progress, and obliged him to retire. *Charles* of *Durazzo* was now returned from *Hungary* to *Italy*, and was very earnest in soliciting the friendship of the *Florentines*, who declined taking any concern in the quarrel between him and the queen of *Naples*. *Charles* knew the vast influence the *Florentines* had in the affairs of *Italy*; and taking advantage of some domestic dissensions at *Arezzo*, he made himself master of that city. This near neighbourhood to *Florence*, occasioned many hostilities between his troops and the *Florentines*, and he continued to take into his pay all the *Florentine* exiles, who were so insolent, that they put to death one of the deputies sent from *Florence* to *Charles*. This increased the resentment of the *Florentines* both against the exiles and *Charles*.

AT last *Hawkwood* was ordered to take the field, which he did with so much spirit, that he checked the progress of *Charles*, who sent ambassadors to *Florence* to solicit its friendship. *Hawkwood* takes the field. He even pretended, that the *Florentines* had made him a promise of assistance. The *Florentines* received the embassy with great politeness; but observed, that their promise was upon a condition which had been rejected by his cousin the king of *Hungary*, and therefore was no longer binding: they, however, made him a present of forty thousand ducats, on condition that their territory should not be molested by his troops. Upon this, *Charles* returned to *Arezzo*, where he made an apology to the *Florentine* exiles for being at that time obliged to drop their cause, on account of his expedition against *Naples*. From thence he moved to *Rome*, where he was most kindly received by pope *Urban*; and at last he made himself master of the kingdom of *Naples*, and the person of the unhappy queen *Joan*, whom he put to death. A. D. 1381.

THE *Florentines* were the more alarmed at his success, as they knew that all the hopes of their exiles depended on him.

They

They resolved, however, if possible, to keep well with him, and sent him a deputation, at the head of which were *Roberto Aldobrandini* and *Bettino Covonio*, to congratulate him on his accession to his kingdom. He received them with seeming friendship; and, upon their return to *Florence*, the jealousy of the state towards *Charles* was somewhat allayed. About this time the *Gibelin* faction regained their ascendancy at *Arezzo*; but were soon dispossessed, and all that territory was for six or seven months filled with civil commotions.

New troubles in Florence. *FLORENCE* had now, in fact, nothing to fear but faction, and that soon blasted all the benefits she enjoyed from peace. Every day produced new plots against the government; and the wiser and nobler part of the citizens chose

to live retired and private, rather than to enjoy the highest preferments in the state. Two noblemen of great rank and family, *George Scali*, and *Thomas Strozzi*, had discovered a new path to power, by declaring themselves the patrons of the plebeians. They were attended by guards, and their proceedings against their fellow citizens were unjust and arbitrary; nor was any subject in the state safe, if they had conceived umbrage against him. One *John Cambio*, a citizen of note, was by one of their spies or guards accused of designs against the state. The charge was found to be malicious and groundless; and the judge, who had cognizance of it, was inclined to have put the accuser to death, when the two demagogues, his patrons, rescued him out of custody, and would have killed the judge, could they have found him; but he (B) retired to the palace of the presidents, where he laid open the danger of the city from the excessive power of those tyrants, and offered to resign his office.

Scali put to death. THE magistrates, sensible of the public danger, instantly resolved to seize that opportunity, and to free their country from the power of its two tyrants. The house of the judge, or gonfalonier, had been plundered. They counseled him to remain in his office, and promised to indemnify him for all his losses. After this they fell into serious consultations amongst themselves, and determined to act up to the dignity of government. They placed guards about their palace, and sent a party to arrest *George Scali*, who had been the most active in the late rescue. His insolence, and that of *Strozzi*, had by this time made both of them obnoxious, even to the

* ARETIN. pag. 197.

(B) The whole of this incident is misrepresented in the *English translation of Michiavelli's History of Florence*.

citizens whom they patronized ; and so fickle is popular favour, that *Scali* was apprehended without the least resistance, none of his numerous attendants daring to oppose, and *Strozzi* made his escape. All of a sudden the people demanded justice upon their late tyrants, whom they execrated. *Scali*, the very day after his apprehension, was publicly put to death, and some of his dependents were torn in pieces by the enraged multitude. The state of *Florence* was now in a critical situation ; for the commonalty, always in extremes, proceeded to violences which threatened the destruction of the city. The admirable wisdom of the presidents interposed. They knew their countrymen would cool, if they had but leisure ; and they summoned several public conventions, or assemblies, to give them time for recollection. The event was, that after some of the instruments of the late democracy had been brought to condign punishment, one hundred citizens were chosen for reforming or obviating all the maladies of the state. The standard of justice was then produced, and a perambulation was performed by the new magistrates, with it in front, all over the city, which passed with great tranquility and public approbation. After this, many of the popular laws against the nobles were rescinded, and great numbers of captives were freed from prison ; so that there was a general expectation that all the exiles would be restored. In the mean while, two new companies of trades, which had been erected out of the scum of the people, were abolished, by which all the others were reduced to the number of twenty-one.

THE *Neapolitan* party of *Charles of Durazzo* took advantage of the unsettled situation of affairs in *Florence*, and moved wood off from *Arezzo* to *Marciali*, to the number of three thousand *peses* the five hundred. Upon this, *Hawkwood* was dispatched with Neapolitan troops to observe their motions, and he encamped in *tans and exiles*. *Hawkwood* into the *Arezzian* territory. All this while, matters were in so violent an agitation in *Florence*, that it can scarcely be said, with propriety, that any form of government existed there. Every day produced skirmishes, sometimes between the old and new nobility, sometimes between the plebeians and the more wealthy citizens. The exiles, without leave, returned, being sure of protection from one or the other party. At last, the party of the nobility prevailed. All the upstart corporations were disfranchised ; the *Guelphs* were restored to all their honours and dignities ; the plebeians were reduced to a third share of the government, and rendered incapable of succeeding to certain high posts, particularly

larly that of gonfalonier ; and all who had been exiled since the time that *Silvester Medici* was in that post, were readmitted into the state.

Tyranny of the nobles. IT is often the misfortune of popular governments, that they carry every thing to extremes. The nobles of *Florence*, now prevailing, carried matters with as high a hand as the plebeians had done before. All the friends of the ancient constitution, that is, of the most creditable commons, now suffered a kind of proscription ; and even the great services which *Michael Landi* had done his country, could not screen him from the rage of his enemies. The wiser and better part of the citizens disliked this sudden revolution of power ; and some, amongst whom was *George Alberti*, a great nobleman, exclaimed against it ; which made the ruling party resolve, if possible, to ruin him. While matters were in

A. D. 1382. this untowardly situation at home, the *Florentines* received an alarm from abroad, that *Lewis of Anjou* was marching, as the adopted son of queen *Joan of Naples*, to drive *Charles of Durazzo* out of *Italy*. The *Florentines*, having no reason to expect any favour from the *French*, stood on their guard, and invited all the states of *Tuscany* to unite with them against *Lewis*, in case he should make any attempt in his march on their liberties. Perhaps their precautions at this time saved them. All that *Lewis* did was to require them to observe a strict neutrality ; and *Charles of Durazzo*, now king of *Naples*, did the same. The *Florentines* at this time held the balance of power in *Italy*, being courted by four great princes, to wit, pope *Urban*, the duke of *Anjou*, the king of *Naples*, and the king of *Hungary*. Their own inclinations led them to side with pope *Urban* and the king of *Naples* ; but they prudently stuck to their neutrality ; and, having prevailed on the other *Tuscan* states to join in the proposed confederacy, they gave good words to all, but declared for none. The *Bolognese*, who had come into the general alliance, were apprehensive that *Lewis* designed to seize their city ; but the *Florentines* acted towards them with so much honour and firmness, that they remained unmolested. *Lewis* had entered *Italy* at the head of a vast army ; and being joined by all the friends of queen *Joan*, his party was very powerful. Pope *Urban*, next to the king of *Naples*, had the most to fear from the *French* ; and he earnestly applied to the *Florentines* for money to defend himself, his solicitation being backed by the king of *Naples*. This request could not be granted consistently with the neutrality the *Florentines* had embraced ; and yet they thought it necessary to prevent the *French* from getting footing in *Italy*. They therefore privately supplied Hawkwood

wood with the money the pope had requested ; and he, paying his soldiers with it, went into the service of his holiness, to the great joy of *Charles*, and the displeasure of *Lewis*.

THE French now saw that the real sentiments of the *Florentines* were bent against them, and *Lewis* applied to the *French* king for a confiscation of all the effects of the *Florentines* in his country. This served only to unite them more strictly with *Charles*, who was still in possession of *Arezzo*. *Durazzo*. The *Florentines*, disliking such a neighbourhood, would willingly have regained that city ; and some steps were concerted for that purpose, but not executed, the *Neapolitan* governor's instructions not being sufficiently clear on that head. The *Florentines*, however, took possession of many fortresses in the *Arezzian* territory ; but avoided giving the smallest umbrage to *Charles*, who about this time succeeded to the kingdom of *Hungary*.

THIS year the *Florentines* had a difference at once with the *Genoese* and the *Venetians* ; but upon very different accounts. At the close of the last war between those two states, with the *Florentines* became sureties for the payment of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats, in case the island of *Tenedos* was not delivered to the *Genoese* ; and no such delivery being performed, the *Genoese* made a demand upon the *Florentines* for the money, which obliged the latter to apply to the *Venetians* for their indemnification. The *Venetians* pretended, that the governor of the island alone was to blame, and that they were ready to deliver it up. We are not told in what manner this affair was compromised ; but it is probable the prudence of the *Florentines* extricated them from the difficulty ; for they lived in harmony with both states.

A SEVERE pestilence now broke out in *Florence*, which drove most of the inhabitants into the country. The government became apprehensive, that the plebeian faction might take advantage of this depopulation to resume its power, and many laws were passed for detaining the inhabitants within the city : but the pestilence being more dreadful than the penalty of the law, it was in a manner abandoned ; and all public offices being shut up, scarcely any thing was transacted worthy of mention in history. Next year a strong reinforcement came to the duke of *Anjou* from *France* ; and, in their passage to *Naples*, they endeavoured to make themselves masters of *Arezzo*, by the assistance of some of the banished *Arezzians*. They succeeded so far as to seize the city ; but could not master the citadel. This news spread consternation amongst the *Florentines* ; but they were somewhat comforted by receiving certain intelligence of the death of *Lewis of Anjou*,

you, which they communicated to the French without being believed. The siege of the citadel of Arezzo was continued with more fury than ever ; but the French, being convinced that the duke of Anjou was dead, intirely changed their system, and, after some negotiating, they sold Arezzo to the Florentines ; upon which the garrison gladly capitulated, and thus Florence again became mistress of that city. This acquisition occasioned such joy in Florence, that public diversions were celebrated on that account. The Florentines then possessed themselves of the Arezzian territory, and of the fortresses which were held by the sons of Saco, their ancient tyrant. But a great revolution now took place in Italy.

Great power of the duke of Milan.

JOHN VISCONTI, the son of Galeazzo, a young man of disguised ambition, had now thrown off the mask, and had deprived his uncle Barnabo of his life and the principality of Milan. The Florentines, who had rather dreaded than loved Barnabo, at first beheld his fate with indifference ; but afterwards they began to think that the young Galeazzo's power was too formidable. In order to check him, the Florentines did all they could to renew their union with the other states of Tuscany. In the mean while, Charles, king of Napoli and Hungary, died, to the great mortification of Florence. A difference arose between the prince of Urbino and the duke of Gaetta, which the Florentines endeavoured to make up ; but the prince of Urbino having, in defiance of the Florentine mediation, made himself master of his antagonist's person, the Florentines declared war against him ; and carried it on with so much success, that he was at last reduced to reason. This year the Florentines likewise recovered Liciano, a town in the Arezzian territory, that had for some time been in the possession of the Sienese. About the year 1386, pope Urban came from Genoa to Lucca, where he began to raise soldiers, to the vast terror of the Tuscany states, who held the papal tyranny in the utmost detestation : all but Perugia submitted itself to his power. The Florentines, in vain, exhorted the Perugians to stand by their liberties, and demolished a great number of fortresses towards the foot of the Appennines, which they could not maintain, lest they should be seized by their enemies. Those fortresses belonged to the family of Ubaldini, the head of whom, John Azzo, began now to make a great figure in Italy, and was dreaded by the Florentines. Those commotions did not divert the attention of the Florentines from their domestic concerns ; for we are told, that this year the area before their public palace was enlarged and beautified.

A. D.
1386.

CIVIL dissensions succeeded. The *Alberti* family was now *Alberti* the most powerful in *Florence*, and *Benedict Alberti* was its *banished* head. He had been elected gonfalonier of the city companies; and his son *Magalotti*, a sprightly young nobleman, had been chosen gonfalonier of justice; so that the two principal posts in the state were vested in one family. The other magistrates voted *Magalotti* incapable of the office to which he had been chosen, on account of his youth; and substituted *Bardo Mancini* in his place. Not contented with this, they banished *Benedict Alberti* out of *Florence*; a disgrace which he bore with vast magnanimity. His banishment was followed by numberless acts of injustice inflicted upon his friends and family. The fear of *Galeazzo* of *Milan* now engrossed the attention of *Florence*. He was encouraged by the civil dissensions of the citizens, and by his own good fortune, which had already rendered him master of *Verona* and *Vicenza*, to attempt the mastery likewise of all *Tuscany*. The *Florentines* opposed him; but the *Siennese* were inclined to submit to his power. The people of *Cortona* were then under the protection of the *Siennese*; but perceiving their inclinations for *Galeazzo*, they applied to the *Florentines*, who were so generous as to refuse the government of their city; but sent them some troops to protect their independency. This exasperated the *Siennese* so much, that they privately treated with *Galeazzo* about the surrender of their city to him. *Gio Danger of vanni Ricci*, a noble *Florentine*, endeavoured to rouse his *Florence* countrymen to a sense of their danger, by painting *Galeazzo* in his true colours, and laying open at once his power and ambition. He then advised them to enter into a league with the *Bolognese*, and as many of the *Tuscan* states as they could bring over to the party of freedom and independency, and even to solicit assistance from the *French*, who, he said, were undoubtedly uneasy at the great power of *Galeazzo* in *Italy*. Above all, he counselled them to make new levies, and to be upon their guard at home. *Ricci's* speech was approved of, and his countrymen followed his advice, as far as it was practicable. Even the *Siennese* now made some overtures for renewing their ancient league with *Florence*; and some measures were taken for carrying the war into *Lombardy*, and for rescuing *Pavia*, then besieged by *Galeazzo*. But that scheme was too great for the power of the confederates, and came to nothing; so that *Pavia* fell into *Galeazzo's* hands.

THIS did not prevent the negociation from going forward between the *Florentines* and the *Siennese*; but it was thwarted by *Galeazzo*, who sought to make himself master of *Polenza*. The *Polenzans* were then under the protection of the *Siennese*;

but having an insuperable aversion to *Galeazzo*, they offered to admit a *Florentine* garrison into their city. The *Florentines* did not readily comply with this proposal, being afraid of disobliging the *Siennese*; but the *Polenzan* deputies formally came before the magistrates of *Florence*, when they were assembled in their town-house, and demanded that *Polenza* should be enrolled in their public inventory, as part of the *Florentine* property; which was accordingly done; and thereby *Polenza* being annexed to the dominion of *Florence*, could not be separated from it without consent of the people. This enrolment highly disgusted the *Siennese*, who now courted the friendship of *Galeazzo*, and complained that the *Florentines* had cheated them out of a city.

Courage and constancy of the Florentines.

THIS neither discouraged nor disconcerted the *Florentines*. They entered into an alliance with *Barnabo*'s son, and *Antonio* prince of *Verona*, who had both of them been dispossessed by *Galeazzo*. He, on the other hand, complained that the *Florentines* fostered and supported his enemies, and drove all the natives of *Florence* out of his dominions; while the *Florentines*, with a magnanimity peculiar to a free state, made open proclamation, inviting all *Galeazzo*'s subjects to reside in their city and territory. At the same time they sent ambassadors to *France*, to make a league with the *French* king; and ordered their general *Hawkwood* to march to *Lombardy*, to the assistance of *Barnabo*'s son and his party.

Peace concluded,

PETER GAMBACURTA was then the leading man at *Pisa*, but a strong advocate for peace. His authority in *Tuscany* was so great, that the states of *Milan*, *Florence*, *Sienna*, and *Perugia*, entered into a league at *Pisa*. It was at this time that pope *Urban VI.* died, and was succeeded by *Boniface*, though the schism in the popedom still continued. It soon appeared that *Galeazzo* had entered into the *Pisan* league, which was to last three years, for private ends of his own. His great view was against *Florence*; but to keep the other parties of the confederacy either upon his side or neutral, he took occasion to upbraid the *Florentines* with a design against his life, and mentioned the public speech *Ricci* had made as a proof of his allegation. He then drove all the *Florentines* out of his dominions. They, on the other hand, not bearing to be branded with such a calumny, wrote to the states of *Venice*, *Genoa*, and *Pisa*, to clear themselves, and to lay open *Galeazzo*'s wicked purposes. This incident disconcerted the league, and the *Siennese* and *Perugians* refused to ratify it. The *Florentines*, upon this, applied to *Gambacurta*, who, having been sincere in all his proceedings, offered to go in person to *Galeazzo*; but was dissuaded by the *Florentines*, for

for, fear the latter should take advantage of *Gambacurta's* absence to seize *Pisa*. The *Florentines* strove to renew their league with the *Siennese* and the *Perugians*, and offered even to resign *Polenzia* to the former; but they proved quite intractable, complaining, that their deputies had been forced by Sir *John Hawkwood* to enter into the *Pisan* confederacy. The *Perugians*, in like manner, complained that the *Florentines* had harboured and entertained their exiles, and that they had endeavoured to seduce some of their towns.

THE *Florentines* had ordered deputies to repair to *France*; as *Ricci* had advised them; but they were intercepted, and detained by *Galeazzo*. The *French* king, however, hearing of this, sent ambassadors to the *Florentines*, offering to take them into his protection upon two conditions. The first was, that they should acknowledge the authority of pope *Clement*; and the other, that they should pay him an annual sum for his protection.

THOUGH the *Florentines* were upon the eve of a war with *The French* the most ambitious and powerful prince in *Italy*, though they were surrounded by open or secret enemies, and though they had not an ally whom they could trust, yet they magnanimously rejected those terms, as inconsistent with the good ^{and mediation} _{ed.} *faith* and *dignity* of their state. They even carried their resentment so far, that they refused to accept the mediation of *France* for a peace, when her ambassadors proposed it. This negotiation being at an end, *Galeazzo* sent a letter to *Florence*, containing a formal denunciation of war against the *Florentines*, who, he said, were held in subjection by a *pragmatical Guelph* faction. The *Florentines* recriminated upon him in a most severe manifesto they published, laying open all his *crimes* and *ambition*; and thus the war, which was the greatest the *Florentines* had ever undertaken, commenced in the year 1390.

SECT. VII.

Containing the History and Progress of the War between Milan and Florence. Hawkwood recalled out of Naples, and again made the Florentine General. The Florentines raise Men in France. Negotiation between them and the Duke of Bavaria, and several States of Italy. The noble Actions of Sir John Hawkwood. The Florentines victorious. A truce concluded, which was soon broken. The Florentines

rentines renew their Confederacy with other States. Death of Peter Gambacurta, and of the famous Sir John Hawkwood. Ten Field-Deputies, or Presidents of War, chosen at Florence for continuing the War. The Florentines assist the Lucquese. Milan erected into a Dukedom. The Milanese repulsed at Segni. Conspiracy at Florence. The Venetians confederate with the Florentines. The State of Italy in the Year 1400.

Flourishing state of Florence. THE Florentine historian observes, that, at the time we now treat of, the republic of *Florence* was in a most flourishing condition, both as to the state of her finances and the abilities of her subjects. Before the war was proclaimed, the *Milanese*, the *Siennese*, and the other enemies of *Florence*, rendezvoused near *Sienna*, to the number of three thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot, under the command of *Giovanni Azzo*, of the family of *Ubaldini*, and *Fantedesco*, a grandson of *Sac*, both of them determined enemies of *Florence*. Having for some time disguised their intentions by marches and countermarches, they all of a sudden passed *Monte Luco*, with a design to seize upon *San Giovanni*, within which they had some confederates. Being disappointed in their attempt, they marched towards *Arezzo*, ravaging the country all the way. The *Florentines* sent what forces they could spare to protect *Arezzo*; but the descendants of *Sac* were so powerful in that territory, that they became masters of *Liciano*, a place now scarcely to be met with in maps.

Steadfastness of the Bolognese.

THE *Bolognese* continued faithful in their alliance with the *Florentines*; and *Galeazzo* marched an army against them, under the command of *Giacomo Vermi* of *Verona*, who took some places in the *Bolognese*. The people of *Bologna* immediately advertised the *Florentines* of their danger; and though the latter were in equal danger themselves, they ordered Sir *John Hawkwood*, who commanded their troops in *Naples*, to their assistance. At the same time, they invited *Rainoldo Ursini*, a general of great renown, to take the command of their troops in *Tuscany*; and ordered new levies to be made in the *Campagna di Roma*, also in the territories of the church, and all over *Italy*, where men would enlist in their service. In the mean while, *Galeazzo*, who, by *Macchiavel*, is called *John Galeazzo Visconti*, count of *Virtue*, died at *Sienna*, of a disease

he had contracted in the field. His death introduced a new face of affairs all over *Italy*. *Rainaldo Ursini* accepted of the invitation of the *Florentines*; but while he was upon his march to take upon him the command of their troops, he was treacherously killed at *Aquila*; so that the chief command devolved upon *Hawkwood*. He had marched with great expedition from *Naples* to *Bologna*, and found himself at the head of four thousand horse and two thousand foot, *Florentines* and *Bolognese*. He immediately marched against the enemy, who were besieging *Præmalcore*; but, upon his approach, they retired into the *Modenese* with precipitation. They were pursued by *Hawkwood*, who retook the places which the *Bolognese* had lost.

THE *Florentines* at this time meditated a far greater enterprise than any they had ever yet undertaken. *Charles Visconti*, the son of *Barnabo*, who thought himself the lawful heir of *Milan*, and *Lucino*, a prince of the same family, served under *Hawkwood*; and the *Florentines* apprehended that it would not be impracticable to form a party against the reigning family at *Milan*. This project flattered the high ideas they entertained of their own power and dignity; but they prudently sought to strengthen themselves by foreign alliances. They therefore sent a splendid deputation to *Stephen* duke of *Bavaria*, inviting him to march into *Italy*, and tempting him with a promise of a vast subsidy, and other advantages. They likewise invited the prince of *Carrara*, whose father had been imprisoned by *Galeazzo*, and who himself was then an exile in *Germany*, to return and assert his family-rights in *Italy*; and applied to several other foreign princes for assistance.

THE war was all this time raging with great fury in *Tuscany*, where the *Siennese* and their allies became masters, by *invaded* treachery, of a strong place called *Battifolle*, within three miles of *Arezzo*. By this they were rendered very formidable to that city. It happened, luckily for the *Florentines*, that the *Arezzians* themselves had an invincible aversion to the family of the *Tarlati*, or *Saco*; and therefore, without putting the *Florentines* to great expence, they made a most admirable defence, though they were surrounded on all hands by their enemies, who had found means to possess themselves of their fortresses. The *Florentines* themselves acted with as much spirit, in expectation of the assistances they had solicited from *Germany* and *France*; so that all *Tuscany* was at this time engaged in a war, so expensive to the *Florentines*, that few sovereign states could have defrayed it, they having subsidies to pay to almost all the neighbouring princes. The Germans

were very poor, and their success was therefore the greatest in *The prince of Carrara* that country. The prince of *Carrara* arrived in *Italy* at the head of a large body of *German* horse, and marched with such *comes to the aid of the Florentines*, that he surprised *Padua*; but the citadel held out for *John duke of Milan*, the eldest son of *Galeazzo*. At the same time *Hawkwood*, having secured the state of *Bologná*, marched through the *Modenese*, and laid siege to *Reggio* and *Parma*, while the duke of *Bavaria* arrived with a fresh army of *Germans*; so that the family of *Galeazzo* was in danger of losing all its possessions in *Lombardy*, excepting *Milan*. It appears, from the concurring testimony of all historians, that the scheme the *Florentines* had now laid for the conquest of *Lombardy* must have succeeded, had they not unfortunately been obliged to commit the execution of it to *German* mercenaries. The *Veronese* had taken arms for the infant son of *Antonio*, their late prince; but not being supported, as they expected to be, by the duke of *Bavaria*, the *Galeazzo* party had regained the ascendent: and the *Vicenza* was well disposed to revolt; but was obliged to submit to the same power, for want of a head.

Apology and demands of the latter.

THE duke of *Bavaria*, on the other hand, in an embassy he sent to *Florence*, laid all the blame of his failure upon the obstructions he received from the duke of *Austria*, the bishop of *Aquileia*, and the *Venetians*; but pretended that he had come time enough to save *Padua*, where the citadel still held out. He counselled the *Florentines*, at the same time, to order *Hawkwood*, who was still in *Lombardy* with his army, to join him; but the drift of his whole message was for a fresh supply of money. The *Florentines* replied, that his advice was ridiculous and impracticable, and his demand unreasonable: that the citadel of *Padua* was no object for two great armies, such as his and *Hawkwood's*, to be employed against: that the prince of *Carrara* was at the head of a force sufficient to reduce it: that the swelling of the two great rivers, the *Po* and the *Adige*, rendered it impracticable for *Hawkwood* to join him: that, if he intended to do them any service, he ought immediately to march against *Verona* and *Vicenza*; in which case they would take his demand into consideration, though he knew that they had paid him already all the money they had promised, which was sufficient for defraying the expence of a far greater army than he had brought with him.

Difficulties of the Florentines. THIS answer disengaged and disconcerted the needy *German* so much, that he refused to move from *Padua*; while the *Bolognese* horse mutinying for want of pay, *Hawkwood* was obliged to carry them and his *Florentine* troops back to the *Bolognese*; and thus fell to the ground the vast and well concerted

concerted project of the *Florentines* for the conquest of *Lombardy*. His retreat revived the spirits of the *Galeazzo* party there; and they assembled a great force to relieve the castle of *Padua*, and retake the town. The *Bavarian* foresaw the difficulties of the *Florentines*, and pretended to make preparations for returning home. At last the *Florentines* submitted to pay him some money, provided he would remain at *Padua*. Their perplexities were great on this occasion. They plainly saw that the *Bavarian* was not to be trusted, and that *Padua* could be saved only by their own troops. They had an army on foot; but the duke of *Ferrara* refused to let it pass through his territories, and it being in no condition to force its way, the *Florentines* applied for shipping to the *Venetians*, who denied them, on account of their connections with the *Galeazzo* family.

THE affairs of the *Florentines* wore a better aspect in *Tuscan* ^{War in}, where the *Milanese* had now few or no troops. Their *Tuscany* general were *Donati Azarolo*, a *Florentine* nobleman, and *Biliotto Biliotti*; and they gained several advantages over the *Siennese*. This brought many of the latter to think of departing from their league with the *Galeazzo* family. *Hawke-wood*, all this time, lay with his army amongst the *Bolognese*, who were now heartily tired of the war. They therefore sent ambassadors ^{Embassy} to *Florence*, pleading their inability to continue it, on account of its expence; and demanding either a ^{from the} loan of money, or leave to make a separate peace. The *Florentines* reproached the ambassadors with the pusillanimity of *nese*. their countrymen; represented the prodigious sums they had expended in the war, the near prospect they had of success; and concluded by telling them, the peace they talked of could be no other than a bargain for slavery. This magnanimous answer so much stung the *Bolognese*, that they resolved to continue the war with more vigour than ever. The effect of this resolution was soon seen, by a peace that was concluded between them and *Alberti* of *Ferrara*; by which the latter agreed to give the *Florentine* army a free passage to *Padua*, which was now in the most imminent danger.

THE great merit of Sir *John Hawkwood* appears from the following consideration, that though he was a foreigner, and ^{worth of} now very aged; and though the *Florentine* nobility had all, in ^{Sir John} their turns, aspired to be generals, and many of them had ^{Hawk-} been intrusted with the command of armies; yet *Hawkwood* was always, as it were, the sheet-anchor of their state in all junctures of difficulty and danger, and the greatest of their

nobility then submitted to his command. He was, on this occasion, sent to relieve *Padua*, the duke of *Bavaria* being now returned to *Germany*. *Hawkwood* arrived but just in time to save the city; for his enemies, though very numerous, would not stand a battle. This service being performed, he marched towards *Verona* and *Vicenza*, in hopes of being favoured by some commotions in those cities; but the duke of *Milan* had taken his measures so well, by bridling them with strong garrisons, that he was disappointed, and obliged to take up his winter-quarters in the *Paduan*. Such were the transactions of the year 1391.

The French assist the Florentines.

THE return of the duke of *Bavaria* to *Germany*, induced the *Florentines* to apply to the *French* (who may then be said to be a free people) with more eagerness than ever for assistance. The *French* nobility were at this time very independent of their king, and had been long practised in war. The count *de Armignac* was one of the most illustrious amongst them, and to him the *Florentines* particularly applied. He readily listened to their proposals, and the fate of *Lombardy* was once more rendered doubtful. It was agreed, that the count should penetrate into *Lombardy*, with a great army, by the way of *Alessandria*, while *Hawkwood* should maintain his ground in the *Paduan*; and that, both armies being joined, they should attack *Milan*. *Giovanni Ricci* and *Rainoldo Janfiliacci* were at this time the *Florentine* deputies with the count, who met with great difficulties in his undertaking. *Galeazzo* had spared neither money nor pains to raise a party against his expedition at the court of *Rome*, and a mutiny in his army. The count, however, surmounting all opposition, began his march at the head of a very fine army, which soon passed the *Alps*, keeping the *Appennines* on the right hand, and the *Po* on the left. The *Florentine* deputies, during this march, which was undertaken to avoid the uncertain passages over the *Tessino*, the *Po*, and several other rivers, were at great pains to curb the natural impetuosity of the *French*, who were perpetually falling out amongst themselves, and undertaking dangerous but useless expeditions.

Hawkwood master of the Milanese.

GALEAZZO, more terrified at the *French* than the *Florentines*, having provided for the defence of *Milan*, moved to *Pavia*, where he took up his head-quarters, and sent the flower of his troops to oppose the *French*, and to garrison *Alessandria*. By this time *Hawkwood* became master of all the open country of the *Milanese*, which he laid under severe contributions; but being unprovided of engines, or artillery, it is probable that he took no strong places, and he was obliged

obliged to stop at the river *Adda*, which he could not pass.

This was within sixteen miles of *Milan*.

GALEAZZO, being thus beset by the *French* and *Florentine* armies, was about to have abandoned *Pavia*, when the *French*, was encouraged to stand on the defensive by the prodigious *tho'* their heats of the season, it being then the middle of *July*, and the *own imprudence* of the *French*. For, after taking *Castelati*, *prudence*, which is within six miles of *Alessandria*, they dismounted from *are totally defeated* their horses, which were almost rendered unserviceable by the intense heats, and advanced in a square battalia of foot against the city, which had an army for its garrison. The *Florentine* historian ^b justly observes, that this disposition would have been successful, had the *French* been to meet their enemies in the field; but the *Milanese* kept within their walls and entrenchments; and observing that the *French* had left their horses at a great distance behind them, they sallied out at a different gate from that which the *French* were to attack, and took the horses. This frantic conduct proved the utter ruin of the *French*. *Galeazzo* mounted his troops on horseback, and attacked them on all sides. Their valour proved of no service to them, as they could not pursue their enemies, who attacked and retired at pleasure; while the *French*, thro' their own weakness, occasioned by the heats of the weather and their fatigues, were unable to pursue. In short, scarcely a *Frenchman* escaped. Many of them were killed, more of them perished through heat and fatigue, and those who survived were made prisoners. Amongst the latter were the *Florentine* deputies. As to the count of *Armignac*, being disabled and made prisoner, he died in a few hours, rather from the anguish of his mind than the severity of his wound. *Aretin* says, that, by the public accounts of *Florence*, it appears that this expedition cost the *Florentines*, in a very few months, one million two hundred and sixty thousand ducats.

GALEAZZO, having gained so compleat and unexpected a victory, marched now against *Hawkwood*, who, not wood *de-* being certain of the truth, did no more than fall back to a *seats the victors.* little distance from the *Adda*, and encamped at *Paterno*, a village in the *Cremonese*. The *Milanese* advanced with all the confidence of a sure victory, while *Hawkwood* ordered his troops to lie in their camp upon the defensive. The *Milanese* imputed this caution to fear, and for four days insulted his camp; but *Hawkwood*, taking advantage of their security and want of discipline, at last gave them battle, and defeated them; a great number being killed in the field, and above

^b *ARETIN*, pag. 216.

twelve hundred of their cavalry, with some of their chief officers, taken prisoners. Notwithstanding this defeat, the *Milanese* were greatly superior to him in strength, and hung upon his rear in his retreat, till he came to the river *Oglio*, which was difficult to pass in sight of a superior army; but he surmounted even this difficulty, by the help of four hundred *English* archers he had under him, who passed the river, and covered the rest of the *Florentine* army, in passing it, under the discharge of their arrows. This retreat was, in those days, justly thought to be a master-piece of generalship; and *Hawkwood*, without any farther interruption, passed the *Mincio*.

His admirable retreat. His difficulties, however, were greatly increased when he came to the banks of the *Adige*, which the enemy had broken down, and thereby laid the adjacent country under water; but *Hawkwood* relieved his army, even in this dreadful situation. He marched through the shoal-waters, and came to a rising ground, where he pitched his tents; which leaving standing, to deceive the enemy, he marched forward to *Montagnana*, a friendly town, where he passed the *Adige* in boats. *Aretin* observes, that no general but *Hawkwood* could have performed such a retreat, which proved him to be the ablest commander of that age.

Expedition against Sienna. THE prodigious losses and difficulties the *Florentines* had sustained, during this campaign, was far from abating their military ardour; for, during their expedition into *Lombardy*, they sent *Ludovico Campano*, with an army of four thousand horse and two thousand foot, amongst whom were twelve hundred *Genoese* cross-bowmen, against *Sienna*. They began their march towards the end of autumn, when the *Siennese*, who were perishing by famine, expected to get in their harvest. This induced the *Florentines* to prolong their march as much as possible, that they might render the neighbourhood of *Sienna* a desert; so inveterate was their hatred towards the *Siennese*. In the mean while, they took several places in that territory, and made many of the principal *Siennese* prisoners. But while they now thought themselves secure of subduing all their enemies, they received intelligence that the *French* had been totally defeated at *Alessandria*, and *Hawkwood* surrounded on the banks of the *Adda*, without a possibility of retreating. Those dismal accounts checked all the towering hopes of the *Florentines*, who imagined that *Galeazzo* was already in the heart of *Tuscany*. They recovered, however, from their consternation, when they heard that *Hawkwood* and his army were safe, and they sent him orders to march directly to *Tuscany*. While he was upon his march, *Galeazzo* sent *Vermi* of

Verona, at the head of his army, to the assistance of the Siennese, and he arrived at *Pisa* about the time that Hawkwood reached *Bologna*. The Florentine army which remained in the Siennese must have been destroyed, and *Florence* itself perhaps taken, had it not been for the courage and activity ~~of~~ ^{saves} of the old English general, who, hearing of *Vermi's* expedition, immediately passed the mountains, marched to *Pistoia*, and from thence to *San Miniato*, in the neighbourhood of the *Milanese* army, and offered them battle. *Vermi* at that time declined it, and marched from *Pisa* to *Volterra*, and from thence to *Sienna*, both to cover that city and to join the Siennese troops, which were still in the field. This junction being effected, the whole of his army amounted to ten thousand horse and three thousand mercenary foot, besides a great body of *Pisan* and *Siennese* volunteers; and with this formidable force he entered the *Florentine* territory.

THE *Florentine* generals and officers, upon this, held a great *the Flo-* council of war in *Boneti*. They had two generals, Sir *John* ^{rentines} *Hawkwood* and *Luigi Campano*, who had commanded their *recover* army in *Tuscany*. Their troops, in point of discipline and courage, were equal if not superior to those of the enemy; but their numbers were far inferior. It was therefore resolved in a council of war to act upon the defensive, and in detached parties, and to keep their strong places always at their backs. This was a wise resolution. They knew their allies were on their march to join them, and that the *Siennese* territory could not long support their enemy. After many marches and countermarches on both sides, both armies encamped within two miles of each other on the banks of the *Tessino*. While they lay in this situation, the *Florentines* were joined by count *Barbiani*, at the head of three thousand *Bolognese* horse and four hundred archers, and by several other auxiliary troops. This accession of strength, and the numbers daily flocking to them from *Arezzo*, and the neighbouring country, rendered the *Florentines* equal to their enemies, and both sides seemed to prepare in good earnest for a general engagement.

THIS, however, was only a feint on the part of the *Milanese*, who had already resolved upon a retreat, which they ^{and beat} performed in the night towards *Victolini*. Passing the mountains in the neighbourhood, they left troops to guard the passes in case of a pursuit, while the main body held on their march. The *Florentines* no sooner heard of their enemy's retreat, than their camp was in an uproar, from the eagerness of the soldiers for a pursuit, all of them calling out that not a man of the run-a-ways ought to be suffered to escape.

Nothing

Nothing but *Hawkwood's* great authority could have diverted them from this pernicious resolution. He strenuously insisted on their enemy's being suffered to retreat, and of the danger and folly of pursuing them through a country so fit for ambuscades. It was with the utmost difficulty his advice at last prevailed; and sending out parties to reconnoitre, it was discovered that part of the enemy was embarked on the banks of the *Novola*, and that part were still in possession of the mountains. *Hawkwood* immediately gave orders that the latter should be attacked, which, notwithstanding their strong situation, was performed with such vigour, that they were driven from the passes into the plain, with the loss of three hundred killed, and two hundred horsemen made prisoners, amongst whom were some officers of the highest distinction, particularly *Taddeo Verri*, brother to the *Milanese* general; a great number of foot were made prisoners at the same time. This victory served only to render the *Florentines* more presumptuous; and descending from the hill, against the express command of *Hawkwood*, they attacked the rear of the enemy in the plain; but were repulsed with some loss, which rendered them a little more tractable.

A negotiation for peace.

AFTER this, the *Milanese* army proceeded on their march, and the *Florentines* took possession of the camp they left, greatly exulting at the cowardly flight, as they called it, of their enemies. The latter, however, far from flying, proceeded no farther than *Serezana*, in the *Lucquese*; and, turning short, they marched to *Cascino*, in the territory of *Pisa*, in the neighbourhood of which they encamped, and gave out that they were returned to fight the *Florentines*. The latter had thought themselves so secure, that their auxiliaries were on their march homewards, but were soon recalled. Many of them, however, did not return; so that both armies, after lying some weeks within sight of one another, departed, without fighting, into winter-quarters. During this campaign the *Florentines* besieged *Ranco*, a strong fortress in the *Arezzian* territory, belonging to *Saco's* family. But the place proving impregnable, both parties grew tired of the war and inclined to peace. Friends interposing for that purpose, *Genoa* was pitched upon for the place of negotiation; and the *Florentines* sent thither their plenipotentiaries, as *Galeazzo* and the pope, who was greatly for peace, did theirs. The chief difficulty regarded the captive prince of *Carrara*, whose deliverance his son *Francisco* insisted upon; as *Galeazzo* did upon the rendition of *Padua*. Some difficulties likewise occurred with regard to the *Siennese* exiles, who had taken refuge at *Florence*, and the town of *Liciano*. At last, after various

various altercations, the matter was referred to the arbitration of the pope's legate, and the doge of *Genoa*, and, by way of compliment, a deputy from the people of *Genoa*. Those referees having agreed upon their award, demanded who was to be guarantee of the peace. "The sword," briskly replied *Tomassi*, one of the *Florentine* deputies; "Galeazzo and *Florence* now know each other's strength." This gallant speech was approved of by *Galeazzo*'s party, and award was then pronounced to the following effect:

THAT the town of *Padua*, with all the places taken by *Its terms*: *Francisco* prince of *Carrara*, should remain to him, upon his paying to *Galeazzo* fifty thousand ducats in five years time. Hopes were likewise given him, tho' nothing on that head was expressly stipulated, that *Galeazzo* would, of his own accord, restore the old prince to his liberty. All the places which the *Florentines* and the *Siennese* had taken from each other, were to be restored to their original owners, except *Liciano*, which was referred to a future negotiation; and the *Siennese*, as well as the *Paduan*, exiles were to be restored to their estates. It was likewise stipulated, that *Galeazzo*'s army should not pass a certain boundary towards *Florence*, unless the *Siennese* or the *Perugians* should invite them as auxiliaries against the unjust attacks of the *Florentines*.

NOTHING in this treaty was so much found fault with as *Partiality*, the money which was to be paid for *Padua*, and which the *Genoese* of the *Florentines*, it seems, were to advance. *Aretin*^a observes, noese, that, during the whole negotiation, the *Genoese* discovered a visible partiality for *Galeazzo*; and even forced the grand master of *Rhodes*, who was the pope's legate, to yield some points in his favour. The *Florentines* in the main, however, were well satisfied with the terms.

THE war between *Milan* and *Florence* had, immediately or *Galeazzo*-remotely, affected the tranquility of all *Italy*, and every state in it earnestly wished for not only the return but the *continuity*, ^{zo's infin-} *nuance* of peace. For this reason it had been stipulated, in the late negotiation at *Genoa*, that, when the *Milanese* and *Florentine* armies were disbanded, effectual means should be pursued to prevent the soldiers from forming themselves into companies of banditti, or robbers; an evil which had often been fatal to the repose of *Italy*. This was proposed to be done by not disbanding the troops all at once, but gradually; and by the respective parties keeping in their service such leaders as were most capable of heading and conducting such bands. The *Florentine* historian^b tells us, that his countrymen and

^a Pag. 221.

^b ARETIN, *ibid.*

their

their allies were sincere in performing this engagement; but that Galeazzo's mercenaries formed themselves into a body, and demanded a passage through the *Bolognese* and the *Ferrarese*. The *Florentines*, who perhaps refined a little too much upon events, suspected that Galeazzo had connived at this demand, and sent some troops to the assistance of the *Bolognese*, who had refused to comply with it. Upon this, the companies marched through the *Parmesan* towards *Tuscany*, and advanced to the *Siennese*, their strength every day increasing. They then began to harass and lay under contribution the inhabitants of *Tuscany*.

and injustice.

THE *Florentines* were extremely uneasy at those proceedings, especially as it now appeared that neither the *Siennese* nor Galeazzo were their cordial friends. The former took every opportunity to express their rancour against *Florence*, and the latter behaved in a manner that was equally mean and brutal. Giovanni Ricci, who had made the famous speech against Galeazzo, and one of the *Florentine* deputies who had attended the count *de Armignac*, had been made prisoner at *Alessandria*; and, after the peace of *Genoa*, Galeazzo not only raised his demand of four thousand florins for his ransom to thirty thousand, but put him in irons; and sent two of his courtiers to tell him, that though he deserved death, yet he would remit that punishment upon the payment of the money. This was a sum so impossible for Ricci to raise, that his punishment amounted to perpetual imprisonment. Galeazzo, at the same time, refused to restore the old prince of *Carrara* to his freedom, and omitted no means to make the young one uneasy in his possession of *Padua*, by entertaining and succouring the *Paduan* exiles.

The Florentines renew their league.

SUCH a variety of suspicious circumstances put the *Florentines* upon their renewing their ancient league with their neighbouring states, which they did at *Bologna*. The parties who came into the confederacy were, besides the *Florentines* and the *Bolognese*, the *Paduans* and the *Ferrarese*; but a liberty was reserved for any other state to enter into the confederacy, which the *Mantuan* soon after did. This confederacy is a fresh proof of the passion for liberty, which the *Italian* states cherished in those days, and the wise measures they pursued to preserve it. It however gave great umbrage to Galeazzo, who, in his turn, publicly complained that the *Florentines* never had been sincere in the peace they had concluded with him, and he accordingly made preparations for renewing the war with more vigour than ever; but, to gain time he named ambassadors previously to treat with the *Florentines*.

EVERY

EVERY page of the *Florentine* history produces instances of their the glory attending the encouragement of commerce amongst great a free people. *Florence* had in a manner supported, on her *riches and own shoulders*, the liberty of *Tuscany*; and had just finished, *magnific- with honour*, a most expensive and ruinous war with the *greatest prince in Italy*. She had paid immense subsidies to the princes both of *Germany* and *France*, without being benefited by them, and irreproachably fulfilled all the engagements she had entered into: she was dreaded, hated, and envied by many of the neighbouring states, against whom she was obliged to keep armies on foot to guard against their surprizes; and yet she continued so immensely rich, that her citizens, at this time, outvied those of all *Europe*, in the splendor and elegance of their equipages, in their manner of living, in their buildings and public exhibitions. While they every day expected to re-enter into a bloody and expensive war with *Galeazzo*, they were celebrating tilts and tournaments, in honour of the birth of the *French* king's eldest son, with a magnificence that amazed all *Europe*. From the description their historian ^c has given us of those diversions, it is plain that they were intended as an imitation of the *Trojan* games, so finely described by *Virgil*, and common amongst the *Romans*, who were the patterns of the *Florentine* policy, both in peace and war; but with this advantage in favour of the latter, that they were a commercial state.

AFTER this magnificent exhibition, *Galeazzo*'s ambassadors *Negotiation with Florentines*, came to *Florence*, where, in a public audience, they highly extolled their prince's good faith and good will towards the *Galeazzo, Florentines*, who answered them in terms equally polite and general. The ambassadors had expected that the *Florentines* would have entered upon the subject of their complaints against their master; but being disappointed, they told the *Florentines* plainly, that their instructions were to enter upon particulars on three heads: that of the banditti, of the behaviour of the *Siennese*, and the detention of the old prince of *Carrara* and *Ricci* in prison. As to the first, they pretended that their master had done all that was in his power to prevent such illegal associations. With regard to the second, he said, he was so far from encouraging the *Siennese*, that he had withdrawn his protection from them, to render them more tractable. With regard to the last head, they said, it was no just subject of complaint, as nothing had been stipulated by the peace of *Genoa*: that the misbehaviour of the young prince of *Carrara* was the reason of his father's de-

^c *ARETIN*, pag. 222.

tention

to whom
they send
deputies.

tention ; and that Ricci was the property of an officer, and whom Galeazzo could not force to deliver him up.

THE Florentines affected great surprize at this speech, and denied they had given authority to any one to say, that they had entertained any suspicions of Galeazzo's friendship. It appeared, however, afterwards, that the discovery had been made to him by the imprudence of a Florentine priest, who had been employed at his court. The Florentines, therefore, declined making any reply ; and the ambassadors upbraided them with their having received the Mantuan, which lay, as it were, in the bosom of their master's dominions, into their confederacy. To this last charge the Florentines replied, that the Mantuans were their ancient allies ; and that, by admitting them into their league, they did no more than renew their former alliance with them ; and that the whole of their confederacy was no other than defensive. As to the other parts of their commission, the Florentines informed them that they would send a satisfactory answer to Galeazzo by deputies of their own. Three accordingly were chosen, *Felippo Adimar, Rinaldo Gianfigliazzo, and Guido Tommasi* ; but an incident happened at this time very alarming to the Florentines.

Death of
Gambacurta.

We have, on several occasions, mentioned Peter Gambacurta, who had long the chief sway at Pisa, and, by all accounts, was one of the worthiest men in his time. He had a secretary, *Giacomo di Appiano*, who had served him so long that he was let into all his affairs and secrets ; and being employed and trusted by his master in his most important concerns, he privately formed a faction against Gambacurta in favour of Galeazzo, who supported him. In the late war Appiano had sent his son *Vannes* to serve under Galeazzo ; and the youth being taken prisoner, Galeazzo valued him so much, that he exchanged Ricci for him. On the return of Vannes to Pisa, their party openly declared themselves ; and though Gambacurta was often forewarned of his fate, Appiano found means to put him to death, and to seize upon the government^a. This resolution, so unfavourable for the Florentines, happened on the second of October, 1392, according to the Siennese annals, and retarded the departure of the Florentine deputies. It was now plain, that the whole had been schemed and effected by Galeazzo, whose partisan Appiano professed himself to be. At last the deputies departed, and two or three years passed in a state of neither war nor peace between Galeazzo and the Florentines ; each was civil to the

^a Annali Sanesi apud MURATORI, tom. xix. ad ann. 1392.
other,

other, and each endeavoured to betray and outwit one another. We shall, therefore, lay hold of this interval to mention some particulars, which, though of importance to history, cannot properly be interwoven with the narrative of wars or civil transactions.

THE historian *Leonard of Arezzo*, whom we have all along mentioned by the name of *Aretin*, informs us ^b, that he was *nary fit* of at this time a young man studying the civil law, and therefore *enthusiastic*. We may look upon him in some sense as a cotemporary author. From him we learn, that the *Italians*, and the *Florentines* in particular, had, for some time, laid aside the use of arms, from the great convenience they found in hiring and employing foreign troops, and that those foreigners were all of them cavalry. We mention this circumstance to account for the extraordinary exceeding of the cavalry over the infantry in all the *Italian* armies, which the reader meets with in almost every page of this history. He tells us, however, that at this time the practice of hiring foreign horsemen was entirely disused in *Italy*, and the *Italian* cavalry was every where preferred to the foreign. There might, notwithstanding, be a reason for this, which *Aretin* does not mention; we mean the other wars in which the other princes of *Europe* were now involved, by which they found employment in their own armies for all their men. This sudden change of character seems to have affected the common people of *Tuscany* in a most extraordinary manner. According to *Aretin*, nothing was to be seen all over the towns but long solemn processions of the inhabitants drest in white. All were wrapt up in the fervours of devotion. All animosities between one place and another were now forgot. Two full months were spent in those mutual peregrinations from town to town. They who before had been sworn enemies, now embraced each other as friends. All gates flew open, and all places were accessible at the approach of the white robed processions. Love and friendship seemed to possess every breast, and the universal chorus was peace and pity. They who were the most forward in deriding the accounts of those extraordinary appearances, no sooner saw them than they seemed to be smitten with the contagion, and were the foremost in putting on white garments (A). The *Florentines* shared deep in

^b Vide *LEONARDI ARETINI* rerum suo tempore in Italia gestarum *commentarius*.

(A) In the printed copies of *Aretin's* commentary notice is taken of a remarkable different reading on this occasion. Some
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in the common infection ; and no fewer than four professions went out of their city, which was thereby left uninhabited. At last the contagion spread all over *Italy* ; and, according to *Aretin*, no certain account could be given of its rise.

The Florentines
the revi-
vers of
learning.

THE revival of Greek learning at this period, after lying dead in *Italy*, according to *Aretin*, seven hundred years, does honour to the Florentine name. The emperor of *Constantinople* had come to *Italy*, to solicit assistance against the *Turks*, and had in his train a noble *Byzantine* called *Chrysoloras*, renowned for his knowledge of Greek learning. The Florentines, by a solemn deputation, invited this illustrious scholar to their city, where he was received with all the honours due to his rank and merit, and a salary was allowed him for opening a school for Greek lectures. Thus, to the immortal credit of the Florentines, *Europe* owes that invaluable acquisition to them. *Aretin* preferred the lectures of *Chrysoloras* to those of his law-masters, and has given us a particular list of his noble school-fellows. *Chrysoloras* kept his school open for above two years ; but was obliged to attend his master at *Milan*, being upon his return to *Constantinople*. While we are upon this subject, it is but justice to *Florence*, and the memory of *Aretin*, who was a subject of *Florence*, to mention that he may be considered as the great reviver of classical *Latin* in *Europe*, and that no writer since that time has exceeded his style in purity and precision ; nor were his countrymen ungrateful to his merit, for they raised him to the greatest employments in their state.

*Death and
character
of Hawk-
wood.*

A. D.

1394.

THE Florentines, during the cessation of their war with *Galeazzo*, admitted into the confederacy, of which they were the head, the inhabitants of *Rimini*, *Faenza*, *Ravenna*, *Imola*, and *Citta di Castello*. This enlargement of the confederacy was the more necessary, as the banditti, privately encouraged by *Galeazzo*, grew daily more and more formidable. But the Florentines, at this time, received an irrecoverable blow by the death of the great Sir *John Hawkwood*, which happened in the year 1394. All the *Italian* writers of this age, of whatever country or faction they were, agree, that he was, at the time of his death, incomparably the greatest general in *Italy*, if not in *Europe*. He married the natural daughter of *Barnabo* duke of *Milan*, by whom he is said to

reading it *Et quasi Deo correpti*, which signifies as if they had as if they had been seized by God. Other copies read it, *Et quasi astro, ut dicitur, correpti*, have

have received in portion a million of florins^a. Notwithstanding his foreign services, he never forgot that he was an *Englishman*; and it was through his means that the marriage between *Galeazzo*'s daughter and prince *Lionel of England* took place. Historians observe, that though *Hawkewood* died in extreme old age, it did not at all abate the vigour of his youth; for he shewed greater spirit, as well as generalship, in his last campaign, than he had done in any of his preceding. We cannot take leave of this great man without one observation, which is, that though he served various states, and in different interests, yet no imputation lies on his memory of being either mercenary or ungrateful; so that his conduct is as irreproachable as a man, as it was great as a hero (B). After being the scourge he became the saviour of the *Florentine* liberty; and after his death he was, at the public expence, honoured with a noble funeral, and a magnificent monument.

AFTER the banishment of *Alberti*, factions prevailed in *Civil factions in Florence*, and many of his friends and party were either exiled, admonished, or put to death, by what *Machiavel*^b calls the *Balia*, which was an extraordinary power delegated, upon certain occasions, to the lords, the colleges, the eight, the captains of the wards, and the syndics of the trades^c. *Maso Albizi* was an enemy to the house of *Alberti*, on account of the death of *Pietro Albizi*; and being gonfalonier of justice, he procured *Alberto* and *Andrea Alberti*, to be accused of holding a correspondence with the enemies of the state. This brought on a fresh prosecution of the *Alberti* party, in which such numbers of the lower ranks of the people were either admonished or put to death, that the multitude took arms. Part of them ran to the great square, where the magistrates were assembled, and forced them to give them for their leaders *Rinaldo Gianfigliazzo*, and *Donato Acciaioli*, with the ensigns

^a Vide *PAUL JOVIUS* in *Barnaba*, pag. 159, and *BARNES*'s *Life of Edward III.* pag. 718. ^b Vide *MACHIAVEL*'s *History of Florence*, book iii. ^c *Id. ibid.*

(B) He had a son named *Johannes, filius Johannis Hawke-wood, miles, natus in partibus Italiæ factus indigena, ann. 8. seventh year of king Henry IV. Hen. IV. mater ejus nata in partibus transmarinis.*

(1) *In Bib. Cor. & in Arct. Turris Lond. 1. Pars Pat. An. 8. Hen. IV. m. 20.*

of the *Guelphs* and the people in their hands. Others ran to the house of *Veri di Medici* (C), and besought him to take upon him the government of the state, which he nobly refused; but told the people at the same time he would do them all the service he could. He accordingly repaired to the palace of the presidents, whom, after clearing himself of all ambitious views, he exhorted to moderation. The magistrates, on their part, made so many fair professions, that *Veri*, upon his return to the people, persuaded them to lay down their arms. This gave time to the magistrates to arm two thousand citizens, who they knew would stand by them; and they proceeded with the utmost severity against the late insurgents, many of whom they put to death, and admonished others. They were opposed by *Donato Acciauoli*, who, being too precipitate in pushing for the recall of the exiles, was convicted of practices against the state, and confined in prison. Many of the family of *Medici*, and their friends, were banished at the same time. The chief exiles, most of whom were sprightly young men, retired to *Bologna*; but we are now to attend the military affairs of *Florence*, which *Macchiavel* has scarcely mentioned.

Affairs of Ferrara.

UPON the death of *Alberto*, prince of *Ferrara*, whose son *Nicholas* at that time was very young, *Azzo*, who was nearly related to the family, was obliged by the tutors of the young prince to abandon *Ferrara*, and, after spending some time at *Venice* he came to *Florence*, where he made a splendid appearance. Leaving *Florence* at the head of some followers, and being privately supported by *Galeazzo*, he marched to the *Romagna*, where his party grew so strong, that *Nicholas* was in danger of being deposed. The *Florentines* mediated between them; but finding *Azzo* intractable, they declared themselves guardians to *Nicholas*. *Azzo* was backed by the inhabitants of *Revenna* and *Forli*, and above all by count *Barbiani*, and continued to be underhand assisted by *Galeazzo*. Upon this the *Florentines*, perceiving a war was unavoidable, raised an army, but before it could take the field, *Brogla* and *Brandolino*, at the head of some of the banditti in *Azzo*'s pay, surprised the castle of *Gargonza* near *Arezzo*. This obliged the *Florentines* to divide their army. One part of it was detached to recover *Gargonza*, and another under a foreign count called *Conrad* was sent into the *Ferrarese*, and

(C) *Aretin* is silent as to the authority at this period is unavoidable behaviour of *Veri* on this occasion; but *Macchiavel*, whose

twelve field deputies, (an office which had lain dormant ever since the last peace) were appointed to attend their army. The *Bolognese* had some connections with *Azzo*, which kept them neutral in this dispute.

WHILE those great preparations were in dependence, am- *The Flo-*
bassadors came from the emperor *Wenceslaus*, son of the em- *rentines*
peror Charles IV. offering the *Florentines* his assistance against *jealous of*
Galeazzo, and to march in person into *Italy* for that purpose. *the em-*
Some of the *Florentine* allies, such as the *Paduans* and *Man-*
tuans, were eager for embracing the proposal; but the *Flo-*
rentines, ever true to the maxims of independency, were shy of giving an emperor of *Germany* any footing in *Italy*. They therefore prevailed with their allies to decline the emperor's offer, under the pretext that they were then negotiating a peace with the *Milanese*, and that if it should not succeed, they would accept of his generous assistance. In the mean time they entered into a negotiation with the *French* king, as being the less dangerous ally, in order to secure their independency against *Galeazzo*.

WE now arrive at the year 1395, when the *Ferrarese* and the *Azzian* wars were still continued by the *Florentines*, and both of them underhand fed and supported by *Galeazzo*. But all of a sudden he recalled the troops serving in the *Arezzian* territories, and very politically prevailed with those who had surprised *Gargonza* to render it back to the *Florentines*. As to the *Ferrarese* war, *Aretin* informs us of an extraordinary incident, which, was it not attested by so great an authority as his is, we should not have inserted. He tells, that count *Barbiani*, the great protector and support of *Azzo*, the pretender to the dukedom of *Ferrara*, was prevailed upon by the promise of a vast sum of money, and the surrender of two or three important places, to murder *Azzo*. But it seems he dressed up a person, who nearly resembled *Azzo*, in his cloaths; and having killed him, he received the reward. Soon after the real *Azzo* appeared to the great merriment of the public. This foul attempt upon *Azzo*'s life did some service to his cause; but *Astorgi* of *Faenza* joining the *Florentines* against him, count *Conrad*, the *Florentine* general, took him prisoner, and he was confined at *Faenza*.

AZZO being no longer dreaded, the *Florentines*, who had been greatly provoked by the insolence of *Barbiani*, besieged *rentines* him in one of his own castles. But the prosperous state of the *give um-*
Florentine affairs had, by this time, excited the jealousy of *brage to* their allies. The inhabitants of *Bologna*, *Ravenna*, and *Imo-* their neig-
la, openly threatened to renounce their alliance, if they pro- *bours*.
ceeded to farther conquests in their neighbourhood, or to af-
sist

sist either *Astorgi* or *Nicholas of Ferrara*. The siege of *Lucca*, however, a place belonging to *Barbiani*, still went on, when *Alberico Barbiani*, his relation, and *Galeazzo*'s general, undertook to relieve the place. *Galeazzo* made a polite apology to the *Florentines* for his general's conduct, and they procured the siege to be discontinued. They, however, laid siege to *Castrocari*, a town which had belonged to the *Roman see*, and had been sold to the *Florentines* by the pope's general (a traffic not uncommon in those days) but treacherously detained by him after receiving the money. The *Bolognese* again interposed, as did the inhabitants of *Forlì*, and indeed all the *Romagna* and the neighbouring states, where the *Florentines* had now no friends but *Astorgi* of *Faenza*. The *Florentine* historian himself* seems to give up the *Florentines* on this occasion, and to condemn their undertaking the siege of *Castrocari*, which made all the states of *Italy*, even the *Venetians*, their enemies. At last, by friendly interpositions, matters were compromised and left to the arbitration of *Francesco of Carrara*.

*They sup-
port Lucca.* IN the mean while *Appiano*, who was now the governing man in *Pisa*, attempted to reduce *Lucca* to his obedience; upon which the *Florentines* sent a body of troops to *Pescia*, which is but ten miles from *Lucca*, and a deputy to the *Lucquese*, to exhort them to maintain their independency. The *Lucquese*, sensible of this generous interposition, admitted the *Florentine* troops into their city, and drove the besiegers from their works; upon which the friendship was renewed between the *Florentines* and the *Lucquese*, and the *Pisans* were detested by both.

*Commo-
tions in
Florence.* **ACCIAVOLI**, a noble *Florentine*, after various revolutions of power in that city, was now at its head. He had long concurred in the general maxims of the state; but all of a sudden he favoured the exiles and the admonished, and joined with *Angelo*, the gonfalonier's son, in a project to restore and recapacitate them to enjoy public honours. Their schemes being made known to the magistrates, all of them as one man joined to defeat them; and *Acciaivoli*, with his accomplices, were sent into exile. This amazing reverse of fortune, with regard to a man who, but a few days before, was little less than sovereign of the *Florentine* state, is a strong proof how tenacious the *Florentines* were then of their liberties. Their severity was the more remarkable, as *Acciaivoli* was a citizen of irreproachable morals, both in public and private life; and no charge was brought against him but

* *ARETIN.* pag. 227.

the great credit he had in the state, which his fellow-citizens thought incompatible with the name of a free government. Along with him were banished many other popular citizens, both noble and ignoble, so that at least one half of the *Florentine* people were at this time deemed exiles.

THIS year *Galeazzo* obtained from the emperor of *Ger-Milan* many, who pretended to be lord paramount of *Milan*, the *erected into* title of duke, having before that time been designed only a *duchy*. *Galeazzo* formally signified to the *Florentines* his new acceessions of honours, and they in complaisance celebrated festivities upon it. But those appearances of joy were checked in the beginning of the year 1396, when the exiles and the banditti invaded the *Arezzian* territory with fire and sword. They were soon joined by *Barbiani*, the sworn enemy of the *Florentines*, with a great force. The *Florentines* knew that *Barbiani*'s troops were mercenaries, and wisely resolved to deal with them as such. They offered money to their two leaders, *Cantelli* and *Filippo of Pisa*, and thereby prevailed with them to leave *Barbiani*'s service, and to enter into theirs. We are not authorized upon the face of history to say what the secret views of *the Florentine government* were at this time; but it is certain that the *Italian states* thought them to be dangerous. *Vicus of the Florentines*. The generals and troops that the *Florentines* bought off from *Barbiani*, to the number of fifteen hundred horse, joined their army, which was in *Modena*, under *Bartolomeo of Prato* and *Antonio Obizi*, and made excursions upon the inhabitants of *Reggio* and *Parma*, by which all *Barbiani*'s schemes fell to the ground. *Galeazzo* complained bitterly of those disorders. The *Florentines* answered, that *Cantelli*'s men (for *Pietro of Pisa* had been detained by *Barbiani*) were not in the service of *Florence*, they having received only as it were a retaining fee, in case their services should be required; a practice they had learned from *Galeazzo* himself. This apology, however, seems to be very evasive, it being notorious that they were in the *Florentine* pay; for after re-establishing *Nicholas of Ferrara* in his government, they marched to *Tuscany*, where they were employed by the *Lucquese* against the *Pisans* of *Appiano*'s party, whom the *Florentines* secretly hated. *Appiano* upon this applied to *Barbiani*, who marched with his remaining forces to his assistance; upon which the *Florentine* mercenaries retired to *Lucca*, and the rest of the season was spent in mutual skirmishes of no great importance.

MEAN while, the *Florentine* deputies at *Milan* sent advice *Galeazzo* of a large body of troops, who were marching under the *affis the counts of Alberigo and Malespina*, by *Galeazzo*'s order, to the *Pisans*.

A. D.
1396.

assistance of the *Pisans*. The *Florentines*, affecting great moderation, not knowing where the storm might fall, mediated a peace, which with some difficulty they at last effected, and *Tuscany* was evacuated of all those mercenaries. *Barbiano* marched into *Lombardy*, where he harassed the *Ferrarese* and the *Mantuan*. The *Florentines* understanding that in this he was instigated by *Galeazzo*, protected and encouraged the *Pisan* exiles against *Appiano*. Thus, matters for some time stood neither in a state of peace nor war, till *Appiano* at last persuaded *Galeazzo* to enter upon hostilities, and to order all his troops and generals to rendezvous at *Pisa*, which they did in such numbers as struck terror into *Florence*.

Prepara-
tions of the
Floren-
tines.

NOTWITHSTANDING this the *Florentine* magistrates behaved with great intrepidity. They now openly took *Barbiano* of *Prato* into their pay, and gave the chief command of their troops to *Bernard*, a *French* nobleman of great reputation, who brought along with him six hundred choice horse and two hundred foot, which were quartered about *St. Miniato* and *Fucetti*: they likewise applied to the *Bolognese*, and their other allies; tho' the assistance received from them was but slow and insignificant. The first storm of war fell upon the *Lucquese*, who were succoured by *Bernard*. *Appiano* laid hold of this opportunity to attempt to surprize *St. Miniato*, a strong place, and of the last importance to *Florence*. For this purpose he tampered with *Benedetto Marigiadori*, one of the chief inhabitants of the town, who entered it by twilight, with no more than seventeen accomplices, and killed the first president, expecting, as he had concerted with *Appiano*, to be supported by a strong detachment from *Pisa*. This detachment happened, by mere accident, to fall in with a party of *Florentine* troops; and, imagining the whole conspiracy to be discovered, it returned to *Pisa*. The townsmen of *St. Miniato*, perceiving the conspirators were not supported, took arms and drove them out of the place; and the *Florentines*, who, on the first account they received, thought that their liberties were ruined, took care to guard against future surprises. This disappointment served but the more to exasperate *Galeazzo* and his generals, whose troops now rendezvoused at *Sienna* in such numbers, that the *Florentine* army, unable to keep the field, were obliged to take shelter in their fortified places.

Their dan-
rentine army,
ger.

IT was generally thought at *Florence*, that the first operations of the enemy would be against *Arezzo*, which is at the same distance as *Florence* is from *Sienna*; but, contrary to expectation, they directed their march against *Florence* itself, their force being ten thousand cavalry, and a proportionable number

number of infantry. As no war had been formally declared, the country people not being upon their guard, were in a most miserable situation, being pursued half naked into *Florence*, and the neighbouring towns, by the enemy, who proceeded, wherever they came, with fire and sword, so that the whole country about *Florence* was in a blaze. The *Florentines*, perceiving their danger, ordered *Bernard* and their army to draw near their city; whilst, happily for them, their enemies undertook the siege of *Segni*, a strong town near *Florence*. Not being able to take it, their generals began to differ amongst themselves, and their army to moulder away; so that the whole expedition returned to *Sienna*.

A. D.
1397.

FLORENCE being thus delivered from one of the greatest dangers that had ever threatened her, was in danger of being ruined by the rigorous discipline of her general. *Galeazzo* was at this time entirely intent upon reducing *Mantua*, which he besieged by land and water; and dissensions increasing amongst his generals, *Paolo Ursini* and *Biordi*, with several other general officers, entered with their troops into the service of the *Florentines*. As most of them were soldiers of fortune, the subjects of *Florence* sometimes suffered equally from them as from their enemies. *Bartholomew of Prato* was next in command to *Bernard* in the *Florentine* army; but, not *Bartholomew of Prato* brooking the other's superiority, he plundered some magazines which the general had erected for the use of his army; *Prato* put upon which *Bernard* put him to death. This punishment to death inflicted on a general officer, who, in his military capacity, was esteemed to be equal if not superior to *Bernard* himself, highly disgusted the *Florentine* auxiliaries and mercenaries. *Paolo Ursini* and *Felippo of Pisa*, who was now in the *Florentine* service, separated from *Bernard*; and it was with the greatest difficulty that the field-deputies kept the rest of the army together; but they acted with so much prudence and resolution, that their country suffered but little in the end, by the example of justice that had been made.

THIS was the more wonderful, as the enemy was still very powerful in *Tuscany* and *Mantua*, a state in alliance with *Florence*. Count *Alberigo* commanded the *Pisan* army at *Sienna*; succour and a great body of the *Pisan* troops were encamped about *Mantua*. *Policiano* and *Cortona*. Notwithstanding all the difficulties and dangers that then surrounded the *Florentines*, they resolved to succour *Mantua*, and for that purpose gave the command of a body of troops to count *Hugues de Monfert*, who was soon superseded in his command by *Carlo Malatesta*, a much abler general. All this while the war was carried very briskly on in *Tuscany*, but generally to the advantage of the

the Florentines, whose incursions reached to the very gates of Sienna and Pisa.

Conspiracy in Florence; THE more glorious the conduct of the Florentines was abroad, the greater was their danger at home. *Maso de Albizi*, ever since the banishment of *Acciaioli*, had held the chief sway in *Florence*, where he was hated by a great part of the citizens. The chief of the exiles resided at this time at *Bologna*, and they held a private correspondence with *Piggiello* and *Baronio Cavicciulli*², two citizens who lived admonished and sequestered from the government of *Florence*. Those two persons invited six young noblemen of great quality, and two citizens of meaner degree, to return secretly to the city, and to begin an insurrection in favour of the exiled citizens, by assassinating *Albizi*. The names of the conspirators were *Pachio Cavicciulli*, *Thomas de Ricci*, *Antonio de Medici*, *Benedetto Spini*, *Antonio Gikolami*, and *Cristoforo Carloni*. Those thoughtless young noblemen met with the fate their rashness merited. Being admitted into the city, one of their spies watched *Albizi's* house; and upon his coming abroad they ran to kill him, but either casually or advisedly he flipt into an apothecary's shop, and escaped the danger. This disappointment did not daunt the conspirators. Flourishing their swords they called out "Liberty and destruction to 'the tyrants,'" and killed two persons of the opposite party. This proceeding struck the citizens with horror, so that not a man joined the conspirators, who retired to the church of *St. Reparata*, determined to sell their lives as dear as they could. The church doors, however, were broken open, and the conspirators either killed or seized, and after trial put to death.

Another conspiracy. *MACHIAVEL* informs us, that when this insurrection was suppressed, *Florence* escaped another conspiracy, formed by *Galeazzo* against her liberty. His plot was to introduce a company of resolute banditti into the city, where they were to be admitted by accomplices of their own party, and to murder all the magistrates and ministers of state. One *Sammiato* was *Galeazzo's* chief agent in this conspiracy, which he opened to *Silvester Cavicciulli*, who discovered the whole to the magistrates. *Sammiato* was taken, and being put to the rack disclosed all the particulars; but only he and another conspirator *Davisi* were put to death. Though it is probable that this conspiracy was more imaginary than real, yet a *Balia*, or court of enquiry, was immediately erected for punishing all concerned in it, and they proceeded with such rigour,

² *MACHIAVEL*, book iii. *ARETIN*, pag. 233.

that,

bat, besides a great number of mechanics, six of the family of *Ricci*, six of the *Alberti*, two of the *Medici*, three of the *Leali*, two of the *Strozzi*, together with *Bindi Altoviti*, and *Bernardo Admari*, were found guilty, and the families of *Alberti Ricci* and *Medici*, were admonished for ten years. Not contented with this, they condemned *Antonio Alberti*, tho' one of the most harmless men in *Florence*, to the payment of a large fine, and to be banished three hundred miles distance from the city; and they afterwards banished all the descendants of the *Alberti* family who were above fifteen years of age.

DURING those domestic concussions, the *Florentines* were *The Flemings* making a great figure in *Lombardy*, where their general *rentines* *Carlo Malatesta* raised the siege of *Mantua*, with the entire defeat *Galeazzo's* army. His camp was taken, as were *Leazzo*; about two thousand of his cavalry, and about one hundred and twenty small shipping, which had been employed in the siege. *Galeazzo* upon this sent orders for count *Alberigo* to leave *Tuscany*, and to march to his assistance. His departure left the *Florentines* at liberty to revenge themselves to the full upon the *Pisans* and the *Siennese*, for the dreadful calamities they had lately inflicted on their state. Their successes in *Tuscany*, however, were somewhat abated by the unfavourable turn their affairs took in *Lombardy*, where their troops had neglected to pursue the great advantage they had obtained over *Galeazzo*. This remissness, together with many of them *but* *lose* leaving the service, gave the latter an opportunity of recovering all his shipping, and of shutting up the few *Florentines* *vantages*, that remained within their entrenchments. To complete the misfortunes of the *Florentines*, their general *Malatesta* was absent at this time, and their allies were extremely backward in assisting them, because the pope and the *Venetians*, had undertaken to mediate a peace at *Imola*.

THOUGH *Alberigo* had left *Lombardy*, yet a body of *Milan*-*Revolutionaries* troops still remained at *Pisa*. Their behaviour was so *at Pisa*, insupportable to the inhabitants, that a formal battle ensued, in which most of the soldiers were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, and they who escaped were forced to fly out of the city. Amongst the wounded was *Paolo Savelli* their general; and amongst the prisoners were several officers of great rank. The townsmen made themselves masters of all the arms, horses, and baggage that had belonged to the soldiers, who, as they gave out, intended to seize upon and plunder their city. This event gave vast pleasure to the *Florentines*, who immediately sent a deputation with offers of assistance and support to the *Pisans*, whom they congratulated upon their recovered liberty. The deputies were received with great civility; but the address

dress of Galeazzo frustrated their scheme. He laid the blame of what had happened entirely upon the rapaciousness and imprudence of his own soldiers, and highly commended the *Pisans* for what they had done. By this means, and by the management of Appiano, still the implacable enemy of the *Florentines*, the war between the two states was renewed; and the *Florentines* plundering all the tract of coast between *Pisa* and *Leghorn*, returned to *Florence* loaded with plunder.

*A negotia-
tion for
peace.*

THE negotiation for peace still went on at *Imola*; but Galeazzo, having now recovered his affairs, insisted upon such unreasonable terms as gave umbrage to the *Venetians*, who had for some time been jealous of his power. He was still carrying on the siege of *Mantua*; but the *Venetians* now sent a formal ambassy, requiring him to raise it, or to expel them for his enemies. This denunciation so greatly alarmed Galeazzo, that he began to treat of peace in good earnest, and the conferences were removed to *Pavia*. This negotiation did not, however, slacken the preparations of the *Florentines* for war; for while the negotiations were depending, they sent deputies to hire troops both in *France* and *Germany*.

*A. D.
1398.*

ABOUT the beginning of the year 1398, *Biordi*, a soldier of fortune, who had by turns served Galeazzo and the *Florentines*, was killed by a private inhabitant of *Perugia*, where he had for some time domineered. The townsmen, however, did not approve of the manner of his death, which *Biordi*'s friends and followers revenged upon the murderer's family, he himself escaping. The *Florentines* offered the *Perugians* a body of troops for their protection, which was accepted of; but soon after the family of the *Ubertini*, and several noblemen of great interest in *Tuscany*, declared for Galeazzo, and put themselves and their possessions under his protection. This defection alarmed the *Florentines* the more, as he had found means to surprise *Civitella*, a strong castle in the neighbourhood of *Arezzo*. All those events seemed to indicate a continuance of the war; but the *Florentines*, being now joined by the *Venetians*, were encouraged to hope for assistance from several powerful princes, both in *France* and *Italy*. In the mean while they regained possession of *Civitella*; and it was agreed between them and Galeazzo, that as it was next to impossible for them to settle the terms of a definitive peace, that they should conclude a truce for ten years. This measure being determined upon, the *Florentines* countermanded the troops that were preparing to march to their assistance; but that was far from restoring the tranquility of *Tuscany*. Galeazzo, and the enemies of the *Florentines*, soon perceived that all the view of the *Venetians*

*A truce
concluded.*

was to keep the war out of *Lombardy*, and that the *Florentines* were to expect no assistance from them in *Tuscany*. The troops, therefore, who had been dismissed by *Galeazzo*, by his connivance broke into *Tuscany*, and took quarters in the *Siennese*, while the *Ubertini*, and the other noblemen in the *Casentino*, finding that they were surrounded by the *Florentine* fortresses and territories, took arms to open themselves a free egress and regress to and from their estates, which were refused them by the *Florentines*.

By this time *Appiano* of *Pisa*, and his eldest son *Vantes*, *Revolution* being dead, his second son *Gerardo* succeeded to his power at *Pisa*. Pretending to be well affected towards the *Florentines*, and jealous of *Galeazzo*, he sent *Graffolini*, one of his friends, privately to *Florence*, to confer with some of the chief men there about entering into a league with them. The terms he demanded was, that the *Florentines* should, at their own expence, furnish him with and pay six hundred horse and two hundred foot; but the *Florentines*, thinking the demand mercenary and dishonourable, rejected it, tho' they offered to become the hearty allies of the *Pisans* upon an equal honourable footing.

In the year 1399 the war again raged in *Tuscany*, and *Galeazzo*'s party in *Pisa* coming to the knowledge of the late negotiation with the *Florentines*, prevailed with *Gerardo*, who was unequal to the post he held, partly by force and partly by persuasions, to resign to him the government of *Pisa*. The *Florentines* considered this acquisition as a threatening blow to the independency of their state, and the rather, as he made no secret that he would likewise soon render himself master both of *Sienna* and *Perugia*. As to the *Siennese*, they had been long his allies, but never his subjects; and they still retained an appearance of independency. The *Perugians* were in a worse situation. The pope claimed the sovereignty of their state, as having been formerly annexed to the see of *Rome*, and gave his general orders to reduce it. The *Perugians* upon this applied for protection to the *Florentines*, who, unwilling to embroil themselves with his holiness, declined being concerned in the affair. The *Perugians*, who mortally hated all subjection to the pope, were then forced to apply for protection to *Galeazzo*, which he readily granted them, before the *Florentines*, by the persuasion of some of their best patriots, could repair the false step they had made when they rejected the offers of the *Perugians*. The consequence of those great acquisitions made by *Galeazzo*, was, that the *Bolognese* renounced their league with *Florence*, and entered into his alliance, and the *Siennese* submitted to him. Thus he became more powerful than ever in *Tuscany*, without giving the *Florentines* any handle for complaining that he had violated the truce. A. D. 1399. State of Tuscany. S E C T.

S E C T. VIII.

Containing the Distresses of the Florentines. Their Country ravaged by a Plague. A Conspiracy discovered. Revolutions in the Empire. The Florentines invite the Emperor into Italy. His Arrival there. He disagrees with the Florentines, and returns to Germany. The Duke of Milan complains of the Florentines. War in the Bolognese. Death of Galeazzo. The Adventures of Aretin the Historian. Conquest of Pisa by the Florentines. Revolutions in the Popedom. The Council of Constance is held. An Account of Braccio the Perugian. War between the Florentines and the Milanese. Peace concluded. The Emperor Sigismund arrives in Italy, returns, and dies. Distresses of the Florentines. A general Council held at Ferrara. The Duke of Savoy chosen Pope. Tuscany invaded by Nicholas of Picino, who is conquered in the Year 1440.

Danger of the Florentines. THE year 1400 opened with a very gloomy prospect to the Florentines, through the growing power of Galeazzo, on the one hand, and that of the Ubertini and the Casantini lords on the other. To add to their distresses, Uguccio, who was then the leading man or lord of Cortona, seemed disposed to favour Galeazzo, by prohibiting provisions or goods of any kind to be carried through his dominions to Florence, unless the Florentines would grant him most unreasonable terms. To oblige them to comply, he prevailed with some of the Arezzians to surprise Montagnana, a strong place, extremely convenient for either party, when at war with the other. This act of hostility brought on others from the Florentines. They sent one of their generals, with a party of horse, to open the passages of the lakes and rivers that Uguccio had dammed up, which was done without any opposition from him. In the mean while, Galeazzo sent four hundred horse into the Casantini, to act as an opportunity should present, and fostered a war between the Bolognese and Astorgi of Faenza.

A terrible pestilence. DURING those commotions, so terrible a pestilence broke out at Florence, that it threatened to depopulate the city. It swept off equally the old and young of both sexes; nor was there any avoiding it, but by flight. All the principal inhabitants

bitants retired to the *Bolognese*; and of those whose circumstances did not permit them to fly, no fewer than thirty thousand died in a few weeks. This pestilence ceasing in other places of *Italy*, as well as *Florence*, the war raged with more violence than ever. *Paolo Guinisi* seized the government of *Lucca*. *Uguccio* lord of *Cortona*, and *Robert* count of *Pupio*, one of the *Casantin* lords, died. Both of them had been enemies to *Florence*; but the latter, upon his death-bed, had made the *Florentines* the guardians of his infant son, who was accordingly bred up at *Florence*. *Francisco de Casali* had succeeded his kinsman *Uguccio* in the government of *Cortona*, and seemed better inclined towards the *Florentines* than his predecessor had been. *Guinisi*, the new lord of *Lucca*, affected a neutrality; but being tampered with by *Galeazzo*, he civilly declined entering into a league with the *Florentines*.

THE late pestilence had given the disaffected *Florentines* an *A plot dif-* opportunity of caballing against the government; and a party *covered*, of them, who had fled to the *Bolognese*, had entered into a *and pu-* conspiracy for murdering the magistrates, and placing them-*nished*. selves in their seats; and, in short, for altering the whole system of the civil government. The conspiracy was discovered by *Silvestro Adimari*, who had been solicited to enter into it by *Ricci*, one of the faction, and who disclosing the whole to the government, they seized and put to death the ringleaders of the conspiracy, and sentenced to banishment many of their confederates, who had not yet returned to *Florence*.

TOWARDS the end of the year, *Giovanni Bentivoglio* seized *Revolution* upon the government of *Bologna*. This was an event of *so at Bolog-* great importance to the *Florentines*, that they sent an extraor-*na.* *inary* delegation, composed of the ablest and greatest men of their state, to congratulate him upon his accession to that government, and to offer him the friendship and assistance of *Florence*. *Galeazzo* was not behind them in the same professions; and his deputies seemed to vie with those of *Florence* in courting *Bentivoglio*'s friendship; but he leaned towards the former. The affairs of *Italy* were now about to assume a new face.

THE emperor *Charles IV.* was succeeded in the empire German by his son *Wenceslaus*, whose wicked disposition was heightened *affairs*. by an insanity of mind, contracted through intemperance; and, after various revolutions of fortune, he was deposed from the empire, the electors having chosen *Robert* count-*palatine* of the *Rhine*, and duke of *Bavaria*, to succeed him. Amongst the other marks of misgovernment *Wenceslaus* was charged with, one was, that he had, to the prejudice of the impe-

imperial dignity, sold the rights of the empire over *Lombardy* to *Galeazzo* for one hundred and fifty thousand crowns of gold, and given him the title of duke of *Milan*. The deposition of *Wenceslaus* gave the *Florentines* hopes of assistance from the new emperor, who sent ambassadors to *Rome* to signify his election to *Benedict*, one of the popes; for there were two then in *Europe*. The *Florentines* hearing his ambassadors were on the road, treated them with extraordinary civilities, and sent deputies of their own into *Germany* to invite the emperor into *Italy*. He heard them with great complacency; but, like his predecessors, all his answers implied that he expected they were to give him money.

A. D.
1401.

The Flo-
rentines
assist Ben-
tivoglio,

Soon after *Bentivoglio* continued the war that had been entered into between *Astorgi* of *Faenza* and the *Bolognese*, and both *Galeazzo* and the *Florentines* sent him auxiliaries; but *Astorgi* being well supported, a peace was concluded between him and *Bentivoglio*, to the great dislike of count *Alberigo*, who commanded a separate body of twelve hundred horse, and was *Astorgi*'s bitter enemy. His resentment went so far, that he brought *Galeazzo* to take part against *Bentivoglio*, whose chief dependence now was upon the *Florentines*, as theirs was upon the emperor. They, therefore, being every day apprehensive that all *Tuscany*, if not all *Italy*, would fall under the power of *Galeazzo*, pressed him, more than ever, to come to their relief, and a bargain between them was at last struck. The *Florentines* obliged themselves to pay to the emperor two hundred thousand golden ducats, part in hand, and part as soon as he entered *Galeazzo*'s dominions in a hostile manner. The payment of this vast sum was agreed to be made at *Venice* by the hands of *Buci*, a *Florentine* merchant of great credit and reputation. The emperor, that he might touch the money, filled all *Italy* with the news of his preparations; but, after the first payment, they were somewhat slackened. He arrived, however, at *Trent*; and, in order to be intitled to the residue of the money, he advanced against *Brescia*, a town belonging to *Galeazzo*. There the latter opposed him with a strong body of *Italian* cavalry; and though the emperor's army, having been joined by *Leopold* duke of *Austria*, and other *German* princes, was very numerous, yet it was intirely defeated by *Galeazzo*'s generals, and obliged to retire to *Trent* with vast loss. Ashamed to return to *Germany*, without doing something worthy his great name and preparations, he was persuaded by the *Florentine* deputies, and *Francisco* of *Carrara*, to march to *Padua*; where a new deputation, consisting of the four greatest men in *Florence*, attended him with six hundred *Italian* horse, commanded

manded by the famous *Sforza*. Those deputies, in conferring with him, found that he had nothing really in view but to get the remainder of the money, and that he was so miserably poor he could not keep his army together; without depending on the *Florentines*.

THIS inability of the emperor was a tender point for the *He deceives Florentines*; and therefore *Altizi* and *Vittori*, who were at the *them*; head of the deputation, returned to *Florence*, where they gave a verbal account of their negotiation. The *Florentines*, unwilling that the emperor's indigence should be publicly known, sent fresh instructions to their deputies, who remained with him at *Padua*, promising to gratify all his demands, provided he would continue with his army in *Italy* all the winter, and enter upon hostilities against *Galeazzo* early in the spring. But he insisted not only upon the residue of the money being immediately paid, but that they should enter upon a new subsidiary treaty with him, if he remained in *Italy*. The *Florentines*, foreseeing his drift, refused to comply with his terms; and, after spending a month in mutual altercations, he ordered his army to retreat towards *Germany*; while he himself went to *Venice*, where he complained most bitterly of the insincerity of the *Florentines*, and their breach of good faith. The *Florentines*, who greatly depended on the *Venetians*, took care to send two deputies to undeceive them. In a public audience they obtained, they complained, though with great decency, in their turn, that the emperor had not fulfilled his engagements. They insisted, that he had received more than half the money that had been promised him; and that the remainder was to be paid only after he had begun hostilities against *Galeazzo* with a powerful army; that his army was weak, and that he had retreated from their enemy upon the first appearance of danger. The *Venetians* seemed to take part with the *Florentines*; but strenuously endeavoured to make up matters between them. All their mediation was fruitless; and the emperor left their city.

NOTHING but the imminent danger of the *Florentines* could *but returns* have prevailed with them to have continued this negotiation. *to Padua*. The event was, that the emperor, upon his receiving the money he demanded, countermanded the march of his troops, and returned to *Padua*, where he passed the winter.

IT is evident, that at this time the *Florentines* were the only *Great spirit* people of spirit in *Italy*. Neither the pope nor the *Venetians* *rit of the* could be brought to declare against *Galeazzo*; and the em- *Floren-* peror, pretending he could not work impossibilities, returned *tines*; *to Germany*. All this time *Galeazzo*'s ambassadors, and the *Florentine* deputies, were pleading the cause of their principals

at *Venice*; but the *Venetians*, though they appeared on all occasions to side with the *Florentines*, could not be prevailed upon to depart from their neutrality. The emperor's expedition into *Italy*, however, at the invitation of the *Florentines*, was of service to them, as it encouraged several states, *Pistoia* particularly, to oppose *Galeazzo*.

It was no sooner known that the emperor and his army were on their return to *Germany*, than *Galeazzo* declared open war against *Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*, with whom he had hitherto kept some measures. He was now reconciled to the prince of *Mantua*, whom he sent into the *Bolognese* at the head of a powerful army, commanded, under him, by some of the best general-officers in *Italy*. The *Florentines*, as usual, were faithful to their allies; and sent their general *Bernard*, whom they still retained in their service, to the assistance of the *Bolognese*. Some other states, the allies of *Florence*, followed their example, till the *Bolognese* auxiliaries grew so powerful, that the *Florentines* seemed to rest the fate of *Tuscany* and of *Italy* upon that of *Bologna*. The *Florentines*, and their allies, took post at the village of *Casaleci*, about four miles from *Bologna*, as being the most proper for covering that city from the attempts of the enemy. But there was no comparison as to the goodness and discipline of the troops. The *Florentines* and their allies were attacked with such fury by their enemies, that they were intirely defeated, and all of them, except a very few who escaped to *Bologna*, were cut in pieces. *Bernard* and some of the chief *Florentine* generals were made prisoners. The consequence of this great defeat was, that the enemies of *Bentivoglio* within *Bologna* took arms, and, after killing him, opened their gates to *Galeazzo*'s party, who now made themselves masters of *Bologna*.

THE *Florentines* were struck with the greatest consternation at the news of the defeat of an army, on which was all their dependence. But their enemies were commanded by so many leaders of different interests, that, far from pursuing their blow, they gave the *Florentines* leisure to provide for their own safety. The first thing they did was to quell the attempts of the *Ubaldini* and the *Casantine* lords, who had taken arms after they heard the *Florentines* had been defeated. They next resumed their old system of politics, in applying for assistance to the pope and the *Venetians*, who, they knew, were very uneasy at the vast growth of *Galeazzo*'s power; but though the friendship of both was sought with extreme earnestness by the *Florentines*, both of them seemed to dread the horrors of a war. The pope's strength lay chiefly in his spiritual arms, and he had seen both *Bologna* and *Perugia* wrested

wrested from the papacy. The *Venetians*, pretending they had suffered greatly by their late wars with *Genoa*, and the checks their trade had received, declined entering into any engagements with the *Florentines* against *Galeazzo*, unless the latter were at almost all the expence of the war. The *Florentines* thought it ignominious to submit to such conditions, and, dreading the infidelity of so mercenary a people, rejected the terms.

WHILE the *Florentines* were in this state of disappointment *Galeazzo*, and anxiety, *Galeazzo* sent ambassadors to *Venice* with the *proposals* ^a a proposals for peace, in which the *Florentines* were to be in-peace's eluded. This news was at first discredited at *Florence*, and *Galeazzo*'s intention distrusted. At last the *Florentines* ordered their deputies at *Venice* to enter upon a *negociation* with *Galeazzo* and the *Venetians* at the same time. But a great event now happened, which rid them of their anxieties. This was the death of *Galeazzo*, who survived the taking of *Bologna* but a few weeks. According to *Aretin*^a, he was sincere in his proposals for an accommodation with *Florence*, that he might leave his sons, who were very young, in peaceable possession of his great and opulent dominions. *Bilius*^b, a *Milanese* contemporary historian, is silent as to his sincerity; and, to the glory of *Florence*, he tells us, that they were the only people in *Italy* whom *Galeazzo* had not made either his subjects or his friends; and that, had he lived but a few days longer, *Florence*, now deserted by all her allies, must have been conquered, as sixteen thousand horse, and an equal number of foot, were on their march against it as far as *Sienna*, when they received orders to halt. The *Florentines* found means to come at the certainty of *Galeazzo*'s death, though *His death*, it was kept very private; and they dispatched orders to their deputies at *Venice* to proceed no farther in the negotiations, either with the *Venetians* or the *Milanese*.

BUT the safety of *Florence* must have still been precarious, *and the dis-* had it not been for the dissensions that prevailed amongst the *order of his* generals and grandees of *Milan*. *Galeazzo* had left to his eldest *court*. son, *John*, the greatest part of his dominions; and to his second son *Philip*, *Pavia*, *Novarra*, *Vercelli*, *Alexandria*, and other places in the neighbourhood; and had made his natural son, *Gabriel*, lord of *Pisa*, *Luna*, *Seranza*, and other places on that coast. He left the tutelage of his sons to *Peter* archbishop of *Milan*, *Carlo Malatesta* lord of *Rimini*, and *Giacomo Vermi*. It appears by *Bilius*, that the court of *Milan*, not-

^a *Ibid.* pag. 248.
xix. p. 11.

^b *BILLIUS apud MURAT.* tom.

withstanding its power, was at this time little better than barbarous, which must have been occasioned by their long wars; and that the education of the young princes was neglected, merely for want of persons capable to instruct them. The relations of *Galeazzo*, who were numerous and ambitious, took amiss that they had been excluded from all share in the government; and no regard was paid to *Galeazzo's* widow, the mother of the princes, who were at last put under the tutelage of *Giovanni Caffati*, a soldier, but a man of virtue: but this *Caffati* was soon murdered by the factious nobility, and the *Florentines* are accused ^d of having fomented rebellions amongst the *Milanese* subjects.

The Florentines make war in Milan. THIS charge, however, redounds to their honour, as they looked upon the *Tuscan* acquisitions of *Galeazzo* to have been made by treachery as much as force; and, in effect, all they did was to invite the neighbouring states, who had been thereby dismembered from their alliance, to recover their liberty. Being well acquainted with the dissentions that prevailed at *Milan*, they at last entered into a league with pope *Boniface*, and took the field against the *Milanese*, naming *Nicholas of Ferrara* for their general. Their first attempt was on the *Parmesan*, where they were stoutly opposed by *Otto*, the *Milanese* governor. At last a negociation was proposed; and it was managed between *Malatesta*, on the part of the *Milanese*, and *Gianelli*, brother to the pope, on that of the allies. The *Florentines* had demanded the rendition of *Bologna* and *Perugia*. *Malatesta* acted so artfully, that he persuaded *Gianelli* that it could be by no means for the interest of his holiness to depend upon such powerful allies as the *Florentines*; and that the court of *Milan* was ready to restore *Bologna* and *Perugia* to the Holy See, provided the *Florentines* were left out of the negociation. This proposal was agreed to, and *Gianelli* was immediately put in possession of *Perugia*. Upon this, the allied army returned to *Tuscany*.

WHATEVER resentments the *Florentines* might have, upon being excluded from the late negociation, they were so far from making any public complaints, that they made a merit of being the means of re-annexing to the Holy See two such valuable acquisitions, and of having dismembered them from the *Milanese*. They next attempted to rouse the *Siennese* to a sense of their liberty, by encouraging and supporting the party there that was in opposition to the *Milanese*. But failing in this attempt, they declared war against the *Siennese*, who threw themselves upon the protection of the Holy See

^d *BILLIUS*, ubi sup a, p. 13.

and Gianelli. This being more agreeable to the *Florentines* than if they had continued their attachments with the court of *Milan*, and a peace succeeded between *Florence* and *Sienna*.

LADISLAUS, son of *Charles of Durazzo*, was at this *Ladislaus*, time king of *Naples*, and pope *Boniface* was dead. *Ladislaus, king of* being a man of parts and ambition, soon grew as formidable *Naples*, to the *Florentines* as *Galeazzo* had ever been. Pope *Innocent* ^{formidable} succeeded *Boniface* in the Holy See; and *Ladislaus*, under pre-^{to the Flo-} tence of congratulating him upon his accession, repaired to ^{rentines.} *Rome*: but his real intention was to form a party against the pope, which might oblige him to retire in disgust from *Rome*, and give him (*Ladislaus*) an opportunity of making himself master of that city. The pope, who was old and indolent, but crafty and experienced, saw that a powerful faction had been formed against him amongst the *Romans*, and demanded assistance from the *Florentines*, who sent him a body of horse. *Aretin* the historian was then at the papal court, and a great favourite with his holiness; but he gives us a very indifferent idea of the humanity of that court, when he tells us, that eleven noble *Romans*, who had been sent upon a peaceable commission to the pope, were, upon their return, made prisoners, and butchered in cold blood, by command of the pope's nephew; and that he himself very narrowly missed being murdered on that account. His holiness, however, was so well served by his *Florentine* auxiliaries, that he escaped to *Viterbo*, where he remained for some months, till the *Romans*, of their own accord, invited him back to their city.

WE now come to what we may almost call the final period *History of* of the *Florentine* glory. Their recovery, in a few years, from *the war* a state of the deepest despondency, to a condition of pre-^{with} *Pisa*. scribing laws to those from whom they apprehended the greatest danger, can properly be ascribed only to their own magnanimity, and their wonderful attachment to independency. After their loss of the battle in the *Bolognese*, their infantry had been rallied by *Sforza* (A), a soldier of fortune, but of great courage and genius in war, who brought them safe to *Florence*.

(A) *Leodrigo Cribelli*, who wrote the Life of this extraordinary prince, is highly disgusted with our historian *Aretin*, who, he says, was in the greatest esteem and honour in *Florence*, for omitting all mention of this *Sforza*, who, as he tells us, was bred up under Sir *John*

Hawkwood. The reason perhaps was, because *Sforza* was held to be of a very mean original, no better than the son of a farmer; his true name being *Attendula*, but got the name of *Sforza* from his boldness, or impetuosity.

A. D.
1405.

This service, though the *Florentine* historians have been ungrateful enough to suppress the mention of it, enabled them to recover their affairs to the surprising degree we have seen, and even to meditate the conquest of *Pisa*, to which they were encouraged by the dissensions and factions that still prevailed in the *Milanese* (B). There was a kind of a radical enmity between the *Pisans* and the *Florentines*. The former had, of old, given laws upon the *Tuscan* sea, and had been masters of *Sardinia*, *Corsica*, and the *Balearic* islands. The antiquity of their city, compared to which they thought *Florence* but an upstart, increased their contempt of the *Florentines*; while the *Florentines*, equally proud, but conscious of the vast superiority which commerce gave them over the *Pisans*, considered them with disdain. This diversity of sentiments begat the same in interests, the *Florentines* following those of the *Guelphs*, and the *Pisans* those of the *Gibelins*. But the death of *Galeazzo* deprived *Pisa* at once of her master and protector, and left her exposed to the resentment of the *Florentines*, *Gabriel*, *Galeazzo*'s natural son, being but young and disregarded. According to *Palmerius* *, the scheme of the *Florentine* conquest of *Pisa* was suggested to them by the *Genoese*, and the anti-pope *Benedict*, who then resided in that city, with a view of bringing the *Florentines* into *Benedict*'s interest, and to divert them from joining with the *Venetians*. The matter at first was proposed by way of negociation, and that the *Florentines* should pay a considerable sum of money, by the hands of the pope and the *Genoese*, to *Gabriel*, on condition of his yielding up all his property in *Pisa*. This proposal was communicated by *Benedict* to the *Genoese*, and by *Bouccicault*, the French governor of *Genoa*, to a *Florentine* merchant, named *Alderotti*, then residing at *Genoa*, who transmitted it to *Florence*. The magistrates of *Florence* thought the affair to be of so much importance, that they sent a trusty officer, one *Caponi*, to confer with *Alderotti*; but, above all, to scrutinize into the right which *Bouccicault* and the anti-pope had to dispose of *Pisa*. *Caponi* accordingly addressed himself to *Bouccicault*, and desired to know whether he was impowered to sell *Pisa* to the *Florentines*. The Frenchman told him he was not, but that he would soon be impowered;

* *PALMERIUS*, ubi supra, p. 169.

(B) The following account of the conquest of *Pisa* by the *Florentines* is extracted from *Palmerius*, a *Florentine* historian,

who wrote at that time a little tract called *De Captivitate Pisorum*, published by *Muratori*, tom. xix.

because

because pope *Benedict* proposed to reside at *Pisa*, in which case the *Pisans* would certainly offer him the command of their citadel, which he would deliver up to the *Florentines*. *Caponi* then demanded how much money was to be paid by the *Florentines*. He was answered four hundred thousand ducats of gold; half of which was to go as a subsidy to *Carrrara* prince of *Padua*, and the other half by way of indemnification to *Gabriel* lord of *Pisa*.

So quick-fighted a people as the *Florentines* were not to be *Shameful* imposed upon by so infamous, yet so fallacious a proposal *juggling* of *The French*. They ordered their agent to inform *Bouccicault*, that the money should be forth-coming, upon the surrender of *Pisa* to the *Florentines*. In the mean while, *Gabriel*, hearing of the anti-pope and *Bouccicault*'s treachery, and conscious of his own deserted condition, applied for advice and assistance to the *Florentines*. *Albizi* at this time continued to have the chief direction at *Florence*, and, sensible of *Gabriel*'s motives, he obtained leave of the magistracy to have a secret interview with him ^f. The particulars of this interview, as described by *Palmerius*, are more curious than instructive. But though it was very artfully managed, the *Pisans* came to the knowledge of it, and it was immediately given out that *Gabriel* was about to sell *Pisa* to the *Florentines*. The *Pisans* took arms. *The Florentines* sent two deputies, one to *Gabriel*, the other to *Bouccicault*, to treat of the surrender of *Pisa* and its territory. *Petrosanta* was pitched upon for the place of treaty; and, after various altercations, it was agreed, that the *Florentines* should pay to *Gabriel* a certain sum (C) for the town, territory, and castle of *Pisa*. Part of it was paid upon the surrender of the citadel by *Gabriel*, and part was to be discharged by monthly payments, upon the bargain being performed on *Gabriel*'s part.

^f *PALMERIUS*, ubi supra, p. 171.

(C) The reader of modern history is often balked of a great deal of information by the inaccurate manner in which writers mention sums of money. In the present case, for instance, our author says, *Florentini centum & quinquaginta supra duo millia librarum auri pretii nomine exsolverent*. The literal mean-

The citadel of *Pisa* was put into the hands of *Lorenzo Ruffosani*, one of the *Flarentine* gonfaloniers; and the first payment was made by *Caponi*. The *Pisans*, however, did not think that *Gabriel* had a right to sell their liberties and country. They therefore took arms, and besieged the citadel, that had been surrendered to the *Florentines*, and which was garrisoned only by a company of raw country militia, who held it out for some time; but were at last obliged to surrender it the very day on which it was given up.

War declared against the Pisans.

THE news of this loss created great discontent at *Florence*, where some were so generous as to approve of the spirit and courage of the *Pisans*; but the majority called out for an immediate war, against which the graver citizens strongly remonstrated. While this matter was under deliberation, five of the principal citizens of *Pisa* came as deputies to *Florence*, and demanded a public audience, which was granted them. The purpose of the deputation was far different from what the *Florentines* expected. The deputies boldly justified what had been done by their countrymen, and demanded back such of their castles as, by the bargain made with *Gabriel*, had been delivered up to the *Florentines*, and were still in their hands. This spirited behaviour, however equitable it might have been, reconciled all parties amongst the *Florentines*; so that it was unanimously resolved to lose no time in declaring war against *Pisa*. Ten field-deputies were accordingly created, and an army was raised, the command of which was given to *Bertoldo Ursini*. *Bertoldo* accordingly marched into the *Pisan* territory, and laid siege to *Vico*, a town which served as a key to *Pisa* itself. Winter however coming on, very little progress was made in the siege, and the *Florentines* were obliged to wreak their indignation against *Ruffosani*, and the militia who had garrisoned the citadel of *Pisa*, by condemning them to death.

The siege of Pisa undertaken.

THE *Pisans* were not wanting to themselves on this occasion. All civil dissensions amongst them were abolished. Families at variance were obliged to intermarry with each other, that they might unite in the common defence of their country; and religious processions were every day held to implore the assistance of heaven. All other human means for their defence were provided, and a considerable army was raised. The *Florentine* army was better disciplined and officered, and they at first defeated the *Pisans* in every encounter. The latter, however, raised fresh troops, and marched along the sea-coast to attack the *Florentines*, who were still intent upon the siege of *Vico*. *Sforza*, who continued to serve as a general officer with great reputation in the *Florentine* army, was detached

tached to meet them, and partly by courage, partly by stratagem, he defeated them ; but their general *Paccio*, with the greatest part of their army, escaped to *Pisa*, where every thing was now in confusion. After the expulsion of *Gabriel* and the *Florentines*, no form of government had been settled, and every one aspired to be master of the city. *Gambacurta*, a relation of him we have already mentioned, prevailed ; and was chosen regent, or, as he is called, the rector, of the people. He was no sooner established in his power, than he employed it to the most wicked purposes, by secretly putting to death all the principal persons of the state, whom he suspected not to be in his interest ; and this barbarity created so universal a detestation of him, that he was soon deprived of his power.

In the mean while the *Pisans*, being threatened with a *Famine in* *famine*, sent some ships to purchase corn in *Sicily*. Upon this *Pisa*, the *Florentines* fitted out a squadron to intercept them in their *which is* return, and took a large vessel loaded with corn under the *blocked up* *fortifications of Vada*, a town situated at the mouth of the *by the Flo-* *rentines*. *Bertoldo* was all this while vigorously pressing the siege of *Vico* ; and it was on that occasion that guns were first made use of by the *Florentines*. *Palmerius* ⁸ gives a most frightful description of several other dreadful machines employed in the same siege, insomuch that he says there was not a house in the whole city that was not beaten down or damaged. We cannot, however, suppose that the machines or artillery he made use of, were so tremendous as they are described to be ; for the place, though not remarkable for its strength, held out for above eight months. This tired out the patience of the *Florentines*, and *Bertoldo* was superseded in his command, which was given to *Obizi* ; and thus a whole year was spent by the *Florentines*, at a great expence, but to very little purpose. The spirit of both people seemed to grow with the difficulties they had to encounter. The besieged held out with amazing resolution against all the power of *Florence* ; and the *Florentines*, reflecting upon the vast expence which the acquisition of so inconsiderable a place had cost them, changed their field deputies, and resolved at all hazards to besiege *Pisa* itself. Foreseeing that the other powers of *Italy* might throw obstacles in their way, they entered into negotiations with the two chief of them, *Ladislaus* king of *Naples*, and *Otto*, or *Otho*, duke of *Parma*. They agreed with the former to stand neutral in the quarrel between him and the pope, provided he did not assist the *Pisans* ; and they purchased the neutrality of the other by a sum of money. The spring

⁸ *PALMERIUS*, ubi supra, p. 177.

of the year 1406 was now approaching, and *Vico* still held out. The *Florentines*, to make the campaign decisive, ordered *Obizi* to continue that siege, and committed the command of the expedition against *Pisa* to *Luca Fiascani*, a *Genoese*; but joined in commission with him *Maso Albizi* and *Gino Caponi*.

Pisa more closely besieged.

DETERMINED to make their chief efforts against *Pisa*, they turned the siege of *Vico* into a blockade, and drew off all the men they could from *Obizi*'s army; so that the whole of their troops, exclusive of irregulars, artizans, and workmen, amounted to five thousand horse and seven thousand foot, the place of rendezvous being *Cascia*. But, after a day's march from thence towards *Pisa*, it was found that no magazines had been erected for their support, though the contractors, who resided at *Genoa*, had assured them that plenty of all necessaries had been provided. The few fruits which the earth then furnished were soon consumed, and it was proposed in a general council of war to return to *Florence*. This, upon debate, was found to be equally disgraceful and dangerous; and it was resolved to struggle a few days longer with famine, rather than forego their mighty expectations. In the mean while, purveyors were dispatched to *Florence*, and through all *Tuscany*, particularly along the sea-coasts, to purchase bread; and proclamations were issued, that all provisions imported into the *Florentine* camp should be duty-free. By these precautions, plenty soon succeeded famine in the *Florentine* army.

Operations of the siege. THE *Florentines* then made dispositions for cutting off all communication by water with *Pisa*, and threw a bridge over the *Arno*, by which means they intercepted several ships laden with provisions for *Pisa*; so that *Paccio*, the *Pisan* general, left the city, with all his horse, for fear of being starved. The *Pisans* attempted to restore their communication by water, and their fleet attacked that of the *Florentines*; but with so little success, that the inhabitants were thrown into the utmost despondency, and nothing but their inveterate hatred of the *Florentines* could have prevented an immediate surrender of their city. In the beginning of *June*, the *Arno* swelling to a great height, the *Pisans*, by chaining together large rafts of wood, which they drove upon the *Florentine* bridge, broke it down. Upon this, imagining the *Florentine* army to be divided, they resolved to attack that part of it next *Pisa*, which they thought to be the weakest. The *Florentines* had raised works at both the abutments of the bridge that had been destroyed; and *Cola Matteo*, who commanded the *Pisans* after the departure of *Paccio*, made the necessary dispositions for the attack.

The

The *Florentines*, whose main body lay on the opposite strand, were in great perplexity how to save their garrison, when *Sforza* offered to be answerable for it, at the peril of his life, if the command of the work was given to him. This proposal was agreed to, and he immediately threw himself into a little skiff, and, with one companion and a horse, with extreme difficulty and danger, he reached the other shore, and entered the fort. *Tartalia*, like *Sforza*, a soldier of fortune, jealous of *Sforza*'s reputation, threw himself into another skiff, and arrived at the fort about the same time.

To a modern military officer those two exploits may appear very inconsiderable; but they were at that time thought to be so daring, that the *Pisans* lost all courage, and, without striking a blow, returned to their city, fatigued and wearied, after a fruitless march. Many of them were so tired, that they remained in the fields and woods; and the river decreasing next day, all the *Florentine* army passed it, and made them prisoners. This exploit, performed by *Sforza*, was looked upon by the *Florentines* to be so important^b, that they settled a pension upon him of five hundred ducats a year for life, and made it payable to him, whatever service he should embrace.

THE *Florentine* army lay now before the walls of *Pisa*; *The Florentines*, and, from the desponding behaviour of the besieged, they were *miscarry in lade* (D) in the night. For this purpose a picked detachment was draughted. Their armour was light, and, to make the less noise, their feet were bare; and they mounted the walls. Notwithstanding all their precautions, when they thought themselves sure of success, the besieged took the alarm. Men, women, and children ran to the fortifications, which they defended so bravely, that the *Florentines* were beaten off. The *Pisans* were so much elated by this short gleam of success, that they dragged at the tail of an as the mangled body of a *Florentine* soldier through their streets; an indignity which was resented by the corps to which the soldier belonged, by cutting in pieces all the *Pisan* prisoners who were in their custody.

THE miscarriage of the escalade revived animosities amongst *Divisions* the *Florentine* officers. *Sforza* and *Tartalia* continued still to be competitors for command. Both of them were unexcep-

^a CRIBELLIVS de Vita Sfortiæ vicecomitis, apud MURAT. tom. xix. p. 643.

(D) This, in the modern military language, is called a Coup de main,

tionable

tionable, as to their fidelity, as well as abilities; but *Tartalia* complained that *Sforza* intended to poison him. *Albizi* and *Caponi*, who then attended the *Florentine* army in their tour of duty, as field-deputies, did all they could to make up this difference, which threatened an universal mutiny in the army. *Tartalia*, however, under the shew of great resignation, still harboured resentment; and as soon as the service of the two field-deputies was expired, their differences broke out with more rancour than before. While those factious disputes continued to divide the *Florentine* army, it was attacked by pestilential diseases, arising from the unwholesomeness of the soil and neighbourhood in which they were encamped. The magistracy of *Florence* were of opinion, that the inactivity of their troops contributed greatly to their distress, and orders were given for pressing the siege with more activity than ever. Accordingly the bridge across the *Arno* was repaired. *Tartalia* commanded the troops on one side of the river, and *Sforza* those on the other. A junction was effected between the main army and the troops that still lay before *Vico*, in such a manner that both places were thoroughly invested, and bridges of boats were thrown over several parts of the *Arno*.

Cruelty of both parties.

THOSE dispositions struck terror into the *Pisans*; and *Gambacurta*, who continued to command in the city, turned out of it all the useless mouths, the better to husband his provisions. The *Florentines*, aware of his design, proclaimed in their camp, that no quarter should be given to any who were thus turned out, and they actually hanged up great numbers in sight of their fellow citizens; while they committed others, in rotten boats, to the stream of the *Arno*, which carried them back to *Pisa*, with copies of the fatal proclamation round their necks. The *Florentines*, however, relented in this inhuman practice, and were contented with branding such of the male *Pisans* who fell into their hands, and cutting the skirts from the cloaths of the females, and then turning both back into the city. The consequence was, that the city was soon reduced to the last degree of misery by famine; nor was *Vico* in a better condition. While this inhuman war was thus raging, the people of *Biento*, a town in the neighbourhood, acted the part of mediators, and applied to the inhabitants and garrison of *Vico* to persuade them to surrender, in which they succeeded; and *Albizi* was sent from *Florence* to settle the capitulation. The terms were, that if *Vico* was not succoured in ten days, it should surrender to *Albizi*, which it accordingly did.

The Pisans treat; THE *Pisans* by this time were reduced through famine to despair; and *Vico* being taken, they lost their chief dependence, and

and thought at last of treating. One *Gasparo*, a citizen of *Pisa*, was sent out to confer, for that purpose, with *Caponi* and the other field-deputies; and, after a negotiation of several days, every thing was considered to be as good as concluded upon; when all of a sudden, in the night time, *Pisa* resounded with acclamations of joy and musical instruments, and blazed with illuminations and bonfires, and at day-break the duke of *Burgundy*'s colours were seen flying on the walls. Soon after a *French* officer came into the *Florentine* camp, and informed them that *Pisa* now belonged to his master the duke of *Burgundy*, who had ordered him to require the *Florentines* to desist from the siege. Though the *Florentines* were not a little startled at this message, yet they resolutely answered, that they had too great an opinion of the honour and good faith of the duke, for them to believe that any such message had come from him; and that they were resolved to prosecute the siege with more vigour than ever. This resolute answer served only to render the *French* officer the more insolent; and he made it his business to swagger round the camp the whole day, denouncing vengeance against the *Florentines* if they did not raise the siege; till at last he became so intolerable, that some of their officers threw him into the *Arno*. He escaped by swimming ashore, and went to *Florence*, where he repeated all his extravagancies; but was soon driven out of that city.

It quickly appeared, that the *Pisans* had actually made a ~~but trans-~~
surrender of themselves and their city to the duke of *Bur-* ~~for their~~
~~gundy~~, brother of the *French* king, who was in no condition ~~sovereignty~~
to relieve them, but by means of *Boucicault*, who still con-^{to the duke}
tinued to be his governor in *Genoa*. The *Florentines*, though ^{of Bur-}
they dissembled, knew of the transaction; but did not chuse ~~gundy~~
to break with the *French*. Their success against *Pisa* had
been chiefly owing to three large gallies ^k lent them by the
Genoese, which blocked up the mouth of the *Arno*; and they
likewise had in their army many *Genoese* soldiers and engineers,
upon whom they had great dependence. Fearing, however,
that *Boucicault* might prevail with the *Genoese* magistrates to
recall their troops and sailors, the *Florentines* obliged all the
Genoese in their service to take an oath, that they would in
no event, and at no command, leave the service of the *Flo-*
rentines within a certain stated time. Perhaps the largeness
of the *Florentine* pay was the best guaranty of this oath; for
when *Boucicault*, soon after, by his master's orders, required

^k BILLI Historia apud MURAT. tom. xix. pag. 16. PAL-
MERIUS de Captivitato Pisarum, ibid, pag. 185.

They are
forced to
resume
their nego-
tiation

the *Genoese* to return to their own country, not a man of them obeyed him, all of them pleading the engagement they were under. The last resource of the *Pisans*, which lay in the French duke, thus failing them, the negotiation for a surrender was renewed, and *Bindi*, a *Pisan*, was sent by *Gambacurta* to *Caponi* for that purpose. He carried in his face every mark of extreme famine; but, though he supped with the *Florentine* general, all his entreaties could not prevail upon him to give him a loaf of bread. Such misery was no longer to be withstood. *Billius*¹ says, that *Gambacurta* treated privately with the *Florentines*; but if he had not, the place must have surrendered. After some negotiating, the capitulation was settled in the following terms; viz. that *Giacomo Gambacurta* should deliver up to the *Florentines* the city of *Pisa* within three days; that the *Florentines* should pay to him fifty thousand golden ducats on such delivery, and that he himself and his posterity should enjoy their private estates in the *Pisan* territory; and that the *Pisans* should give twenty hostages to *Fiascani*, the *Florentine* general, for the due performance of the conditions.

with the
Floren-
tines; and
the terms
are settled.

THAT public jealousy which is so prevalent in a free state, did not suffer *Caponi* to conclude this capitulation without the advice of the other field-deputies, who were at *Florence*; and they, from the same motives, carried the matter before the presidents, who thought proper immediately to summon a *Balia*, or meeting of the people. The question there put was; Whether it was their pleasure to receive *Pisa* by way of capitulation, or to wait a few days till famine should force the inhabitants to surrender without terms? The former was chosen, as most eligible and humane; and *Caponi*, with another nobleman called *Corbinello*, were immediately deputed to see the capitulation performed. They had, however, a difficult point to manage. *Sforza* and *Tartalia*, though they agreed in nothing else, joined in condemning a peace, by which they were to lose the plunder of the city; but they were restrained by the authority of *Caponi* from coming to extremities; and at last a seeming reconciliation between them and the advocates for peace was effected. This was not the only difficulty that occurred. The twenty hostages that were given were of the noblest families of *Pisa*; but the public were ignorant of the particulars of the capitulation, or that the hostages were to be imprisoned until all the terms were fulfilled. This consideration startled *Gambacurta*; but *Bindi* advised him to throw himself entirely upon the good faith and generosity

¹ *BILLIUS ubi supra.*

of the *Florentines*, which he accordingly did. *Caponi*, who *Wisdom* had the chief management of the negotiation, acted on this *and magnanimity* and *wisdom* that did him great *nanimity of honour*. He found there was a powerful party amongst the *Caponi* general officers, who were for plundering the *Pisans*; and the latter, who were still numerous and desperate, were ignorant that their city was to be instantly given up. *Caponi*, by his address and resolution, got the better of all difficulties in his own camp; but he refused to take possession of *Pisa*, as *Gambacurta* would have persuaded him to do, in the night time, for fear of treachery. This obliged *Gambacurta* to pass the night, with some of his friends, under the gate which was to be given up; and by break of day the *Florentine* army appeared before it, drawn up in a most tremendous array. Upon this *Gambacurta* presented *Caponi* with the steel head of an arrow, as a token of his resigning to the *Florentines* the sovereignty of *Pisa*, which the other received in the most polite manner.

THE *Pisans*, at this time, ignorant of what had happened, *Pisa surrend* were drawn up in the great square of the city, and were surprised when they saw their enemies within their gates; but *the Florentines* much more so at the peaceable friendly manner in which they advanced. *Caponi*, who had left a strong guard to preserve *Gambacurta* from the violence of the *Pisans*, immediately ordered the terms of capitulation to be proclaimed, and that the *Pisans* should be safe in their persons and properties, and relieved from all their distresses. Upon this the inhabitants of every age and condition flocked round their conquerors as their deliverers; but never did a more touching scene of misery appear than was presented by those living ghosts. Almost every thing that was eatable had been consumed, and many of the besieged had subsisted upon dead bodies torn from the graves. The *Florentines* had brought along with them a quantity of bread, which they threw amongst the people as they passed through the streets. The sight of food, and their eagerness to catch at it, made the *Pisans* forget all animosities towards their late enemies, and the rendition of their city was completed without tumult. Upon a narrow search it was discovered, that no kind of provision remained in *Pisa*, the day it surrendered, but three very lean cows, and a pound or two of sugar.

THIS sudden transition from a state of the most deplorable famine, to one of plenty, ease, and tranquility, gave some suspicion to the *Pisans* that all that shew of friendship was intended to lull them into a state of security, till the *Florentines* should find an opportunity of plundering and mur

dering them. *Gino Caponi*, to remove those suspicions, called a general assembly both of the magistrates and people, and made a formal speech to assure them of the good faith and friendship of his masters the *Florentines*; which had so good an effect, that twenty of the chief citizens of *Pisa* were named to go to *Florence*, and there to make a formal surrender of their sovereignty to the magistracy. This was done with great pomp; and for some months nothing was heard in *Florence* but music of all kinds, and shouts of triumph; and nothing seen but festivities, jousts, tournaments, and magnificent processions.

Affairs of the papacy. ACCORDING to *Aretin*^a, the *Florentine* name never was so renowned and glorious as it was upon the taking of *Pisa*. Their city became now the rendezvous of all the great and the polite amongst the *Italians*; and they behaved with so much tenderness and honour towards the *Pisans*, that they found no difficulty in reducing to their obedience all the *Pisan* territory, which, according to *Palmerius*, contained no fewer than eighty-four walled towns. This rendered them so formidable, that none of their neighbours chusing to disturb them, they for some years continued in a state of tranquillity, excepting when it was disturbed by the schism that still prevailed in the papacy, which at this time continued to divide all *Europe*. Upon the death of the anti-pope *Innocent*, the cardinals at *Rome* chose a *Venetian*, *Angelo Corrario*; but exacted a promise from him to abdicate the papacy, as soon as his competitor *Peter de Luna* should do the same, or as soon as the cardinals should think fit to proceed to a new election. *Corrario*, being chosen, was in no haste to fulfil his engagement, but trifled most egregiously with his electors, and avoided having any interview in order to compromise matters. *Corrario* had taken the name of *Gregory*, and was attended by *Aretin* the historian, on the part of the *Florentines*, to *Rimini*, which was then in subjection to *Carlo Malatesta*, to whom *Aretin* gives a very high character. In the mean while, the *Florentines*, as well as the rest of *Christendom*, ashamed of the conduct of the two anti-popes, and the scandal thereby arising to the church, agreed that a council should be held at *Pisa*, where both popes were solemnly deposed; and another, *Philargi*, a *Greek* by birth, being chosen, took the name of *Alexander*. This new pope was opposed by *Ladislaus* king of *Naples*, who had done all he could to obstruct the meeting of the council at *Pisa*, and his holiness conferred the kingdom of *Naples* upon *Lewis of Anjou*, the son of that

^a *Aretin. rerum Italicarum Hist.* p. 256.

duke, who had disputed it before with *Charles of Durazzo*. The *Florentines* took part with *Lewis*, and *Ladislaus* marched an army into *Tuscany*, where he sat down before *Arezzo*, in hopes of an insurrection within that city in his favour; but, though he was disappointed in that, *Cortona* opened its gates to him. He was, however, soon after obliged to return to *Rome*. In the mean while pope *Alexander* died, and an *Italian* contemporary historian ^b (A), who knew him well, gives character him excessive commendations for virtue and piety; only he of pope tells us, he was such an epicure that he spent half his time at *Alexander*, and that he had forty wenchess in his family all in the same habit; but he attributes that piece of luxury to his being a native of *Greece*.

NOTWITHSTANDING *Alexander*'s death, the dispute between *Lewis* of *Anjou* and *Ladislaus*, about the crown of *Naples* still continued, and the *Florentines* sent an army to the disfavour of the former, under the command of *Paolo Ursini* king of *Naples* and *Sforza*. *Lewis* was attended by *Baldasar Cossa*, who acted Naples as the legate of pope *Alexander*. This person had been bred up a pirate, and acted in that capacity when he first took orders; afterwards, betaking himself to the land service, he was a great partisan of pope *Urban*, and amassed as much money by maraudings and inroads, as bought him a cardinal's hat. At last, he was made general for the pope, and legate of *Bologna*, which he was the great means of recovering from the *Visconti* family. The cardinals being met for the election of a new pope, chose this *Cossa*, who immediately assumed the name of *John XXIII*. After remaining some time at *Bologna*, he marched by the way of *Florence* to *Rome*, which, after various disputes, by this time, was recovered from *Ladislaus*. *Ladislaus* was encamped upon the frontiers of *Naples*, at *Rocca Vecchia*, and *Lewis*, with the *Florentine* army, advanced to fight him. Having a great superiority of numbers over the *Florentines*, *Ursini*, the *Florentine* general, who bore no good will to *Sforza*, with most of the officers, were against coming to a battle. But *Sforza* remonstrating with great spirit against the disgrace which their retreat would be attended with, brought *Lewis* over to his opinion, and the army passed the *Garigliano*. Their army was drawn up in three divisions: the command of the first, which was to attack the *Neapolitans* in front, was given to *Sforza*, who was to be supported

^b *BiLLIUS ubi supra.* ^c *CRIBEL. de Vita Sforzae apud MURAT. tom. xix. p. 651.*

(A) This pope *Alexander* was *Galeazzo* had put at the head the archbishop of *Milan*, whom of his regency at his death.

A. D.
1410.
Ladislaus
utterly de-
feated.

by the second, consisting of cavalry under *Lewis* himself; while the third, under *Ursini*, was to wheel off in order to attack the enemy in their rear, where *Ladislaus* himself was. It appears from our author, that that prince practised a stratagem pretty frequent in those days, which was, that of dressing up a number of officers in arms and robes not to be discerned from his own. He was superior to *Lewis*, not only in the number, but in the discipline, appointments, and armour of his troops; and he had placed the flower of his army in his front. *Sforza*'s charge was very furious, and *Ursini* breaking in during the heat of the dispute, *Ladislaus* was defeated and put to flight, leaving behind him almost all his general officers, his camp, and an immense booty in the possession of the *Florentines*, whose general *Sforza* had the chief honour of the victory.

IT is on all hands agreed, that if the *Florentines* had pursued their blow, they might have placed *Lewis* upon the throne of *Naples*. According to some authors, the booty which both the officers and soldiers had acquired, was so immense that they did not chuse to risk the loss of it, and were impatient to return home. The writer of *Sforza*'s life^a informs us, that the glory *Sforza* had acquired, was so disagreeable to *Ursini*, that the latter thwarted him in every measure he proposed. According to him, *Sforza* proposed pursuing *Ladislaus* that very night, and laying siege to *St. Germans*, in which he had taken refuge, and which probably would have surrendered had it been attacked before he had recovered from his consternation. This proposal was opposed by *Ursini* and the *Florentine* officers, who all of them treated it as romantic and impracticable, and notwithstanding the earnestness of *Lewis* to have it carried into execution, it was laid aside. Next day, though *Lewis* protested against it, the army repassed the *Garigliano*, and remained inactive during the rest of the campaign. *Aretin*^b informs us, it was usual after this for *Ladislaus* to say, 'That the day on which he was defeated his enemies had it in their power to have been masters both of his person and kingdom; that the second day they might have been masters of his kingdom, though not of his person; but that the third day both his person and kingdom were out of their power.'

Ladislaus retrieves his affairs. THE truth is, *Ladislaus*, like a great man as he was, far from desponding under his defeat, sought to prevent the consequences of it. He sent expresses through all his kingdom for recruiting and remounting his troops; and ordering new

^a Vide CRIBEL. ubi supra.

^b Page 257.

levies to repair, as they did in great numbers to *St. Germano*, he was again formidable, and that too chiefly through the aversion his subjects had to a *French* government. It appears, however, on the face of history, as if he owed his safety, and the happy turn his affairs took at this time, to a secret negotiation entered into between him and the *Florentines*, by which he actually ceded, or, according to others, sold to them *Cortona*, which proved to them a valuable acquisition; and according to *Florentine* historians^c, a peace at the same time was concluded upon between him and the *Florentines*; but it must have been a peace only of convenience on his side, for in a few weeks both parties were again in arms. This peace, however, had the effect of discouraging *Lewis* of *Anjou* to such a degree, that he returned to *France*, and gave over all thoughts of prosecuting his claims upon *Naples*.

LADISLAUS having thus gained the great point he aimed at, renewed his preparations for war. The *Florentines* had served the continued their troops and their generals in the service of *pope*, *pope John*, and that part of their army, which was commanded by *Sforza*, wintered in the dutchy of *Spoletò*. It had been agreed between the pope and the *Florentines*, that his holiness should pay the troops in his service; but being unable to satisfy *Sforza*'s arrears, which amounted to seventeen thousand ducats, he created him count of *Cotignola*. *Ursini*, the other *Florentine* general, could not brook such an honour being conferred on his rival, whose original was scarcely known, and insisted upon the pope's dismissing him from his service. His holiness durst not disoblige *Ursini*, who was the head of one of the noblest families in *Rome*; and *Sforza* at last drawing together a few troops he still commanded, fortified himself on *Selva d'Algieri*, formerly called *Mons Algidum*. While he was in this situation, he received a message from the pope, by a cardinal, inviting him to continue in his service, and offering him a sum of gold; but no way equal to the arrears due to him. *Sforza* rejected the money as not worthy his acceptance, expressed the most profound veneration towards the pope, but inveighed bitterly against *Ursini*, and declared he would continue no longer in the service of his holiness. *Ladislaus*, by this time, was advancing at the head of an army against *Rome*, and no sooner heard that *Sforza* had quitted the pope's service, than he offered him his own terms if he would enter into his.

THE bargain was soon struck: *Sforza* received money *and then* enough to pay off the arrears of his troops, and marched with *Ladislaus*.

^c *Istorie di Firenze dall' An. 1406 fino al 1438 apud MURAT.*
ubi supra. *MACHIAVEL*, book iii.

flying colours into the royal camp. The winter coming on, and provisions falling scarce in the *Neapolitan* army, nothing farther could be done that campaign. The troops were dismissed into winter-quarters; and *Ladislaus* not only made *Sforza* governor of *Perugia*, but raised him and his family to all the degrees of honour and riches that sovereignty could bestow. Most of the *Florentine* auxiliaries had left *Sforza*, and continued to serve under *Ursini*, who was first in command. Early next spring *Sforza* was at the head of his troops, and marched against *Ursini*, who lay in the marquisate of *Ursini de-Ancona*; but was driven by him from place to place, till at last he was obliged to take refuge in *Rocca Contrada*, where he was besieged by *Sforza* and the other *Florentine* generals.

The Florentines create Brachio their general.

THE *Florentines*, being thus in a manner left without a general, gave the command of their troops to *Brachio*, a *Perugian* nobleman; and *Aretin* intimates⁴, he was so great a captain as to leave the palm of military glory doubtful between him and *Sforza*. He had been at first an exile from his country, and by his brave actions had acquired so great renown, that the *Florentines* thought it a triumph when he accepted the command of their troops. After serving them with great fidelity and success in *Tuscany*, he was sent with his army to the relief of pope *John* and *Ursini*, who continued still in danger of being utterly ruined by the *Neapolitans*. It would swell this history too much should we enter into a detail of all the brave actions performed by *Brachio*, in the course of this war. The writers of particular lives are apt to magnify every successful skirmish into a glorious victory gained by their hero. It must, however, be owned in general, that *Brachio*'s real exploits require no historical amplification to recommend them; and it is acknowledged, that in civil virtues he was superior to *Sforza*. While both those generals served in subordinate capacities, the greatest friendship subsisted between them; but they were no sooner raised to independent commands, than each conceived a mortal antipathy to the other. While *Sforza* was governor of *Perugia* for *Ladislaus*, daily encounters happened between him and *Brachio*; but generally to the advantage of the latter, because he was better acquainted with, and beloved in, the country. After this, *Brachio* served with great honour and success in the *Bolognese*, and was the means of reducing that city entirely to the authority of the pope, who never before durst venture to check the inhabitants.

His exploits.

WHILE *Brachio* was in the *Bolognese*, he received an account of the disagreeable situation of *Ursini*, who still con-

nued to be besieged in *Rocca Contrada*. The place was excessively strong, and could only be reduced by famine. The siege, however, was obstinately carried on for three months by *Sforza* and *Malatesta*, who was now in the *Neapolitan* service; and *Brachio* resolved at all events to raise it. With this view he marched against *Cesena*, a flourishing town belonging to *Malatesta*, which, with its castle, he took, plundered, and demolished. *Ladislaus*, on the other hand, ordered *Campano*, another of his generals, to reduce all the places belonging to *Brachio*, in the *Perugian* territory. Upon this, *Brachio* marched to *Borgo St. Sepulchro*, on the *Florantine* frontiers, and from thence to *Montone*, which he took, and found means to concert with *Ursini* his escape from *Rocca Contrada*, advising him to march to *Ugubio*, about ten miles distant. If he was attacked in his march by the *Neapolitans*, *Ursini* was to expect no farther assistance from him, as the main point must be then compassed, that of raising the siege; but that if the enemy continued it, he was determined to attack them in their entrenchments, while he was to be favoured by a brisk sally from the place. This scheme held, The besiegers drew off to oppose *Brachio*, and *Ursini* took *Urbino*, from *Ursini*. *He relieves* whence he joined *Brachio*; and thus *Ursini* was saved, by what the writer of *Sforza*'s life thinks to be next to a miracle. The *Neapolitans* at this time had two armies in the field, each of them superior in number to that of *Brachio*; but inferior in military experience and discipline. One of the *Neapolitan* armies was then besieging *Ponte Patulo*, in the *Perugian* territory. The other observed the motions of *Brachio*, who could not prevail with *Ursini* to attempt the raising of the siege by surprizing the enemy. After this *Ursini* marched to *Orvieto*, and *Brachio* to *Todi*, and from thence to *Marciano*, a town belonging to himself in *Perugia*, which had bravely held out against all the *Neapolitan* power in *Tuscany*. Upon his approach the *Neapolitans* raised the siege of *Ponte Patulo*; and matters continued quiet in *Tuscany* during the remainder of the campaign. *Ladislaus*, however, still carried on the war against pope *John*; but the active *Brachio* found means to make himself master of the important town of *Todi*, lying between *Perugia* and *Rome*. To repair this loss, *Ladislaus* took a great many strong places from the pope, *The pope flies to Florence*, whom he had expelled from *Rome*, and who had taken refuge in the state of *Florence*.

THE *Florentines* were at this time greatly divided in their sentiments. Notwithstanding the activity of *Brachio* and their other generals, *Ladislaus* was daily gaining ground, and

Parties in that city, was

was now become as formidable to them as *Galeazzo* had ever been. The pope's capacity seemed to be no ways suitable to his dignity: his authority was disowned by the greatest part of *Christendom*; and a great party amongst the *Florentines* thought that they had embarked already too far in his quarrel. Add to this, that a general council was, by this time, indicted at *Constance*, with the approbation of almost all the princes of *Christendom*, for settling the affairs of the church, and for chusing a new pope. Upon the whole, they were of opinion that *Ladislaus* ought not to be farther provoked.

into which *THOUGH* the *Guelphs* were still the prevailing party in *Florence*, yet the above considerations were so plausible, that *be is not admitted.* the pope was not invited into that city; but resided in a country-seat belonging to the archbishop. Perceiving the *Florentines* to be thus cold in his favour, he applied to the emperor *Sigismund*, by his cardinals, and offered, for the good of the church, to submit himself to a general council. The emperor was satisfied with this proposal; but great difficulties arose as to the place where the council was to be held. The pope told *Aretin*, in confidence^e, that he was resolved not to agree to any place where the emperor's power was greater than his own. But at last, finding the state of his affairs desperate, he gave the two cardinals, whom he sent as his legates to the emperor, full power to agree to any place which he and they should think most proper. After various conferences, the city of *Constance* was agreed to by the legates, to the great chagrin of the pope, though he was obliged to conceal it.

Ambition of Ladislaus.

By this time *Ladislaus* had failed in an expedition against *Bologna*, the command of which he had given to the marquis *d'Este*, who could not, without jealousy, behold the growing power of *Ladislaus* in *Italy*. The latter, however, made a great acquisition in bringing over to his service *Ursini*, who now became as determined an enemy of the *Florentine* general, as *Sforza* had been before. This accession of strength was very agreeable to *Ladislaus*, as *Ursini* carried with him a well disciplined body of troops, who were very useful in the siege of *Todi*, which was still carried on with twenty-eight thousand men; a force sufficient to have subdued all *Tuscany*, which was the real aim of *Ladislaus*. *Brachio*'s force did not exceed three thousand; but with them he did wonders. *Ladislaus* at first blockaded the place, and destroyed the country round, which induced the citizens to send some of their chiefs to treat of a surrender; one of the terms of which was,

^e *ARETINI*, pag. 257.

^f *Ibid.* pag. 258.

that

that *Brachio* and the *Florentine* forces might retire to where they thought proper. It was with difficulty that *Ladislaus* could be brought to agree to this last article; and *Brachio* retiring to *Fraata* in the *Perugian*, five hundred *Neapolitan* infantry took possession of *Todi*; but the new garrison behaved with such brutality, that the inhabitants expelled them, and recalled *Brachio*, and thus the siege recommenced. The defence which *Brachio* made was so noble, and his behaviour so generous, especially to some *Neapolitan* noblemen, whom he had made prisoners in a sally, that *Ladislaus* invited him to a private conference, in which he offered him very high terms if he would enter into his service, which *Brachio*, like a man of honour, rejected, and thereby encreased the king's esteem of him. During this siege, *Sforza* is said to have *Generosity* saved *Ursini* from being taken prisoner, notwithstanding the *of Sforza*. enmity subsisting between them. At last, after *Ladislaus* had spent four and twenty days without any prospect of taking the place, he withdrew his army to *Perugia*, where, upon suspicion, he put *Ursini* under arrest. Perceiving his health *Death of* languishing, he returned by the way of *Rome* to *Naples*, where *Ladislaus*. he died in *August 1414*, leaving his sister *Joanna*, dutches of *A. D.* *Austria*, heir to his kingdom. Thus, the *Florentines* were *1414*. once more saved, by the critical death of a prince, who was their determined enemy, and who found no check but *Florence* to prevent his becoming master of all *Italy*. His death being known to *Sforza*, who had been left behind to command against *Brachio*, he put every thing into the best posture he could in the marquisate of *Ancona*, and marched to secure *Rome* in the obedience of his new mistress. The time now approached for the meeting of the general council at *Constance*. Pope *John* and the emperor *Sigismund* had several interviews with one another, and they had been continued for some months at *Placentia*, *Cremona*, and other places in *Lombardy*; but all the effect of them was, that each conceived for the *emperor* and other a concealed hatred; and the pope, taking his leave of pope. the emperor, passed the winter at *Maniua*, from whence he went to *Bologna*, where he was when he received news of the death of *Ladislaus*. But having faithfully promised the emperor that he would attend the council of *Constance*, and submit to whatever it should decree, he now found himself under a necessity of repairing to that city. Before he set out, he ordered *Brachio*, who was then with his army in *Ancona*, to repair to *Bologna*, to take upon him the government of it in his absence. According to some, the design of his holiness was to put *Brachio* to death, in which case the *Perugians* had promised to submit to the holy see; and the pope would have been

Florence
in tran-
quility.

quit of a large arrear owing him for pay. It is certain *Brachio* suspected somewhat of this; for when he came attended only by his own domestics to pay his respects to the pope, he had scarce entered the city when he returned with the utmost haste to his camp, and commenced hostilities in the *Bolognese*. Whatever the intention of the pope might be, he saw that *Brachio* was his master, and a few days effected a reconciliation, by which *Brachio* was put into full possession of the government of *Bologna*, and all its revenues. *Florence* was then so perfectly at peace with all the neighbouring powers, that she had no occasion to recal *Brachio*; nor were her civil contentions at this time at all dangerous, though the animosities amongst the chief citizens were far from being extinguished. But the leading families had suffered so much each in their turn, that they were contented to remain quiet under the present government, till a proper opportunity for renewing their claims should offer itself.

THIS shew of tranquility, which, according to *Machiavel*, continued for about eight years after the death of *Ladislaus*, was greatly owing to the suspense in which the minds of all *Europe*, those of the *Florentines* particularly, were kept, by what passed at the council of *Constance*; to which city the pope repaired on the twenty-eighth of *October*; and *Sigismund*, who had now been crowned emperor at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, followed him the twenty-third of *December* after. Next day the emperor performed the deacon's office, as is usual on such occasions, in the imperial *Dalmatic*, at a midnight mass, celebrated by the pope pontifically, but without the humiliating circumstances of being barefooted, of holding the pope's stirrup, or leading his mule by the bridle. The meeting was one of the most splendid that had ever been seen in *Europe*. According to *Areius*, the emperor was attended by no fewer than thirty thousand horse. The pope presided at the council. Three thrones were erected in the cathedral, one for *Constance* the pope, one for the empress, and one between both for the emperor. Of the *German* princes were present, the electors of *Saxony*, *Palatine*, and *Menitz*; the administrator of *Brandenburg*; the dukes of *Bavaria*, *Austria*, and *Silesia*; one hundred and twenty-eight counts, two hundred barons, and twenty-seven ambassadors from sovereign princes or states. In all the articles of luxury, debauchery, and revelling, it resembled a carnival, rather than a council of venerable fathers. The *Florentines*, like other sovereign states, had their deputies there; but they were generous enough not to desert

pope *John*, though in fact he abandoned himself. The fathers, after various deliberations, came to a resolution that *John*, as well as the two antipopes, *Angelo Carrario*, or *Peter de Luna*, should resign their dignities.

JOHN, who presided at the council, agreed to those terms, provided his two competitors could be brought to agree to them likewise; adding, that he was willing to abdicate the popedom in all cases wherein any such abdication could be of advantage to the church. He had no sooner made this declaration, than the emperor, descending from his throne, threw himself at *John*'s feet, to thank him for it, in the name of all Christian princes; and the patriarch of *Antioch* followed his example, in the name of all Christian ecclesiastics. This submission of *John* was mortifying to the secret enemies of the emperor in *Germany*, particularly the archbishop of *Mentz*, and *Frederick* duke of *Austria*; and they tampered with him to retract it, in which they prevailed. *John* had some colour for this, from the council being overawed by the imperial forces. He, therefore, disguised himself like a postilion, and fled to *Schaffhausen*. The cardinals who had attended him knew nothing of his intention, and repaired to *Schaffhausen* to persuade him to return; but all was to no purpose. This conduct of *John* exasperated the council and the emperor so greatly, that he was now formally deposed, and all Christians were commanded to pay no obedience either to him or to the two anti-popes. The duke of *Austria*, perceiving the emperor and the council to be strictly united together, arrested *John*, as he was endeavouring to escape to *Burgundy*, threw him into prison, and then asked pardon on his knees of the emperor for what he had done. *John* being now in custody, and deserted by those on whom he had mostly depended (for the *Florentines* seem to have given him no encouragement either in his flight or retraction) now lost all spirit, and resolved to submit in the fullest manner to his enemies. He accordingly freely renounced the papacy, and laid aside all the badges of that dignity. *Gregory XII.* for *Corrario* had assumed that name, who then resided at *Rimini*, under the protection of *Malatesta*, followed his example; but *Benedict XIII.* as *de Luna* called himself, refused to submit to the authority of the council, being supported by the kings of *Castile*, *Arragon*, and *Navarre*; for whose fidelity to the council the emperor made himself answerable. *Zafarella*, who had been made bishop and cardinal of *Florence* by *John*, was highly instrumental in persuading him to his first abdication; and he and the *Florentines* continued afterwards to do him eminent services. The council

*Transac-
tions there.*

cil proceeded next to the election of a new pope, and this choice fell upon *Otto*, or *Otho Colonna*, of a noble Roman family, who assumed the name of *Martin V.* of whom the *Florentine* historian gives this character, that before his election he was esteemed rather generous than wise, but after it he gave the greatest proofs of his wisdom, but was far from being excessive in his generosity. The rest of the transactions of this council, which was noted for the infamous murders of *John Hus*, and *Jerome of Prague*, are well known to the public, and have no relation to this work.

Pope Martin comes to Florence ; *THE* election of *Martin* into the papal see was extremely agreeable to the *Florentines*; and upon the breaking up of the council, he came from *Constance* by the way of *Milan*, *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Ravenna*, and *Forli*, to *Florence*, where he resided for two years, as being the most commodious place for negotiating the affairs of the church, and the states of *Italy*. The self-deposition of pope *John*, who now resumed his former name of *Cossa*, had not procured him his liberty; for he languished long after in prison. At last he was delivered by the generous interposition of the *Florentines*, who made *Martin* sensible, that it was by no means for his interest to use him with farther rigour. Several of the states who had acknowledged *Cossa* as pope, being dissatisfied both with the emperor and the council, began to entertain scruples about the validity of his abdication, as being extorted by force. It was easy to foresee the consequences of those doubts, in a country so disaffected to the emperor as *Germany*, where *Cossa* was imprisoned, then was; and *Martin* himself procured his deliverance from his confinement in *Bavaria*, and invited him to *Florence*, with a secret view of seizing upon him on his journey, and shutting him up in perpetual imprisonment at *Mantua*. *Cossa* arriving in *Lombardy*, was informed by some of his *Florentine* friends, of *Martin*'s intention; upon which he took refuge in the *Genoese* territories. After remaining there, in a most miserable plight, for some time, he was encouraged by the experience he had of the spirit of the *Florentine* people and government, to repair to that city, and without reserve to throw himself at *Martin*'s feet, and to recognize his authority. No sooner was his approach known than the *Florentines*, in prodigious numbers, flocked out to meet and welcome him. The distressed appearance he made, served only to encrease their affection and compassion towards him; and he was introduced to the pope, with all *Florence* attending him as his intercessors and protectors. At last they persuaded *Martin*; that the only way to prevent any bad consequences from *Cossa*'s party, would be to restore to him his

as does
Cossa.

is cardinal's hat, and to the exercise of his sacred functions, which *Martin* wisely agreed to, and *Cossa* died about a year after.

We have already seen, that *Brachio* was left by pope *John* governor of *Bologna*, where his service against the neighbouring states, who were encouraged and protected by that pope's enemies, was sharp and active; but he generally was victorious. The *Bolognese*, however, disliking the severity of his government, and his exactions, to which he was in some measure compelled by the poverty of that pope, took advantage of his absence to attempt a revolt; but before they could master the citadel, *Brachio* appeared before their gates, and obliged them to submit. Soon after, being called out to a fresh expedition against the *Riminians* and the *Perugians*, the *Bolognese* again revolted; but more unanimously and resolutely than they had done before. But *Brachio*, who had taken care to provide the citadel with a good garrison, and store of provisions, returned with incredible expedition; and, after a most obstinate dispute, he was beaten off, and was forced to commence a regular siege against the city. The citizens held out with great courage, till he was obliged to change the siege into a kind of blockade, by taking possession of all the avenues by which the city could receive any provisions; and then the magistrates sent him a deputation of their most respectable citizens, asking pardon for what had happened, and laying the blame upon the rabble, who had taken arms against their will. *Brachio*, with great seeming difficulty, again pardoned them, and obliged them to deliver fifty of their principal citizens as hostages for their future behaviour. In the mean while, hearing of the deposition of pope *John*, and the election of *Martin*, he sold *Bologna*, and all its dependencies, to the inhabitants for eighty thousand ducats, with which he paid and recruited his army, and bent all his efforts to the reduction of *Perugia*, his native city, which had expelled the *Neapolitan* garrison, and recovered its independency. The pretext was, that the *Perugians* had broken their league with the *Florentines*, and was governed by a faction, who had exiled *Brachio* and all its worthy citizens. Upon his approach the *Perugians* recalled the *Neapolitan* garrison, and took into their pay *Ursini*, who was by this time delivered from his imprisonment at *Naples*. *Brachio*, however, took his measures so well, that neither *Cibolini*, the *Neapolitan* general, nor *Ursini*, could throw themselves into *Perugia*; and the *Perugians* were distressed so greatly, that they sent deputies to the *Florentines* to mediate between them and *Brachio*.

Brachio. They accordingly sent a deputation to his camp, exhorting him to listen to an accommodation.

Proceedings of
Brachio.

THOUGH *Brachio* was then the *Florentine* general, and acted by their authority, yet he had so long served in a kind of independent capacity, and he had so great a passion to be master of *Perugia*, that he, in fact, refused to desist from his enterprise, and dismissed the deputies with an unsatisfactory answer. He then proceeded to take all the adjacent forts and towns, and gave a total defeat to *Chicilini* and *Malatesta*, who were on their march to the relief of *Perugia*, both of them being taken prisoners. Upon this, the city was surrendered to *Brachio* and the other exiles, and he is said to have exercised the government of it with great lenity and justice.

THE *Florentines* beheld *Brachio*'s successes with great indifference, as they were assured of his fidelity to their state, and that they could always controul him in any undue exercise of his power. But we return to the other concerns of *Florence*, which had now no overgrown tyrant to dread.

Designs of Milan. *JOHN*, the eldest son and successor of *Galeazzo*, having been assassinated by his subjects, was succeeded by his brother *Milan*, *Philip*, who resembled his father and grandfather in their qualities and ambition, and by some is said to have excelled them in both. He soon recovered the affairs of his family, then languishing and disordered through the weakness and divisions of his brother's ministers, and, like his ancestors, became formidable to *Florence*. *Philip*, having an eye upon *Genoa*, was encouraged to attempt making himself master of that noble city by the numerous *Genoese* exiles whom the *French* government and internal factions had driven to *Lombardy*. Before he entered upon this expedition, he so far conquered his natural aversion to the *Florentines*, that he sent a most splendid embassy to *Florence*, offering that state his friendship and alliance. No formal embassy had been sent for twenty years before from the court of *Milan* to the *Florentines*.² *Nicola de Uzano* was then the chief man of the *Florentine* state, and he was employed to treat with the *Milanese* ambassadors, whose instructions were to negotiate a new treaty between *Philip* and the *Florentines*; by which *Pannaro*, or the river *Magra*, were to be the boundaries, and beyond them neither the *Milanese* nor the *Florentines* were to extend their dominion. The *Florentines*, in general, were averse to this proposition, because the limits proposed by *Philip* for the boundary of the two states, plainly indicated his design upon *Genoa*. *Uzano*, however, and the wiser part of the *Florentines*,

² BILLI: Historia, ubi supra, p. 57.

nes, who had experienced the sweets of peace, gave the Milanese ambassadors a most polite reception, and the treaty was concluded.

THOMAS FREGOZO was then doge of Genoa; who makes but being unable to make head against the duke of Milan, himself for want of money, he sold Leghorn, a place then inconsiderable, to the Florentines for one hundred and twenty thousand ducats, most of which was spent in raising soldiers in the Florentine state. This was, by Philip, considered as a breach of the new-made treaty; but he dissembled his resentment for the time. Carmignola was then both general and first minister of state to Philip, and conducted the expedition against Genoa so successfully, that the doge, being beaten both by sea and land, was obliged to surrender Genoa into Carmignola's hands; and Philip afterwards became master of all that sea-coast, to the great terror and amazement of the Florentines.

POPE Martin still remained at Florence; but, from what has Pope Martin fallen from Aretin^b, he was by no means popular there, and the affrontive ballads were even sung under his windows in his content-hearing. Aretin then attended him, as he had done his predecessors, and it required all his address to keep his holiness in temper. But Brachio, who still acted in the character of Florentine general, having defeated all his enemies, and being now master of Perugia, was of the utmost importance to the pope, for recovering the towns and cities that had been dismembered from the Holy See, and possessed by separate tyrants. He was accordingly, with consent of the Florentine magistracy, appointed general to the pope. In a short time he reduced a *Success of* great number of those places; and it was in this campaign Brachio that the famous Nicolo Picinino, then a common soldier, gave the first proofs of his military genius. His success obliged the tyrants of all the revolted places to apply to him for peace; and Brachio, to give the greater lustre to his own name and character, appointed Florence for the place of negociation. Thither he repaired with a train and equipages suitable to a sovereign prince; and as such he was received not only by the Florentines^c, but by the pope himself. His historian has described the wonderful magnificence that reigned at Florence during his abode there, and the pompous jousts and tournaments he exhibited. His vast popularity, however, gave umbrage to the pope, who, by the advice of Sforza, who was at Florence at the same time, employed him in the reduction of

^b ARETIN, pag. 259.
Abi supra, p. 563.

^c Vita Brachii, apud MURAT.

Bologna, which had once more asserted its independency. The views of his holiness, in giving *Bracchio* this commission, were unknown to the *Florentines*, whose constant maxim was to suffer neither the pope nor any other prince to become too powerful in *Italy*. *Sforza* made *Martin* sensible that the *Florentines* would oppose the growth even of the papacy itself, and persuaded him, that he had now an opportunity of adding to the Holy See the kingdom of *Naples*, which was governed by a weak silly woman, to the great disgust of *Neapolitans*.

*Factions
at Flo-
rence,*

*where the
Medici
gain
ground.*

BRACHIO, who seems to have had a good deal of vanity in his composition, accepted of his new commission with great joy; and the *Florentines*, who now thought themselves at peace with all the world, applied assiduously to cultivating learning and the fine arts, and were therefore the less solicitous about an army within their territories. According to *Machiavel*⁴, the citizens next in authority to *Nicola de Uzano*, were *Bartolomeo Valore*, *Nero Nigi*, *Reinaldo Albizi*, *Neri di Gianni*, and *Lupo Nicolini*. On the other hand, the families in disgrace were the *Alberti*, the *Ricci*, and *de Medici*. But the long possession of power, and the continuance of a voluptuous peace, had by this time so far infected the *Florentine* government, that their magistrates became proud, insolent, and negligent. They were, it is true, united in their sentiments of civil independency, and, in general, were well affected to their constitution. But the vast riches they possessed had introduced amongst them a spirit of pride, that is incompatible with the manners of republicans. Each great man envied another, and was glad to throw upon his brother-magistrate the blame of every abuse in the state. By those mutual jealousies, the *Florentines* at last conceived a distaste at their government, which laid the first foundations of the greatness of the house of *Medici*, who had always been moderate in their sentiments of civil affairs, and soon after became sovereigns of the state. The disgraced families soon perceived the vast advantage which the misconduct of the governing party threw into their hands; and *Giovanni Ricci* was the first who had the courage to offer himself to be the patron and protector of the people. He was strenuously opposed by *Nicolo de Uzano*; but his greatness had created so much jealousy amongst the other magistrates, that he was not listened to. The animosity against him was greatly favoured by the progress of *Philip*, duke of *Milan*; and he was falsely, perhaps, accused of being the chief instrument of concluding the treaty between *Philip*

⁴ MACHIAVEL, book iv.

and the *Florentines*. According to *Macchiavel*^c, in the pacification he made with the doge of *Genoa*, he reserved *Serzana*, and some other towns on the side of the *Magra*, next to *Florence*, in his own possession; which the *Florentines* complained of as a breach of their treaty with him. The magistracy of *Florence* would willingly have winked at this infraction; but the people would not suffer them. Notwithstanding all the remonstrances that were made against entering into war with a prince so powerful as *Philip*, and the impossibility of keeping any of the conquests they could gain from him, while the *Romagna* lay between the two states, preparations for war were resolved upon, levies made, and the ten field-deputies nominated. No sooner was this resolution approved of, than the people, feeling the weight of the taxes that were necessary for carrying on the war, redoubled their murmurs against the government. *Ordelaffi*, the lord of *Forli*, dying about this time, had left his son under the tutelage of *Philip* duke of *Milan*; but the mother, disliking such a guardian, sent her child to her father *Luigi Alidosso*, lord of *Imola*. This incensed the inhabitants of *Imola* ^{sh} greatly, that they obliged the mother to put her son into the hands of the guardian appointed by the father; and thus *Philip* became master of that state. This new aquisition of power to *Philip* renewed the jealousy of the *Florentines*. Great debates were held about the expediency of declaring war ^{War} against him, which *John de Medici* earnestly opposed. He ^{against the} thought, that, as *Philip* had not as yet proceeded to hostilities, the *Florentine* allies would look upon them as the aggressors, if they should declare war. The opposite party held forth the folly of making their own country the scene of war, with a prince who they were sure was their enemy. The opinion of the latter prevailed, and a war was resolved upon.

PHILIP, having intelligence of this, immediately sent *Agnolo of Pergola* at the head of an army against the lord of *Imola*, in order to divert him from succouring *Forli*. It was then the depth of winter; and the waters of the ditches, which formed the chief defence of the place, being frozen, *Agnolo* took the city, and sent *Alidosso* prisoner to *Milan*. Upon this the *Florentines*, who had now completed their levies, laid siege to *Forli*; while *Agnolo of Pergola*, unable to succour it, besieged *Zaganara*, in hopes that the *Florentines* would raise the siege of *Forli*, in order to relieve the former. Count *Alberigo* was then in the pay of the *Florentines*; and

^c MACHIAVEL, book iv.

his garrison held out Zaganara, which was so prest by the enemy, that the besieged were obliged to agree to deliver up the town, if it was not relieved within fifteen days by the Florentines. The terms of this capitulation so greatly incensed the Florentines, that they resolved, at all hazards, to raise the siege. Abandoning that of Forli, they began their march towards Zaganara in the beginning of February, though the roads were almost impassable, and the season bitter; and attacking the duke of Milan's army, they were so totally defeated, that all Florence was thrown into consternation. To give the reader some conception of the manner in which war was carried on at this time, we are to inform him, that, in this total defeat of the Florentine army, no more than three people were killed; and those, too, not by the enemy, but by falling off their horses, and being suffocated in the mire.

The Florentines murmur against their government.

THIS defeat, if such it may be termed, opened the mouths of the meaner sort of people against their government. They complained, that the war with the duke of Milan had been entered into by their magistracy only to divert their attention to public liberty, which was now endangered. This discontent ran so high, that the magistrates were obliged to summon a general assembly of the people; in which Rinaldo Albizi, son to Maso, endeavoured to apologize for the conduct of the government, notwithstanding the disagreeable turn the war had taken. He then attempted to prove that the carrying the war into the Romagna had averted it from Tuscany, and had been of singular service to the Holy See; and that, as it was a war now of defence, it would be far from being burdensome to the people. By his authority and persuasions the people were somewhat quieted; and they took into their pay Odo, or Otto, the son of Brachio, a youth of seventeen years of age, but under the tutelage of Nicolo Pichino. The name of Brachio was of great service to the Florentines, as his father's friends repaired to his standard.

Their civil dissensions renewed. BUT by this time the people began to perceive the difficulties and distresses under which their leaders laboured, which they guessed at, partly from their countenances, and partly from the great weight of their taxes. In a short time the city was thrown into a kind of a civil war. The inferior ranks refused to pay their imposts; and the magistrates were forced to appoint twenty citizens in the nature of tax-gatherers, and threw the chief burden of the public expence upon the nobility. This was a treatment the latter could not endure, and power was given to the new collectors to kill any one who

¹ MACHIAVEL, ubi supra.

refused to pay their taxes ; by which the whole city soon became a scene of violence, confusion, and murder. The nobility, and the chief citizens, to the number of above seventy, met in St. Stephen's church ; but *John Medici*, the most popular nobleman in *Florence*, was not present, the others, ignorant of what part he might act, not having summoned him, and he himself disliking the cause of the meeting. The assembly was opened by a speech from *Rinaldo Albizi*, who set forth the deplorable state of the nobility, extolled the behaviour of their ancestors on such occasions, and counselled them by all means to unite in shaking off the yoke of the plebeians. *Rinaldo's* speech was greatly to the liking of the assembly ; but *Nicolo Uzano* objected to their doing any thing by force, without the concurrence of *John de Medici*, who was always the professed patron of the people. He proceeded likewise to remonstrate upon the uncertain event of a civil war, and upon the impracticability of their deliberations, without consulting *John de Medici*. *Rinaldo* undertook that task, and acquitted himself in a very artful manner, but without success. *Uzano* informed him, that he could agree to no alteration in the state to the prejudice of the people ; and that *Rinaldo*, in what he was doing, was but the tool of others, who would soon get the upper hand, and ruin him ; and that, upon the whole, moderation and a little forbearance were best ; and particularly, that the citizens should be free from all arrests by creditors on the days of public meetings ; and that, for his part, he was resolved to oppose the factious of every kind.

AN answer so full of wisdom and moderation increased the *Virtue of* popularity of *Medici*, who now withdrew himself from all *John Medici*, the cabals of the nobility ; so that it was in his credit to have made himself lord of *Florence*. His family and relations pressed him to avail himself of his credit and popularity, to be revenged upon his enemies ; but *John* was too good a patriot to listen to their advice. *Rinaldo de Albizi*, however, and the rest of his faction, attempted to displace *Martin*, one of the secretaries of state, because he was a friend to the *Medicean* family. But he was so far from succeeding, that *Pagolo*, who was in *Rinaldo's* interest, was turned out, and *Martin* established more firmly than ever.

It happened at this time, luckily for *Florence*, that the nobility had but little credit with the people ; so that they were *the duke of Milan*, in no condition to resent those mortifications as they were Milan, inclined to do. Add to this, that *Philip duke of Milan*, having compromised his differences with the *Malatesta* family, and his other neighbours, continued obstinately bent upon

the reduction of *Florence*. He had taken into his pay *Angelo*, or *Agnolo* of *Pergola*, and *Carmignola*, both of them able officers, the latter of whom was then in the *Bolognese*, endeavouring to reduce *Bologna*, which had submitted itself to pope *Martin*, by the persuasion of *Bentivoglio*, its late master. *Philip* had likewise been very successful in extending his frontiers towards *Savoy* and the foot of the *Alps*. Being a complete master of dissimulation, he sent an honourable embassy to *Florence* to treat of peace; but neither side being sincere, hostilities still went on, and the *Florentines* in vain endeavoured to retake *Forli*. This induced them to name ambassadors on their parts; and they committed the management of the negociation to *Bartolomeo Valori*, a man by no means suited for such an employment, being vain and ostentatious (C).

*who af-
fronts the
Florentine
ambassa-
dor.*

When he came to *Lodi*, he was given to understand, from *Philip*, that he must advance no farther into *Lombardy*, under pretence of the plague's being at *Florence*. This was a dreadful check to *Valori*, who returned directly to *Florence*, where, upon his arrival, every thing was in a flame, at the contemptuous treatment of their ambassador by *Philip*, who was then master of *Genoa*. *Fulgoſo*, the late doge, was furnished by the *Florentines* with troops and money to attempt the recovery of that state; and he succeeded so far as to conquer a great part of the *Genoese* sea-coast, and to create a great deal of trouble to *Philip*. The *Florentines* seemed now resolved to risque the whole of their state against *Philip*, who had a secret eye to the crown of *Naples*. He addressed the pope, complaining of his partiality for the *Florentines*, whom he accused of fomenting dissensions between the legate and the people of *Bologna*. He prevailed so far, that the pope changed his legate, and substituted in his place one who was intirely in the interest of *Philip*. By this and other favourable circumstances, *Philip* regained his credit at *Bologna*, and acquired *Imola*, and a great many important places in the *Romagna*. At the same time he endeared to himself the *Malatesta* family; for having taken prisoner *Charles*, the lord of *Rimini*, he treated him and all his friends in the most generous affectionate manner, and dismissed them without ransom.

(C) *Billius*, the *Milanese* historian, says that the *Florentines* at this time, to recommend themselves to the *Italian* and other states, embroidered upon

their arms and ensigns the ancient *Roman* inscription, S. P. Q. R. thereby intimating, that the state of *Florence* was the true representative of old *Rome* (1).

(1) *Billius*, ubi supra, p. 64.

DURING this gloomy state of the *Florentine* affairs, and when *Philip* had actually invaded their dominions, they received some relief, by being befriended by *Antonio*, lord of *Faenza*; and, according to the *Milanese* historian, *Philip's* general, *Agnolo*, was not fond of putting an end to the war. The causes, through which this event happened, are variously related. The most probable are, that *Antonio* had a personal dislike to *Philip*, and a kindness for the *Florentines*; which was increased by another event which took place about the same time: for young *Odo*, and *Nicolo Picinino*, after performing many important services to the *Florentines* about *Arezzo* and the vale of *Mugelli*, were intirely defeated by the *Milanese* generals. *Odo* was killed on the spot; but *Nicolo*, endeavouring to escape, was taken by the peasants, and carried to *Faenza*, where he persuaded *Antonio* to declare himself for the *Florentines* against *Philip*. Upon this the city of *Florence*, by a public decree and deed, declared him the chief of her allies, and sent a considerable body of her troops to protect *Faenza* from the resentment of *Philip*. This incident changed both the object and the scene of the war. *Philip* was obliged to recal *Agnolo*; and the *Florentines*, glad to remove the seat of war from their own country, gave the command of their army to *Bernardino Torelli*, the *Milanese* general, marched to fight him; and both armies came to a battle near *Angleria*, in which the *Florentines* were defeated, and their general taken prisoner, together with his chief officers. *Aretin* & himself seems to blame the *Florentine* ^{Their rapaciousness and cruelty for this disaster, which was followed by another.} *ra-
paciousness* and cruelty for this disaster, which was followed by another. *Nicolo Picinino*, the best general they had then in *Tuscany*, thought his services very indifferently requited by the *Florentines*, and complained, that his person was neither regarded, nor his troops paid. As he was a soldier of fortune, and of very mean original, the *Florentines* imagined that he only wanted to raise his terms, and they disregarded his complaints; so that, when the time of his service elapsed, he retired first to *Cortona*, then to *Perugia*, and then entered into the service of the duke of *Milan*.

THE *Florentines* now gave themselves up for lost. Their finances were exhausted. They had neither men nor generals to take the field, and their enemies were powerful. *Nicolo* ^{their power.} took from them all their forts between *Bibiena* and *Arezzo*; so that the *Florentines* had then no other resource but that of again applying to the *Venetians*, who they thought were equally interested with themselves in opposing the growth of the duke

of Milan's power. Philip was sensible that the *Florentines* bore him no good will; and his chief general *Carmignola*, having left his service, in disgust, was now at *Venice*, and took part with the *Florentines*. He had recourse to his usual arts; and perceiving that the *Venetians* were determined to unite themselves to the *Florentines*, he offered peace to the latter, provided they would break off the negotiation; but the condition was rejected. He then offered the same terms to the *Venetians*; but met with a like repulse from them.

History of

the league

between

the Floren-

tines and

Vene-

tians.

THE head of the *Florentine* deputation at *Venice* at this time was *Lorenzo Ridolfi*, a man of address and abilities, who found means to fix the doge in his interest; and he continued to be seconded by *Carmignola*, who, according to *Aretin*^b, had poison privately administered to him by Philip's order. The terms of agreement, after great difficulty, were at last settled between the *Florentines* and the *Venetians*. The chief were, that the *Florentines* should furnish four thousand foot, and that they should conclude no separate peace without the knowledge and consent of the *Venetians*. The first effect of this confederacy was the *Venetians* laying siege to *Brescia*, which alarmed Philip so greatly, that he recalled all his troops out of *Tuscany*. The *Florentines* were thereby left at liberty to divide their army. One part of it was sent to make good their engagements with the *Venetians*, and the other was employed in retaking the towns and forts between *Bibienna* and *Arezzo*. The condition of Philip at this time is a strong proof of the danger of a prince employing mercenaries. Philip was neither without troops nor money, and he had found means to engage in his service the best generals in *Italy*; for both *Sforza* and *Brachio* were now dead, the first being drowned, and the latter killed. But their animosities and avarice disconcerted his most important operations. *Brescia*, though a very strong city, and well provided with every thing for a good defence, surrendered to the *Venetians*; as did *Bergamo*, and many other places in *Lombardy*. He likewise yielded up *Forli* and *Imola*, much against the inclinations of the *Florentines*, to pope *Martin*, with all the towns and territories belonging to them. The pope then mediated a peace amongst the states at war, and employed the cardinal of *Bologna* to conclude it. Philip was so ill served by his troops and generals, that he was forced to agree to all the terms prescribed by his enemies. The city of *Milan*, however, still stood by him, and had grown to such a height of power, that her inhabitants offered to furnish him with ten thousand horse

Danger of

mercenary

troops.

Peace pro-

posed,

^b ARETIN. pag. 261.

and ten thousand foot, if he would continue the war against *Venice and Florence*. This offer for some time put a stop to the conclusion of the peace; but the *Venetians* preparing to *and con-* renew the war with more vigour than ever, it was at last concluded.

ACCORDING to *Machiavel*¹, this war was carried on between the *Florentines* and the *Milanese* with prodigious rancour. *Braggio del Milano*, governor of *Monte Petroso*, a little inconsiderable castle, being besieged by the *Milanese*, who had set fire to the place, rather than surrender, threw his moveables and children to the enemy, but chose himself to perish in the flames, though he was offered an honourable capitulation. The *Milanese*, admiring his magnanimity, sent his children and all his effects to *Florence*, where they were amply provided for at the public charge. He gives us another instance of the detestation of treachery in *Agnolo*, the *Milanese* and of general, when he appeared before *Galatea*, a town or castle honour. in the *Romagna*, where *Zanobi del Pino* was governor. *Zanobi* not only surrendered the place to him, without the smallest defence, but offered to conduct the *Milanese* army into *Tuscany*, where he might make war with more profit and safety. *Agnolo*'s detestation of this proposal was such, that he delivered the traitor up to be punished by his own menial servants, who, for some days, gave him nothing but paper painted with snakes and serpents to eat; so that he died of hunger. According to the last peace concluded with *Philip*, the *Florentines* were put in possession of all the places that had been taken from them in the *Romagna*; but, by *Machiavel*'s account, the whole of the war cost them the amazing sum of three millions and a half of ducats. This expence was but ill repaid by the re-acquisitions they had gained; while the *Venetians*, at the charge of the *Florentines*, were now in so rich and respectable a condition, that they became suspected by their allies; and this, according to the same author, was one of their main motives for making a peace.

DURING this war, which lasted from 1422 to 1427, the *Florentine* government had pursued every expedient they could devise for raising money; but, all being ineffectual, they at last laid a tax upon the properties and land estates of the subjects. This tax was called *cato/lo*; and *Machiavel* says, that it obliged every man possessed of an hundred florins to pay one half of them to the state. This, however, is to be understood with many restrictions. The value of the landed interest was known; and the plebeian part of the government,

¹ *Machiavel*, book iv.

which now prevailed in *Florence*, could easily raise the tax. It met, however, with a vigorous opposition; but was as strenuously supported by *John de Medici*, because it was to be levied by law, and could not be misapplied, to gratify the purposes either of avarice or revenge. The landed interest and great men were obliged to submit; but the people sought to carry the matter to an unwarrantable length, by wanting to institute courts of inquiry upon those who for some time past had paid less than that assessment. This project was unjust, cruel, and impolitic, and as such opposed by *John de Medici*, whose principle always was moderation in matters of government. In the year 1428, the nobility and rich citizens, finding they could not remove from their own shoulders the weight of the public burdens, suggested to the officers who collected the revenue, that the *catasto* ought to extend to all cities and states subject to the *Florentines*^k. This proposal, far from being disliked, was carried into execution; and the subjects of all the acquired territories were ordered to give up schedules of their estates, that they might be taxed to the *catasto*. This produced remonstrances from all those cities and states, pleading their original contracts with the *Florentines*, which left them to be taxed by themselves; and numerous deputies were sent from all quarters, to expose the iniquity of such proceedings. Those deputies, upon their arrival, and making known their business, were immediately put under confinement in *Florence*; so that the prisons there were filled with the principal inhabitants of *Pisa*, *Volterra*, *Pistoia*, *Arezzo*, *Cortona*, and other places.

The Volterrani ^{re-} *AMONGST* those the *Volterrani* were the most clamorous, pleading, that, by their original contract, they ought to be considered rather as allies than subjects of *Florence*. One of the *Volterrani* deputies was *Justus*, a man, says our authority^l, worthy to have lived in a better state, who counselled his countrymen and fellow-prisoners to make their submission to the *Florentines*, till better times should present themselves. This advice was followed, and the *Volterrani* deputies were suffered to return home. There he opened his mind to a very few of his intimate friends, particularly to one *Giovanni*, a fellow-president: and though all appearances of success were against them, they no sooner proclaimed liberty to their fellow-citizens than the *Florentine* governor was seized, and *Justus* was acknowledged as lord of *Volterra*.

^k *BILLIUS*, ubi supra, p. 117. *MACHIAVEL*, book iv.

^l *BILLIUS*, *ibid.*

WHEN this news reached the *Florentines*, who had held *but are* the *Volterrans* so cheap that they had not so much as kept a *with diffi-* garrison in their city, they were not so much affected with the *culti* re-*volts*, as alarmed at the example which it might set to the *duced*. other leading towns in their subjection. A council of the chief magistrates being held, some were generous enough to propose a remission of the tax, by adhering to the terms of the original stipulations. But this opinion was over-ruled by the party who were for the tax, and who represented, that, being at peace with the duke of *Milan*, they had nothing to fear in *Tuscany*. Two commissaries, *Rinaldo Albizi*, and *Palla Strozzi*, were appointed to treat with the *Volterrans*; and, if they should find that impracticable, to reduce them by force. *Palla* was the most unexceptionable *Florentine* that could be employed in such a commission, because of the lenity he had always expressed towards the *Volterrans*, and the other states; so that the chief management of the affair was left to him, and he conducted it with great art. Knowing that *Justus*, the new lord of *Volterra*, being but a plebeian, was hated by the nobility and the richer citizens of *Volterra*, when he came within eight miles of that city, he prevailed with many such to give him a meeting at a little town called *Gambazio*, where he endeavoured to make them sensible of the folly of the *Volterrans*, in drawing upon themselves the resentment of the *Florentines*, whom they were unable to resist ^m. The *Volterrans* at first complained bitterly of the *Florentine* tyranny; but he promising to stand their friend in the *Florentine* government, for procuring a redress of their grievances, they all of them came over to his proposal, which was to employ their interest in bringing their city back to the subjection of *Florence*.

JUSTUS, sensible of the strong party formed against him, and of the *Florentine* power, applied for assistance to the neighbouring states. The *Siennese* excused themselves on account of their league with *Florence*; and *Paolo Guinigi*, then lord of *Lucca*, that he might re-ingratiate himself with the *Florentines*, to whom his conduct in the late war had given umbrage, sent his deputy prisoner to *Florence*. In the mean while, the *Florentine* commissaries had assembled all the troops they could out of the neighbouring garrisons and countries, and drew near to *Volterra*, to second the efforts of their friends within the place. *Justus*, perceiving he had now no resource but in his own valour, and the strength of the city, was preparing to make a vigorous defence, when the *Florentine* party

^m *BILLIUS*, ubi supra, p. 118.

summoned a meeting of the presidents and chief citizens, before whom they laid all that had passed between them and *Palla Arcolano*, brother to *Giovanni*, was at the head of the *Florentine* party, and expatiated on the service they would do their country, and the reliance they might have on the gratitude of the *Florentine* government, who would put the management of the city into the hands of the nobility, if they would immediately dispatch *Fythus*, and admit the *Florentine* commissaries, who were lying with an army before their gates.

THIS meeting was so secretly held, that *Fythus* knew nothing of it; and the company agreeing to *Arcolano*'s proposal, he and some of his friends repaired to the palace, and drawing him into a private room, under pretence of business, they murdered him, after making a brave resistance, and desperately wounding two of the assassins. His death stunned his party so much, that *Arcolano* and his friends found no difficulty in opening their gates to the *Florentines*, who immediately repossessed themselves of *Volterra*ⁿ. But the *Volterrans* were miserably deceived in their expectations; for the *Florentines*, now both hating and despising them, obliged them to pay the *Misery of the Volter-catasto* to the rigour. Their nobility were treated in the same manner as their plebeians, their territory was dismembered from their city, and their few remaining privileges were abolished.

Rise of the war against Lucca. AMONGST the other officers employed by the *Florentines* in their war was *Nicolo*, nephew by the sister to *Brachio*, whose name he assumed, and is therefore distinguished by the title of *Fortebrachio*. He had served in *Lombardy*; and upon the conclusion of the peace between *Florence* and the duke of *Milan*, he was so far from disbanding the troops he commanded, that he increased them, under pretence of asserting some family-rights in the dutchy of *Spoletto*, of which he was a native^o. He was, however, again employed by the *Florentine* commissaries in the reduction of *Volterra*; and when that was completed, it was supposed, according to *Machiavel*^p, that *Rinaldo de Albizi* persuaded him to make an inroad into the *Lucquese*, out of the hatred he bore to *Paolo Guinigi*.

Death and character of John de Medici. *FLORENCE* by this time had lost her noble and faithful patriot *John de Medici*, who bequeathed to his eldest son of *John de Gofmo* an immense estate, and a double portion of his own spirit, patriotism, and moderation. The advice he gave his family upon his death-bed is full of the noblest sentiments

ⁿ MACHIAVEL, ubi supra.
^p MACHIAVEL, ubi supra.

• ARETIN, pag. 262.

^q Id. ibid.

of public virtue; and, after the days of *A. ticus*, no private citizen perhaps was known to have steered his course so happily through contending factions, with so unexceptionable a character, and in possession of so great an estate. The last circumstance is a proof of the immense wealth which the *Florentine* nobility in those days acquired by trade; for *John* was generous to profusion, and charitable even to weakness. He inquired no farther into the character or circumstances of any man than his wants, which he no sooner knew than unsolicited he relieved them. The highest dignities of the state had been in a manner forced upon him; and by the benevolent turn of his natural temper, he was more apt to pity than punish offenders. His hands being free from corruption, as his heart was from ambition, he died in full possession of his country's love; where he owed his pre-eminence (a rare example in a popular state) not to his eloquence, which was but midling, but to his wisdom. He was succeeded, as we have already hinted, by his eldest son *Cosmo*, in his popularity as well as estate.

THERE is reason, from what has fallen from *Machiavel*, *His son Cosmo joins against the Lucqueze.* and the other historians, for believing that *Cosmo* had a very bad opinion of *Guinigi*; and though he was by no means on good terms with the *Albizi* family, he joined with *Rinaldo* and *Neri*, the son of *Caponi*, who had so great a hand in the reduction of *Pisa*, in privately exciting *Fortebrachio* to his attempt against the *Lucqueze*. *Fortebrachio* and his troops were then quartered at *Fucechio*, a town belonging to the *Florentines*; and marching from thence with his troops, consisting of three hundred horse and three hundred foot, in November, 1429, he surprised *Compito* and *Ruoti*, belonging to *Lucca*, and the latter not above eight miles distant from that city; all the territory of which he likewise plundered. *Guinigi* was intirely unprovided of troops, and complained to the *Florentines* of *Fortebrachio*'s attempt. They denied that he acted by their authority; and he pretended that what he had done was to indemnify himself for a sum owing by *Guinigi* to his uncle *Brachio*. *Guinigi*'s complaint to the *Florentines* had an effect very different from what he perhaps expected; for it filled the minds of the *Florentines* with the flattering hopes of easily mastering the strong and important city of *Lucca*. This spirit prevailing, the city ran into cabals, and the citizens breathed nothing but an immediate declaration of war against *Guinigi*. *Cosmo de Medici*, being yet unexperienced in the affairs of state, and probably thinking that he was doing service to his

Debates on the expediency of that war. country, now openly joined the party that was for war. *Nicolo de Uzano* and his friends endeavoured to oppose the torrent, by laying before their countrymen the distressed state of the public credit; and that there was no money in what they called their mount, or public exchequer. They shewed how dishonourable it would be, without provocation, to make war on a prince whom they had lately ranked amongst their chief allies; and how impolitic, in their present exhausted state, to attempt the conquest of so powerful a city as that of *Lucca*. But those and many other arguments had no weight with the body of the *Florentines*. The public cry was, that *Guinigi* was the only tyrant now remaining in *Tuscany*; that he had always favoured the *Florentine* enemies, and had sent his son to serve under the duke of *Milan* during the late war. This warlike party was assisted by applications made to them from the inhabitants of *Pescia* and *Vico*, two towns belonging to *Florence*, for leave to take possession of such castles as were offered to be surrendered to them; and assuring the *Florentines*, that nothing could be more easy than for them to conquer *Lucca*, and all its territory.

Negotiations for a peace.

THE party against the war were, however, so respectable for their wisdom and authority, that the public resolution was for some time kept in suspense; and *Guinigi* sent a fresh ambassador to *Florence*, to attempt a reconciliation. The person he sent was one *Viviano*, whom *Guinigi* had pardoned, after being capitally convicted of a conspiracy against him. But *Viviano*'s resentment got the better of his gratitude, and, caballing with the party for a war, they were encouraged by him to push for a decisive resolution. For this purpose the magistracy or senate assembled a council, at which four hundred and ninety eight of the principal citizens appeared. The debate was begun by *Rinaldo de Albizi*, who magnified the advantages a free people had over slaves, for such he said the *Lucquese* were, to a fellow subject of their own, who had always been an enemy to *Florence*. He then attempted to prove, that the reduced state of their commonwealth ought to be a strong argument for a war, in which their success was next to certain, because the acquisition of *Lucca* would check the designs which the pope or the duke of *Milan* might have against their liberties, and make them once more the umpires of *Italy*.

Arguments for one.

NICOLA DE UZANO opposed *Rinaldo* with great vigour, by shewing how affectionate the *Lucquese*, when they were not under the dominion of tyrants, had always been towards the *Florentines*; and that they could not make war on the tyrant, exclusive of the people; that every maxim of policy,

licy, as well as justice, pleaded for peace. They could expect no assistance from the *Venetians*, who were busied in settling their new acquisitions; and that the duke of *Milan*, pleased with seeing them engaged in a fresh war, which would finish the ruin of their finances, would either openly or secretly assist *Lucca*, which was so much his interest to keep them from possessing. Upon the whole, he concluded that the best conduct they could observe would be to remain quiet; in which case, it was more than probable, the *Lucquese*, tired of their tyrant, would put themselves under the protection of *Florence*; and he concluded by prophesying, that, by pursuing the war, they would precipitate their own ruin.

THERE was so much weight and justice in *Uzano's* reason-*War reasoning*, that the advocates for war had nothing to reply, but to *solved on* call for a division, which gave the question in their favour by a majority of four hundred against ninety-eight. The ten field-deputies for the management of the war were then nominated; and two generals, *Astorre Gianni* and *Rinaldo Albizi*, were appointed to command the troops; but it was likewise agreed, that *Fortebrachio* should be taken into their service, and keep possession of the towns he had reduced. This proved to be a capital oversight, as neither of their generals were soldiers; and *Fortebrachio* was secretly dissatisfied, in not having the sole command. The expedition however was so popular, that they soon raised an army of about two thousand, besides the troops which served under *Fortebrachio*.

GUINIGI, seeing the storm ready to break upon him, *The Luc* filled all *Italy* and the greatest part of *Christendom* with invec-*que* *entes* *ap* against the *Florentine* breach of faith; but he chiefly *ap-apply* *to their* pealed to the pope, the duke of *Milan*, and the *Venetians*, for allies. the justice of his cause. *Philip* was the only power who gave ear to his complaints. *Billius*, who was a noble and learned *Milanese*, and wrote at that time, tells us¹, that *Phi-* *lip* was the principal instrument of the war, and that he himself had seen at *Sienna* letters from that duke to the *Florentines*, promising them his assistance, which he did only with a view of fomenting a war that might weaken both parties.

THE incapacity of the *Florentine* generals to command an army soon appeared. Leaving *Florence*, they divided their army, *Astorre* taking the command of one part, and *Rinaldo* of the other. *Astorre* marched with his division towards *Camaiore* and *Pietrasanta*; while *Rinaldo* kept the heights with his. They proceeded, wherever they came, not only impoli-

¹ *BILLIUS*, *ubi supra*, pag. 125.

ticly,

tically, but brutally. *Afforre* arriving at *Seravezza*, or *Salto della Serva*, a fine rich populous vale in the neighbourhood of *Pietrasanta*, the inhabitants, who being *Guelphs*, had long disliked *Guinigi*'s government, offered to submit to that of *Florence*. *Afforre* pretending to receive their submissions, ordered the inhabitants to assemble in the great church, where, surrounding them with his troops, he told them they were his prisoners. He then let loose his soldiers, who plundered their lands, violated their wives and daughters, and were guilty of the most horrible outrages in their country, not even sparing their churches. Some of the *Seravezzi*, however, found means, though with difficulty, to escape to *Florence*, where they represented their case in so moving a manner, that the *Florentines* recalled *Afforre*, condemned and admonished him.

RINALDO DE ALBIZI fell under the public suspicion at the same time; for the *Florentines* observed, that though he had been the principal patron of the war, he had been so remiss in pursuing it, that he seemed to mind nothing but enriching himself at the expence of the defenceless or conquered *Lucquese*. This coming to the ears of *Rinaldo*, whose impetuosity and pride were boundless, he came without leave to *Florence*, where he presented himself before the ten deputies, and with bitter upbraidings of their and his country's ingratitude, he resigned his commission. The council of ten did not venture to punish a man of his eminence; but gave the command of their army to *Neri di Gino*, *Caponi*'s son, and *Alamanno Salviati*, who made dispositions for acting with vigour against the enemy. *Guinigi* all this while was not wanting to himself. Being master of great sums of money, he raised troops in all quarters, and applied to the *Siennese* for their assistance, or if that could not be obtained, for their mediation. The *Siennese*, equally dreading the progress, and detesting, the cruelty of the *Florentines*, undertook the latter office, and sent *Antonio Franciso* to mediate a peace between them and the *Lucquese*. But the former were now so bent upon the conquest of *Lucca*, that his negotiation came to nothing, and the *Siennese* applied to the *Venetians* for their good offices. Their answer was, that they knew nothing of the *Siennese*, farther than that they had been included in the late peace; and they returned to *Sienna* without effecting anything. Upon this *Antonio Franciso*, who was a young nobleman of great spirit and interest, left *Sienna*; and, in conjunction with one of *Guinigi*'s nephews, raised a large body of troops, who threw themselves into *Lucca*. Amongst others they paid thirty thousand ducats by way of advance money to

Rainerio

The Lucquese prepare for war.

Rainerio of Perugia, who, having received the sum, betrayed him and went over to the *Florentines*, who, by the like sum, as is said, engaged him and three hundred horse in their service.

THOUGH this defection greatly incommoded *Guinigi*^b, yet *Lucca* being now found himself in a condition to make a vigorous ~~de-~~ ^{de-} ~~fized~~ ^{fized} *siege*. For this purpose, he hired of the *Spaniards* six galleys, and many smaller vessels for disappointing all the efforts of his enemies by water. The new *Florentine* generals, on the other hand, changing the plan of operations laid down by their predecessors, advanced to *Campanole* against *Lucca*; and their army, being now greatly increased, they surrounded it, but without forming a regular siege; and burned or ravaged all the country round.

MANY of the *Italian* historians mention the *Florentines* as being severe and rapacious masters of their acquired dominions, and perhaps they are not the only republicans who are charged in history on the same account. It is certain, that their behaviour to the *Pisans* and *Volterrans* gave the *Lucquese* a greater abhorrence of their government than they entertained for that of their tyrant, as they and the other *Italian* republics affected to call *Guinigi*. The ravages committed in their territories were far from allaying this spirit in the *Lucquese*, and they promised to hold out against their enemies to the last extremity. *Guinigi* had two sons; the eldest, *Pondulfo*, was legitimate, the other natural; but, like the rest of the *Italian* princes of those days, he made little or no distinction on that account. To the former he committed the care of defending the city, and to the other, the conduct of the sallies, which were frequent and generally successful. The *Florentines* were provided with a kind of artillery, which, by the force of gunpowder, discharged large stones; but the *Lucquese*, perceiving that they did very little execution, came *at last* to despise them, and every day renewed their sallies, to the great slaughter of their enemies, by the help of *small fire-arms*, or *small fire-arms*, to which the *Florentines* were strangers, and which, before this siege, were not known in *Italy*, though perhaps they were in other parts of *Europe*. The reader, in the notes, will find a curious and a natural description from *Billius* (A) of those dreadful implements of war,

^b *BILLIUS ubi supra*, p. 126.

(A) *Preter jacula, & sagitta-
rum balistas, novum quoque teli ge-
nus invenerunt: gererant manibus
fusilem cubiti, & alterius dimidii
longum; huic suffixæ erant cannae
ferreæ, quibus item sulphure, ac
nitro*

war, which are now become so common, and of the execution they did upon the *Florentines*. It was such as encouraged the besieged to redouble their sallies upon the besiegers, whose army was divided into two camps; from both of which they were driven by the besieged, and one of the *Florentine* generals narrowly missed being made a prisoner. He was rescued by *Cardano*, one of the chief officers; but the besieged carried off with them four great guns (cannon we suppose are meant) called by our author *bombardæ*: a great number of prisoners were likewise made.

The *Florentines* baffled in the siege of *Lucca*, that it was impossible for them to master the city in the manner the siege was carried on. The bitter weather was now approaching; and neither the *Florentine* generals, nor the field-deputies, could prevail with the soldiers to leave the villages in the neighbourhood, and to encamp so near the walls as to block up the city. *Philip Brunelleschi*, who is famous for reviving in *Europe* the true principles of architecture, and erecting in *Florence* edifices that, to this day, are master-pieces in that art, was then in the *Florentine* camp; and he gave it as his opinion, in which he was joined by the general officers, that it was possible to turn the course of the river *Serchio*, so as to drown *Lucca*. As he was looked upon to be the best engineer of that age, his proposal, however romantic it appeared, might have proved successful, could the *Florentine* army have been prevailed upon to encamp near enough to the city, to have interrupted the dispositions made by the besieged, for defeating *Brunelleschi*'s plan, which was to have turned the course of the *Serchio*, by means of a strong mound, so as by the lateral pressure of its waters, to have borne down the walls, or by their rising to have overflowed them. The *Lucquese* perceived his design, and raised a mound parallel to his, between their walls and the diverted course of the river, which served as a bulwark to the city, and when the waters were raised to a proper height between the two mounds, the besieged, dividing their forces, sent one part in the night-time to attack that part of the *Florentine* camp that lay nearest the mound, and armed the other part with all kinds of instruments for digging and boring, by which they broke down and pierced the *Florentine* mound, so as to overflow all the

mitro oppletis, globulas ferreos vi quin saepe duos aut & tertium, ignis emitebant. Certa erat in si per ordinem occurrent, una iectu, si tetigisset, perniciis; nec glande transfoderent (1).

(1) *Billius*, ubi supra, pag. 127.

grounds

grounds on which the besiegers were encamped, which made it impracticable again to approach the city on that side.

THE Florentine field-deputies, and their magistracy, vexed *Unpopula-* at the losses and disgraces they had received in the course of *city of* this siege, sent *Giovanni Guicciardini* to take upon him the *Guinigi.* sole command, and his authority prevailed with the soldiers to encamp nearer the town. It is probable, that this new general would not have been more successful than his predecessors had been, could *Guinigi's* treasures have held out. But, great as they were, they were now exhausted, and he was obliged to use some unseasonable severities upon the citizens to raise more; upon which a conspiracy was formed against him within the walls. *Guinigi* was not insensible of his own danger; and, by the advice of *Antonio of Sienna*, who had been incredibly active for the *Lucquese*, he sent *Silvestro Trenta* and *Luigi Bonvisi* (B) to *Milan*, to implore that duke's assistance. Those ambassadors were of the number of the conspirators against him; and indeed the noble defence the *Lucquese* made, was not owing to any affection they had for *Guinigi*, but to the aversion they had to the *Florentines*.

THE latter had all along been distrustful of *Philip's* conduct; and they had at this very time deputies at his court to watch it, and to keep him at least firm in his neutrality. *Philip* answered both them and the *Lucquese* only in general terms, and seemed unwilling to take any concern in the fate of *Lucca*. Upon this the *Lucquese* deputies applied privately to him; and laying before him the state of the siege and their city, they told him, that rather than it should fall into the hands of the *Florentines*, if he would support them with a proper force, the citizens would depose *Guinigi*, and put themselves under his (*Philip's*) protection. Even this encouragement did not drive *Philip* from his usual caution. He refused to declare himself on either side; but he managed matters so, that *Sforza*, who then commanded his troops, and had in his own pay a considerable body, should publicly demand his leave to march upon an expedition to *Naples*. This was obtained, and *Sforza*, having settled every thing relating to his pay, and the number of his troops, both with *Philip* and the *Lucquese*, pointed his march directly towards *Tuscany*.

(B) We have followed *Macchiavel's* account here; but, according to *Billius*, the plan of *Sforza's* march into *Tuscany* had been before concerted with *Antonio*, who was in disguise at the court of *Milan*.

His policy. THIS management was not so secret as to be concealed from *Boccaccino Alamanui*, the *Florentine* resident at *Perugia*, who put his principals upon their guard. All they intended was to raise new troops, and to fortify the passes into the country, which proved no obstacle to *Sforza*. His march, however, was retarded when he came to the foot of the *Apennines*, by *Philip*'s usual caution, who wanted to know in what light the *Venetians* would consider his conduct. Perceiving they did not move, he ordered *Sforza* to proceed.

Sforza raises the siege of Lucca. THE *Florentines* were in hopes of carrying *Lucca* before his arrival, and pressed the siege with more vigour than ever; but were as vigorously repulsed. At last *Sforza*, at the head of three thousand veteran troops, forced his way over the *Apennines*, and, carrying all before him, appeared in sight of the *Florentine* army, which immediately raised the siege, and retired to an advantageous camp at *Librafratta*, lying at an equal distance between *Pisa* and *Lucca*. *Sforza* upon this demolished all the works that had been raised by the besiegers, and entered *Lucca* in triumph, where he was received as their deliverer and guardian, by *Guinigi* and the inhabitants; and, at *Antonio*'s request, the arrears due to *Sforza* were paid, though it drained *Guinigi* of the small remainder of his money. A council of war being held, it was resolved to act upon the defensive, and *Sforza* marched with his army towards *Pistoia*, where he took and demolished *Bugiano*, a fortified town, and then laid siege to *Pescia*, a town of the greatest importance to the safety of *Florence* itself. *Pagolo Diacetto*, governor of the place, abandoned it and fled to *Pistoia*.

Dismal state of the Florentines. IT is certain, that the affairs of the *Florentines* were at this time a melancholy aspect. Their ill success in the field had increased the people's animosities against their magistrates. Their generals were without military talents, and divided amongst themselves. They were hated by many not only of the neighbouring states, but of their own dependencies; and they had not an ally whom they could trust. Their public money was exhausted; and nothing but the feeble interposition of *Pescia* could keep *Sforza* from marching to the gates of *Florence*. Their dangers, however, existed rather in appearance than in reality. *Sforza*'s secret instructions did not authorize him to act offensively against the *Florentines* after the siege of *Lucca* was raised; and he had undertaken the expedition against *Pescia* only for the sake of plunder, and because he knew he could raise no more money at *Lucca*. The *Florentines* knew all this; and while *Malevolto*, who

next in command to the governor, held out *Pefzia*, the siege of a sudden was relaxed, and then finally raised. *Macchiavelli* himself does not deny that this happened through the prevalence of money proffered by the *Florentines* to *Sforza*; for though the republic of *Florence* was then poor, many of its private citizens were immensely rich. The *Florentines*, who were in the secret negotiation, were so confident of the power of money upon a mercenary general, that they were in hopes to prevail upon *Sforza*, not only to raise the siege of *Pefzia*, but to deliver into their hands *Lucca* itself. *Sforza* who *buy off* being a man of honour in his profession, excused himself *Sforza*, from the latter part of the bargain, but accepted of fifty thousand crowns for raising the siege of *Pefzia*, promising to withdraw his protection from *Lucca* while it was governed by *Guinigi*, and to join in any measures that might be taken for deposing him. The bargain was actually struck, and *Sforza* evacuated the *Florentine* territories; and returning to the *Lucquese*, he encamped without that city (A).

The *Florentines*, by their agreement with *Sforza*, were at liberty to practise every art against the *Lucquese*, and they made use of some that, perhaps, were unwarrantable. *Antonio* and *pro-
nis of Sienna* was then in the city; and the *Florentines* em-
ployed crafty agents to carry letters in their names, some of *them* directed to *Guinigi*, and others to the chief citizens who were dissatisfied with his government. The agents carrying letters to the citizens suffered themselves to be intercepted by *Guinigi*, and the letters directed to *Guinigi* were suffered to fall into the hands of the citizens. By the contents of the former, the citizens were rendered suspected to him; and in the letters directed to him, the *Florentines* wrote in a strain which implied that a treaty was far advanced between him and them; and that he was to put the city into their hands, upon their paying him two hundred thousand crowns: mention was likewise made, in several of the letters intercepted by the citizens, as if *Guinigi* had agreed to put *Antonio* to death; and those being shewn to *Antonio*, made him resolve upon the destruction of *Guinigi*.

So complicated a scene of deceit must have been ineffectual, could *Guinigi* and the citizens have come to an expla-

(A) The account given by *Macchiavelli* of the important transaction that followed *Sforza*'s return to the *Lucquese* is very unsatisfactory, and leaves us 'only in the dark as to the motives and springs of the revolution which took place. We are, therefore, obliged to supply it from *Billius*, and other contemporary authors.

nation; but they were too distrustful of one another for that to take place; and thus each secretly meditated the ruin of and impri-
sonment of the other. The event was, that *Antonio* and about forty
Guinigi. other citizens surprized *Guinigi* in the night-time in the citadel, where he thought himself secure; and, after upbraiding him with his government, deprived him of the keys of the castle, and put him under arrest, as *Sforza* did his son *Pandolfo*, who was in his camp. Both of them were sent prisoners to *Milan*, where they died under their confinement.

The Ge-
noese de-
clare
against the
Floren-
tines.

IT must be acknowledged, that notwithstanding all the various arts the *Florentines* had employed against the *Lucquese*, they failed in their design, which was that of reducing them to subjection. It is plain, that they had been outwitted by *Sforza*; and yet they could not complain of his having deceived them. According to some authors, he received thirty-five thousand crowns more from the *Florentines*, with a promise of fifteen thousand besides, at the expiration of three months, if he and his troops remained inactive during that time. He accordingly drew off his army to *Mirandola*, and left the defence of the *Lucquese* to themselves; to which, in their reduced condition, they were very unequal. They were so sensible of their weakness, that they sent public letters to the *Florentines*, that they were now free from their tyrant whom the *Florentines* had made their pretext for the war; that they were willing to yield to the *Florentines* some marks of superiority, provided they were left to the full enjoyment of their own laws and liberties. The *Florentines*, being now delivered from the fear of *Sforza*, rejected this equitable offer, on pretence that the complexion of the war was altered from what it was originally; and that it had cost them so much blood and treasure, that they would be contented with nothing less than the entire subjection of the *Lucquese*. This infamous condition was rejected, and the *Lucquese* prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity, as the *Florentines* did to renew the siege. *Antonio* of *Sienna*, knowing that his country would fall the next sacrifice to the *Florentines*, should they become masters of *Lucca*, went on board a vessel to *Genoa*, which was then governed by the archbishop of *Milan* for *Philip*; tho', in other respects, the *Genoese* still were in full possession of their laws and properties; and a vast number of them were immensely rich. These he addressed for assistance against the *Florentines*, against whose ambition and injustice he bitterly inveighed; but without pretending to engage the duke of *Milan* in the quarrel. The preservation of *Lucca* from falling into the hands of the *Florentines*, was of the utmost consequence to the *Genoese*, who promised *Antonio*, that

that if the duke of *Milan* would give them leave they would assist the *Lucquese* with their good offices ; and if those should fail, with their arms. This favourable answer was owing to their hopes of recovering *Leghorn* from the *Florentines*, who had bought it from *Fulgozo*. They sent a deputation to *Florence*, in terms which offended the *Florentines* ; for they not only required them to desist from their war with *Lucca*, but insisted upon the restitution of *Leghorn*. Their answer was equally disagreeable to the *Genoese*, whom they said they could not consider as a free people, but as subjects to the duke of *Milan* ; and that therefore they could not treat with them as an independent state. Upon which the *Genoese* deputies, in great rage, mounted their horses and left *Florence*. Upon their return to *Genoa*, and reporting the success of their commission, the *Genoese* came immediately to a resolution of declaring war against the *Florentines*, and of employing *Nicolo Picinino* for their general ; all which they did with the approbation and connivance of the duke of *Milan*.

THE *Florentines* had intelligence of this new storm that *Diffimulazion* threatened them, and took into their pay a body of fourteen hundred horse belonging to *Guido of Faenza*, appointing, at *Philip*. the same time, the count of *Urbino* to be general of this army, though he was very unequal to that command. The *Florentine* deputies at *Venice* did not fail to represent to that senate, that the duke of *Milan* was at the bottom of all that management, and how dangerous it would be to their state if he should obtain the sovereignty of *Tuscany*, which he aimed at. The *Venetians* upon this complained to *Philip*, who, with his usual dissimulation, told them that he had lent the *Genoese* a body of troops ; that it was the same thing to him whether they assisted the *Lucquese* or the *Florentines*, for he was sensible they aimed at nothing but to defend themselves. To confirm what he said, he sent the *Venetians* a copy of his convention with the *Genoese*, by which he left them at entire liberty to join with whom they pleased. The *Venetians* appeared, or seemed to appear, satisfied with this answer, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the *Florentines*.

By this time *Picinino*, who had taken the command of the *Progress of Genoese* army, marched to relieve *Lucca*, again besieged by the war. the *Florentines*, who, upon his approach, abandoned the siege, and entrenched themselves on the banks of the *Serchio*. Their army was computed to be five thousand horse and three thousand foot, all hired troops, and ten thousand *Florentines* ; a proof of the intrinsic riches of the subjects of that state, notwithstanding the vast expences and losses they had

sustained, and the low condition of their finances. But tho' their numbers were superior to those of *Picinino's* army, his reputation was so high that the *Florentines* durst not face him. His first care was to retake some of the *Lucquese* forts and castles that had fallen into the hands of the *Florentines*, and then he faced his enemy for one day, which he employed in searching for a ford across the river, and in cutting off their provisions by water, of which he had plenty, by means of barks attending his army. A ford was at last discovered, and, though dangerous, attempted by *Picinino*. Had the *Florentines* been but tolerably well commanded, their enemies must have failed in their attempt, and the best part of their army been destroyed. But the *Genoese* and *Luequeze* met no opposition in passing the river, but from a few troops commanded by the young lords of *Faenza* and *Perugia*; for *Urbino*, the *Florentine* general, upon the first appearance of danger, fled to *Pisa*; and the *Florentines*, being now without a head, to *Florence*.

The Florentines defeated.

THOUGH the *Italian* historians have most pompously described this passage, and the battle that ensued, yet it does not appear that a dozen of men were killed on either side; but about two hundred new-raised men, in the precipitancy of their flight, were drowned in the river. A great many men and horses, however, were taken, but most of the former were dismissed by *Picinino*.

Picinino's success.

WHEN the news of this defeat was carried to *Florence*, the inhabitants imagined *Picinino* to be already at their gates. But they were mistaken as to his instructions, which were limited to the relief and defence of *Lucca*, and regaining its dependencies from the *Florentines*; all which he effected, besides furnishing the inhabitants with large magazines of provisions from his ships. On his return to *Genoa*, however, he received orders to take several places upon which the *Genoese* had pretensions, particularly *Pontremoli*, a place so important, that it is accounted the barrier of the *Appennines* towards *Genoa*: in all which he succeeded. By the taking of *Pontremoli*, all communication was cut off between the *Genoese* exiles and the *Florentines*, and the *Genoese* obtained a ready entrance into *Tuscany*.

Diffimulation of the Florentines,

NOTWITHSTANDING the departure of *Picinino*, the *Florentines* were so far from renewing hostilities against *Lucca*, that they became apprehensive that the states of *Tuscany* would form a league against themselves. They knew that they were hated by the *Siennese*, who had lately made a league with the pope, and had raised troops; and that several states, besides those within *Tuscany*, would readily enter

into

into such a confederacy. The *Florentines* dissembled all; and, as if they had been upon the best terms with *Sienna*, they not only sent thither a deputation, but prevailed with the *Venetians* to send another to negotiate the renewal of the ancient leagues between the *Florentines* and the *Siennese*. The latter, who were already in treaty with the *Lucquese*, were surprised at this proposition; and, in a separate conference their magistrates had with the *Venetian* deputies, they inveighed so bitterly and so speciously against the *Florentines*, that the *Venetians* returned home without farther interposition. During this negotiation the *Siennese* unanimously chose *Antonio*, who had been so active against the *Florentines*, for their chief magistrate; upon which the *Florentine* deputies hastily left *Sienna*; and, to impose upon the inhabitants of the country through which they were to pass, they adorned themselves with olive branches, by which they got safe to *Florence*. They were scarcely arrived there, when a triple league was proposed between the duke of *Milan*, the *Genoese* (who affected a shew of independency) and the *Siennese*.

THE *Florentines* sought to counterbalance this league by ~~who make~~ a new one with the *Venetians*; but the latter had ~~rea-~~ ^{a league} reasons for not provoking *Philip*, and therefore declined the ~~with Ve-~~ proposal. The *Florentines* then applied to *Sforza*, as the *Ve-* ~~nice~~, *netians* did, at the same time, to take the command of their armies; but he refused to leave the service of the duke of *Milan*, to whose natural daughter he was already contracted, and whom he afterwards succeeded in his dominions. Pope *Martin V.* the great restorer of the papal dignity in *Italy*, being now dead, was succeeded by *Eugene IV.* a *Venetian*, who joined himself to the *Ursini* against the friends of the late pope, and thereby a kind of civil war ensued in the state of the church. He was generally thought to be the son of the antipope *Gregory XII.* and, at his accession to the papedom, he formed the design of renewing the league between the *Florentines* and the *Venetians*, to counterbalance the duke of *Milan*'s power; and the confederacy accordingly took place. *Philip* coming to know of this fresh conjunction, ordered some troops which lay at *Pontremoli* to fall into *Tuscany*, which they did under *Picinino*, and penetrated so far into the *Florentine* dominions as to cut off all communication between *Florence* and *Pisa*.

THE *Florentines*, well knowing how ripe the *Pisans* were ~~Crucify to~~ for a revolt, had recourse on this occasion to an inhuman, ^{wards the} but perhaps necessary, measure. The archbishop of *Pisa*, a *Pisans*, *Florentine*, had then the chief command in that city, and by order, no doubt, of the *Florentine* government, he made pro-

clamation that all *Pisans*, between fifteen and sixty, should immediately leave the city. Being of a brutal nature, he himself was the executioner of this order; but retained the wives and children of the unhappy *Pisans* as pledges for their conduct. Notwithstanding this precaution, a plot was formed within the city for delivering the same up to *Picinino*, who daily presented himself before its gates; and the design was discovered, but by great accident*. *Picinino*, however, conquered all the *Volterrano* territory; and *Volterra* itself would have submitted to him, had he not been attended by a great number of the *Volterrano* exiles, who were irreconcileably obnoxious to the governing party in the city.

Policy of the duke of Milan. WHILE the triple league between *Philip*, the *Genoese*, and the *Siennese*, was depending, some of the young *Siennese*, without either authority or leader, made an irruption into the *Florentine* territory, where they burned down a castle. The news of this rash action arrived at *Milan*, while *Philip* was in conference with the deputies of the two republics, and in great perplexity, whether he should conclude the league or not. The adventure was no sooner related to him, than with joy in his countenance he ordered all that the *Siennese* deputies had requested to be granted them^b; a circumstance that well expresses his cautious character. Accordingly count *Alberigo* was ordered to put himself at the head of two thousand horse to join *Picinino*, that the *Tuscan* war might be carried on with decisive vigour. It soon appeared that the *Florentine* subjects had no aversion to put themselves under the protection of *Philip*, though they refused to submit to the *Siennese*; for the war being now carried on in *Philip's* name, many forts and castles readily submitted to his general. *Picinino* then marched to the valley of *Alfa*, the most beautiful and populous of any in *Italy*; and he was preparing to reduce *Staggio*, and the neighbouring forts, most of which belonged to private subjects of *Florence*, when he was encouraged to hope that he might easily make himself master of *Arezzo*, by means of a conspiracy within that city. It is said, not without great colour of truth, that the *Florentines* themselves were at the bottom of this suggestion, that they might draw him out of that country. It is certain, that *Picinino* was so intent on the conquest of *Arezzo*, that he burned all the preparations he had made for his other expedition, and marched directly to that city, the people, wherever he passed, presenting him with the keys of their towns and cas-

MACHIAVEL, Book iv. BILLIUS, pag. 148.
titio, ubi supra.

^b BIL-

glea

ties (B). When he came before *Arezzo*, he found he had been imposed on, and that no dispositions were made for giving up the city. Having waited for some days without any effect, the *Siennese*, and the other troops, pressed him to begin the siege, protesting that he would not return alive if they did not take it in four days. While *Picinino* was deliberating on this proposal, matters took an unexpected turn in *Lombardy*, and *Philip* sent an order for *Picinino* to return to *Milan*. So dreadful was *Picinino*'s name in *Tuscany*, that the *Florentines* considered his departure, though he was attended by no troops, and though *Alberigo* succeeded to his command, as a deliverance. They chose for their general *Michaletto*, who had been bred up under *Sforza*; and so greatly were they encouraged by *Picinino*'s departure, that he soon had the face of an army. The first gleam of good fortune they obtained was an advantage they gained over *Alberigo* at *Colla*, where, against his own inclination, he was obliged to fight the *Florentines*, and was worsted. This advantage, though but trifling, was celebrated at *Florence* with an extravagance of joy.

WE are to reflect, that all the *Florentine* dominions were at this time reduced to *Florence*, their great walled towns, and cities, and a few inconsiderable places that had been spared in the vale of *Alfa*. Almost all their open country had been reduced by *Picinino* and the *Siennese*; but the late defeat of *Alberigo* gave a turn to their fortune. *Philip*, suspecting him to have an understanding with the *Florentines*, sent for him in chains to *Milan*, his command devolving on the young *Antonia* of *Pergola*, who neither had any authority in the army, nor any opportunities of giving a proof of his military capacity, as the season was too far advanced for action. After this, during the winter, not a day passed without some notable defection from the *Milanese* army, and many of their best troops and officers went into the *Florentine* service.

By this time the *Venetians*, alarmed at *Philip*'s vast progress in *Tuscany*, had concluded a new league with the *Florentines*, and had fitted out a greater naval armament than,

(B) The reader is not to imagine that the castles, forts, and fortified towns he meets with so often in this history, were, for the most part, any other than the houses of private gentlemen, or open villages, with a few works of defence, cast up about

them to secure them from being surprised by the banditti, and disbanded soldiery, which, at this time, and long before, had infested Italy, and which always followed the fortune of the field.

had for many ages been known in Italy. It was to oppose them that he had recalled *Picinino* out of *Tuscany*, and given him the command of both his sea and land forces. The *Venetian* fleet having sailed up the *Po*, being most or all of them gallies, and drawing very little water, lay opposite to their land army, which was commanded by *Carmignola*, against whom *Picinino* alone could make head, as their fleet was by *Stefano* of *Treviso*. This encampment was near *Cremona*; while the *Milanese* fleet, which was equal in number, but far inferior in strength and appointments to that of *Venice*, lay above that city. *Picinino* seemed intent only upon the land operations; but all of a sudden, without communicating his design to any one but *Sforza*, perceiving *Carmignola*'s attention fixed upon the army, he threw himself on board a *Milanese* galley, and, though unused to that service, by his own personal valour and intrepidity, he gave the *Venetians* one of the greatest defeats they had ever received on the water, while *Carmignola* could do nothing but déplore it from the shore. The particulars of this defeat, and of the vast booty made by the *Milanese* and *Genoese*, are foreign to this part of our history; but it is said, that the equipment of the whole cost the *Venetians* six hundred thousand ducats.

To compensate this loss the *Venetians*, having sent round some gallies towards the gulph of *Genoa*, defeated the *Genoese* gallies in the *Tuscan* sea; and the *Florentines*, under *Michelotto*, surprised *Trebia*, and reduced most of the places that had been taken during the summer by *Picinino* and the *Sienese*, who were now thrown into the utmost despondency: but a pestilential distemper breaking out amongst their horses in the field, both parties were obliged to go into quarters. We are to take this interval to resume the domestic affairs of *Florence*.

Discontents at Florence. THE bad success of the war against *Lucca* rendered it from being a very popular a most unpopular measure. They who had been the most forward in carrying it on, now shifted the blame upon one another; but the weight of the public indignation fell upon the leaders. *Guicciardini*, who had commanded in chief after *Sforza*'s retreat, was accused of having received money from the enemies of *Florence*; and the spirit against him ran so high, that the gonfalonier cited him to take his trial; but either *Guicciardini*'s interest in the state, or his innocence of the charge, prevented the matter from going farther. The charge against *Cosmo de Medici* had more serious consequences.

THIS nobleman, by his behaviour in the state, had shewn the *Florentines* what they could not otherwise have believed; that

that it was possible his father could be excelled in all the duties of an able disinterested citizen. The first maxim *Cosmo* laid down in life was, to side with no party in the republic; but by his ad-*Cosmo* vice, his hospitality, munificence, and other virtues, to oblige *Medici*, the individuals of all. He carried this maxim so far, that when he found public business could not go on, without the sanction of his credit, he always prevailed with his friend *Puccio Pucci* to take the lead in the management of affairs; and his party went by *Puccio*'s name. His other friend was *Averardo di Medici*, an excellent soldier; but so cautious was *Cosmo* in party-matters, that, though he highly approved of the war with *Lucca*, yet he employed his interest in giving the command of it to those who were known to be no friends to his family. We shall not here enter into the dispute, whether this was not carrying the principles of disinterestedness to an impolitic length. *Cosmo*'s friends, not so disinterested as he was, laid hold of all opportunities to aggravate the losses of the state, and vilify the conduct of its generals, which was of no service to him; for, notwithstanding all his modesty and self-denial, he was still looked upon as the principal citizen of *Florence*; and the enemies of his family considered every thing as being done by his secret concurrence and approbation. *Nicolo de Uzano* was still respected for his great integrity, abilities, and experience, and was thought the only person capable to counterpoize *Cosmo*'s interest in the state. *Barbadori*, so called from the yellow beards of his family, was sent by *Rinaldo Albizi*, and the other enemies of the *Medici*, to persuade *Uzana* to head the party against *Cosmo*. The venerable patriot, in his answer, wished that his beard had been silver instead of gold, for he then might have reflected on the consequences of what he proposed. He then entered into a detail of the divisions and factions that prevailed amongst the families who called themselves noble, and proved that *Cosmo*'s party had as good a right to that appellation as that of his antagonists. He next proceeded to a defence of *Cosmo*, and shewed the injustice of persecuting a man merely because he had acquired popularity by virtue. After this he remonstrated upon the folly of such an attempt, on account of *Cosmo*'s prodigious influence in the state; and put *Barbadori* in mind, that, supposing *Cosmo* to be ruined, they must be governed by *Rinaldo*, who was a much worse man. In the conclusion of his discourse, which is fully recited by *Machiavel*, he advised them to concord and moderation, as being the only terms on which the state could be served.

Rancour of his enemies. Those sentiments, so worthy of a patriot and a wise man, made such an impression upon *Cosmo's* enemies, that every thing remained quiet during the war with *Lucca*. But at the end of that, *Uzano* dying, *Rinaldo* became the head of the party; and being the irreconcileable furious enemy of *Medici*, he left nothing undone to dispose his countrymen to a civil war, rather than not ruin his antagonist. He persuaded all his party never to appear in public but in arms, that the people might be more impressed with an apprehension of danger; and all their civil meetings, even for the choice of magistrates, wore a military aspect, and were seldom closed without tumults (C).

RINALDO's success in this was such that he now only wanted a gonfalonier to his mind. The person most likely to answer his purpose was *Bernardo Guadagno*, whose debts he paid off, lest the greatness of them might have obstructed his election, which went in his favour. Scarcely had he entered his office, when *Rinaldo* laid before him the danger of *Cosmo's* popularity, which, without charging him with any other crime, he said had deprived the republic of her liberty. To encourage *Bernardo* to proceed, he brought many instances in which popularity had deserted the impeached when they came to a trial, and that *Cosmo* would find himself in the same condition, especially as he and his friends were resolved to support to the last extremity the administration of justice.

His danger. *BERNARDO* was easily persuaded to do as *Rinaldo* desired him. After some consultation with the other magistrates, *Cosmo* was summoned to the palace, where he was put under arrest; and the senate assembling, the people created a Balia of two hundred, for the reformation of the state, and the trial of *Cosmo*; while *Rinaldo*, and his friends, appeared in arms in the piazza where the Balia were sitting. The debates concerning *Cosmo* lasted four days, during which time he was confined to a strong room called the *Albergatino*, from whence he had an opportunity of hearing and seeing the bustle that was made concerning his life, death, or banishment. This filled him with apprehensions lest his enemies should take him off by poison; and for four days

(C) Notwithstanding all this, the house of *Medici* came to be so great, that *Machiavel* gives this *Rinaldo* a sovereign of Florence, there are great reasons for believing that *Rinaldo* had motives for his fortunes. If we consider what *Rinaldo* had done, which have not been afterwards happened, when the *Medici* were exiled, and the *Pazzi* excommunicated, we shall find that *Rinaldo* had motives for his fortunes. If we consider what *Rinaldo* had done, which have not been afterwards happened, when the *Medici* were exiled, and the *Pazzi* excommunicated, we shall find that *Rinaldo* had motives for his fortunes.

he eat only a little bread. His keeper's name was *Malavolti*, who, observing *Cosmo*'s distrust, considered it as a reflection upon his own honour, and declared that no foul dealings should be offered to him while in his custody; and, to prove his sincerity, he ordered victuals to be brought, of which he tasted before his face. This generous behaviour filled the prisoner's eyes with tears of gratitude; and he won so far upon his keeper, that, being now redispersed to the comforts of society, *Malavolti* introduced to his company one *Farganacio*, a man of wit and humour, and intimately acquainted with the gonfalonier. *Cosmo* knew that money at that time went a great way in *Florence*; and, after supper, *Malavolti* having prudently withdrawn, *Cosmo*, after a most obliging address, gave *Fargannacio* a private token to receive, on his account, one thousand one hundred ducats at the hospital of *Santa Maria Nuova*; one hundred of which he allotted to *Fargannacio* himself, and the other thousand was to be paid to the gonfalonier. This well-timed bribe, or bounty, by softening the gonfalonier, mollified *Cosmo*'s fate, and his sentence was, that he should be sent in exile to *Padua*. Many of his relations, together with *Puccio Pucci*, were banished at the same time; and dispositions were made for keeping in awe those who were dissatisfied with their sentences.

COSMO received his doom, which was pronounced on the third of *October*, 1433, with a cheerful countenance, and perfect resignation to the will of his judges, only beseeching them to grant him protection against his enemies, who he understood waited in the piazza to murder him. The gonfalonier undertook that office; and, after attending him in the palace till supper was over, he gave him a strong guard, which accompanied him out to the confines of the *Florentine* territories to those of *Venice*, where he was received with the highest honours.

A. D.
1433.

RINALDO, and *Cosmo*'s other enemies, considered his *Disappointment* banishment as a triumph over themselves, and the forerunner of their destruction. *Rinaldo*, in despair, summoned together of *Rinaldo*, his party, and, after remonstrating upon the folly and mad- ness of suffering *Cosmo* to escape with life, he proposed that the nobles should seize by force the government, restore the exiled nobility of their own party, and deprive the plebeians of all their power in the state. He supported his opinion with many specious arguments; but was opposed by *Mariotto Baldovinetti*, who thought the tyranny of the plebeians to be more tolerable than that of the nobles, who were arrived at the highest pitch of pride and insolence. *Mariotto*'s opinion prevailed; and *Rinaldo* attributed his coun- sel

sel being rejected to a judicial infatuation. It being now apparent that *Rinaldo*'s party was divided, *Cosmo*'s friends began to bestir themselves, and a letter to him from *Agnolo Acciavoli* was intercepted. Its contents informed him of the good disposition of the city in his favour, and advised him by all means to make *Neri Geni* his friend, and that the state was in such distress for money as must occasion his sudden recall. This letter being laid before the magistracy, occasioned *Agnolo* to be banished; but his punishment was so far from damping *Cosmo*'s friends, that they daily increased; and when new magistrates were chosen in 1434, *Nicholas de Cocco* was made gonfalonier, and eight senators were elected, all of them devoted to *Cosmo*. *Rinaldo*, upon this, again summoned his party, to shew them their impending danger, and proposed that they should take arms, continue *Donato Veluti*, who was then gonfalonier, in his office, and proceed immediately to a new election of magistrates, by burning the old purses which contained the names of the magistrates, and making a new imborzation.

A. D.
1434.

WHILE many of the assembly were inclined to follow this advice, it was opposed by *Palla Strozzi*, a nobleman of great temper and moderation, who thought that they ought by no means to take arms, till they were obliged by the near approach of a foreign enemy, when they might do it without alarming the people, or bringing themselves into danger. After farther deliberation it was agreed, that the new magistrates should enter upon the exercise of their offices; but that if they should attempt any thing against the nobility, the latter should assemble at *St. Pulinare*, and proceed as circumstances should occur. The first act of authority the new gonfalonier performed, was the imprisoning his predecessor *Donato Veluti* for embezzling the public money. He then called a meeting of the friends of the house of *Medici*, whom he found so powerful, that he cited *Rinaldo*, *Ridolfo Peruzzi*, and *Nicolo Barbadori*, to appear before him. *Rinaldo*, instead of submitting, flew to arms; and the rest of his party, according to agreement, assembled at *St. Pulinare*, and they were joined by a great number of disbanded soldiers, who happened at that time to be in *Florence*; so that the palace was beset.

RINALDO, however, could not support himself and his party against the appearance of legal authority. Two of the greatest men of his party, *Palla Strozzi* and *Giovanni Guicciardini*, refused to join him in arms. *Palla* came to *Pulnare* on horseback, attended by only two footmen, and was there received by most bitter upbraiding from *Rinaldo*, who reproached

proached him with folly, cowardice, and treachery; first in saving *Cosmo's* life; secondly, in slighting his (*Rinaldo's*) counsels; and thirdly, in refusing to join him in arms. To this *Polla* made no reply but by turning the head of his horse, and retreating as fast as he could. As to *Guttiardini*, he excused his appearance, on pretence that his presence was necessary at home, to keep his brother from joining the opposite party. But *Rinaldo's* greatest disappointment consisted in the general backwardness of his party to join him; and while he was waiting for the troops he expected, the magistrates recovered from their consternation, shut the palace gates, and prepared for a vigorous defence.

THIS was no sooner known than the *Medici* party appeared in their turn, as the champions of legal government. *Rinaldo* however was so powerful, and his pretexts so specious, that the magistrates thought proper to enter into treaty with him. They sent some of their own body to assure him, that they had no thoughts of recalling *Cosmo* from his banishment; and that he was welcome to enter the palace, and receive satisfaction as to all his just complaints. *Rinaldo* refused to trust himself in their hands, and publicly declared his resolution of reforming the state, and reducing the magistrates to the rank of private men. *Ridolfo Peruzzi* was not so tractable. He thought that the offer made by the senate was fair and equitable, and declared that all he sought was to prevent *Cosmo's* return, and that he was willing to obey the magistrates. He accordingly repaired to the palace, where he and all his friends were cordially received. The defection of so great a man threw an irrecoverable damp upon *Rinaldo's* party.

POPE *Eugene IV*, happened at this time to be at *Florence*, where he had taken refuge after he had been expelled from *Rome*. He offered himself as a mediator to reconcile the contending factions; and the magistrates of *Florence*, that they might come the more easily to their purpose, seemed to accept his mediation; but in terms so vague and indetermined, that it gave him no power to conclude any thing in their name. *Eugene*, however, sent the patriarch *Giovanni Vitelleschi*, one of *Rinaldo's* friends, to treat with him; and *Rinaldo*, at his persuasion, went to *Santa Maria Novella*, where the pope resided. After some discourse *Rinaldo*, finding how little he could depend upon his party, consented to lay down his arms; and his consent was intimated to *Barbadori*, and his other friends, who waited without, and who, by the pope's persuasion, did the same. The faction being thus disarmed, proceeded in what they had resolved upon, without

without the least regard to the mediation of his holiness. They privately sent to *Pistoia* for troops, which were introduced, in the night-time, into the city, and, after seizing all its posts and avenues, the people were summoned to the great piazza; and a new *Balia* was appointed, which repealed *Cosmo*'s sentence of banishment, and exiled *Rinaldo de Albizi*, *Rodolfo Peruzzi*, *Nicolo Barbadori*, and *Palla Strozzi*, with all their friends and dependents; so that there was scarce a town in *Italy* that did not contain *Florentine* exiles.

THIS is a remarkable period in the *Florentine* history; and, however blameable *Rinaldo* might have been in his proceedings, it is certain that we may from this time date the ruin of the republic and constitution of *Florence*. *Rinaldo* bore his fate like a brave man. When the pope condoled with him, and mentioned the treachery, as he called it, of the magistrates, he reproached himself with weakness in imagining that his holiness, who had himself been driven from *Rome*, could protect him in *Florence*: in all other respects, his behaviour was manly and philosophical. While he accused the coldness of his friends, he blamed his own misguided conduct, and *Cosmo* re-submitted to his sentence. *Cosmo*, in the mean while, was called from upon his return to *Florence*, where he was received with more exile.

Cosmo, in the mean while, was received with more joy than *Cicero*, under like circumstances, was received at *Rome*, and was distinguished by the glorious titles of "the Friend of the People, and the Father of his Country."

The emperor arrives in Italy: THE papal power at this time was formidable every where but in *Italy*; for there it was not only deprest, but despised. The *Florentines*, notwithstanding the distractions of their government, still bore a great sway in the affairs of *Italy*. The emperor *Sigismund*, who delighted in the parade of mediations, negociations, and public exhibitions of every kind, had failed in his attempt to reduce the *Bohemians*, whom the infamous murder of *John Hus*, and *Jerome of Prague*, at the council of *Constance*, had driven into arms. Those two are generally reckoned the first martyrs for the protestant religion; and they imbibed their principles from *John Wickliff*, an *Englishman*, parson of *Lutterworth*, who, though he openly avowed the doctrine of reformation, died quietly in his bed. After the defeat of the imperial army by the *Bohemians*, *Sigismund* undertook a journey into *Italy*, though he was so poor, that he scarcely could defray the expences of it. The name of emperor, however, was still respectable, if not formidable. While a general council was holding at *Basil*, he was crowned with what is falsely called the iron crown at *Milan*; and, indeed, his great dependence, even for the charges of his retinue, was upon that duke. The council at *Basil*, in imitation

tion of that of *Constance*, declared itself superior to the pope, and censured him. The *Florentines* were neutral; but gave the emperor no encouragement to hope for their friendship in *Italy*.

FROM *Milan* he journeyed to *Rome*; but the *Florentines* affronted paid so little regard to his authority, that they attacked and by the Flo- beat at *Topori* the escort that had been lent him, by the duke rentines. of *Milan*; and when he came to *Lucca*, they destroyed all the country round, and pent him up within the city; so that he became contemptible in the eyes even of the *Italians*. From *Lucca* it was with difficulty that he removed to *Sienna*, where he remained for some months; and he then obtained leave from the pope to repair to *Rome*, where he received the idle honour of being crowned emperor of the *Romans*.

THE distractions of *Italy*, and the weakness of the emperor, concurred at this time to advance the temporal power of the papacy to a pitch it never had known before; and even its enemies contributed to its greatness. According to *Machiavel*², *Italy* then contained two different armies; but both united in the same view, which was that of plunder; and both, finding no other object, had marked out the church's patrimony as their prey. One of those armies, and the most considerable, had been bred up under *Sforza's* son; and the latter by *Brachio's* disciple *Picinino*, and his nephew *Fortebrachio*. The princes and states of *Italy* knew that murder and rapine subsisted both armies, yet they durst disoblige neither of them; but the *Florentines* and the duke of *Milan* had the courage to make peace with each other, by which the *Florentines* were put into possession of all that their enemies had conquered from them in the *Pisan*, the *Voltaran*, and the *Arezzian* territories, while the *Florentines* surrendered all the acquisitions they had made in the *Lucquese*. This peace was of solid advantage to the *Florentines*, as it restored them to a state of independency both upon the emperor and the pope. The former, during his stay in *Italy*, had altered his political system. He had broken with the duke of *Milan*, and he was reconciled to the *Venetians*; and notwithstanding the contumelies with which the *Florentines* had treated him, he courted their friendship; They were so far from repaying him the compliment, that, when he earnestly intreated it, they refused to suffer him to enter *Florence*, when he was upon his return to *Germany*.

² MACHIAVEL, book v.

Progress of WHEN Sigismund left Italy, Sforza and Fortebrachio at once
the war in fell upon the dominions of the church ; and, both of them
Romagna, being mercenaries, they had different objects in their view.

Sforza fell upon the marquisate of Ancona, while Picinino at-
tacked Rome. The reader can scarcely believe in what hor-
ror the pontifical power was then held in Italy. The Romans
no sooner perceived that they were in danger of a war, on the
pope's account, than they drove him out of Rome, and he re-
tired to Florence. Here he entered into a treaty with Sforza,
to whom he granted the marquisate of Ancona ; but so much
was his holiness despised by Sforza, that he dated all the leases
and grants he made in the marquisate from his own treasury,
in spite of St. Peter and St. Paul^b. He then compelled the
pope to make him the gonfalonier of the church, by which
he had all the executive power of government within the
papal dominions. Nicholas wisely complied, and obtained his
ends, by setting Sforza and Fortebrachio at variance. The
former enlisted himself under the pope's banners ; the latter
proceeded in making conquests upon the church-patrimony ;
but all their operations in the main, by a strange fatality,
tended to aggrandize the papacy. Sforza grew jealous of
Fortebrachio ; and the Bolognese, again throwing off their de-
pendence upon the pope, implored the protection of the duke
of Milan. The duke chose pacific measures, and prevailed
with both parties to come to a truce, which was but short-
lived ; for Battista de' Connati, making himself master of Bo-
logna, applied to the duke of Milan for protection, while the
pope invoked the aid of the Florentines and the Venetians.
Both parties furnished the succours required of them. Picinino was the Milanese general ; and Guatamedata commanded
the armies of Florence and Venice, having under him Niccolò Tolentino as his lieutenant-general. A battle was fought near
Imola, in which the Venetians and Florentines were defeated ;
and Tolentino, being taken, was sent prisoner to Milan, where
soon after he died. The duke of Milan, after obtaining this
victory, seemed to give over all thoughts of war ; and the
pope, with his allies, found means to bring Sforza into their
interest, and prevailed with him to accept the command of
their armies. He quickly changed the scale of war in favour
of his holiness, who now prevailed over the stubborn Romans,
and they submitted to a governor appointed by him. Forte-
brachio, however, remained the irreconcileable enemy of the
Roman see. He was in possession of Tivoli, Montefiascone,
Castello, and Assisi ; but, being defeated by Sforza, he shut him-

The Flo-
rentines
defeated.

self up in the latter place, where his enemy besieged him. The duke of *Milan*'s view was to preserve *Fortebrachio*, as a useful check upon the pope and his allies: he therefore ordered *Picinino* to march through the *Romagna* into *Tuscany*, which obliged *Sforza* to raise the siege of *Affisi*, and to advance towards *Forli*, where *Picinino* lay, leaving the care of the war in *Ancona* to his brother *Lione*, who was intirely defeated by *Fortebrachio*. *Sforza*, afraid of being stript of all his possessions, returned to *Ancona*, and, in his turn, defeated and took prisoner *Fortebrachio*, who soon after died of his wounds.

THIS victory, obtained by *Sforza*, intirely altered the face *Progress of affairs in Italy*. All the towns that had been taken from the pope by *Fortebrachio*, reverted to the Holy See; and even the duke of *Milan* was obliged to have recourse to *Nicolo d'Este* marquis of *Ferrara*'s mediation, to obtain a peace from his holiness, which was granted him, upon condition of recalling his troops out of *Tuscany* and the *Romagna*, and restoring all he had taken from the church. *Battista Canneto*, no longer able to support himself in *Bologna*, was now driven out of that city by *Bentivoglio*, and the pope recovered full possession of it.

THOUGH the *Florentines* and their allies were thus successful, yet it is certain that the high spirit of liberty, which had distinguished the commonwealth of *Florence*, had now subsided in that state and city. Tired with perpetual struggles of adverse factions for power, the citizens no longer stuck to their constitution, and this threw into *Cosmo de Medici*'s hands more power than was consistent for the subject of a republic to possess. Severity became necessary to his party; for they had no other means of safety. New confiscations, confinements, and banishments, every day took place; and even sanguinary measures, unusual amongst the *Florentines*, were pursued. *Bernardo Guadagni*, the gonfalonier, who had banished *Cosmo*, and four citizens of his party, were beheaded. *Zanobi Belfratelli*, and *Cosmo Barbadori*, took refuge in the *Venetian* state; but so great was the respect paid to *Cosmo de Medici* by all the powers of *Italy* at this time, that the *Venetians* sent them home prisoners, and they were put to death. *Machiavel* is inclined to think, that the *Venetians* were guilty of this breach of honour and hospitality, that they might inflame and perpetuate the *Florentine* factions, as being most conducive to their own security.

* *Machiavel*, ubi supra.

Power of
the Me-
dici.

FLORENCE, by those examples of severity, seemed to be united; but it was an union not founded on the principles of her constitution. *Cosmo*, however, endeavoured all he could to heal the wounds of his country, by recalling all exiles who were willing to be reconciled to the state, and who had not sworn to his and his party's destruction. The powerful family of the *Alberti*, in particular, was restored. Almost all the nobility submitted to be ranked with the other citizens; and the estates of the exiles, who had lately been banished, were sold at public auction. In the choice of magistrates, none were admitted but those who were devoted to the *Medicean* interest; and those who were appointed to make the alterations, together with the old senate or magistrates, were empowered to create the new. A new criminal court was instituted of eight persons, and invested with the power of life and death: and so jealous was the government of the *Albizzi* faction, that a public act passed, decreeing, that no repeal of confiscation or banishment should take place, unless thirty-four out of the thirty seven members, of which the senate was composed, should consent. All correspondence with the exiles was at the same time rendered penal; and the ruling party, according to *Mathiavel*, went so far as to punish not only words and actions, but intimations by signs, if they imagined they tended to favour any of the proscribed. In short, no measure of severity or cruelty was wanting to secure the government in power. To make this system the more permanent, new alliances were made between the *Florentines*, the pope, the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Milan*; and no device that the wit of man could invent was omitted, to give stability to their system.

Revolu-
tions in
Naples

IN the mean while, *Joan* queen of *Naples* died. She had nominated for her successor *Regnier* of *Anjou*; but *Alphonso*, king of *Arragon*, disputed the succession with him. The pope, pretending that *Naples* belonged to the Holy See, disclaimed both sovereigns, and sought to govern that kingdom by his own deputy. The *Neapolitans* were divided amongst themselves; and the party that opposed *Alphonso* applied for protection to the duke of *Milan*, who was still master of *Genoa*. The *Genoese*, from the hatred they had towards *Alphonso*, and to secure to themselves the gainful commerce of *Naples*, fitted out a powerful fleet, which *Alphonso* engaged near *Gaetta*; but was totally defeated, and he himself, his two brothers, with the chief officers of his court and army, were taken prisoners, and sent to *Milan*.

IT was now thought that *Philip* duke of *Milan* would make himself master of *Italy*; and perhaps the *Florentines* alone pre-

vented him, by privately suggesting to the *Genoese* how scandalous it was for a state so powerful as they were, by sea especially, to live under a foreign yoke ; and at the same time promising to support them to the utmost, should they attempt to shake it off. It was not long before those arguments had the desired effect. When *Alphonso* arrived at *Milan*, he found means to insinuate himself into *Philip*'s good graces, and gave him such ideas of the character and ambition of the *French*, as rendered him the irreconcileable enemy of *Regnier*. To the amazement of all *Europe*, he generously restored *Alphonso*, his brothers, and friends to their liberty, and sent them with great magnificence to *Genoa* ; from whence *Alphonso* transported himself to *Gaetta*, which some of his party had surprised. The *Genoese* considered the deliverance of *Alphonso* as an insult upon themselves. Though *Philip*'s victory was owing to them, he had not deigned to consult them about the disposal of his royal prisoner. *Francisco Spinola*, a noble *Genoese*, and *Genoa*, who had been the chief instrument of subjecting his country to *Philip*, finding matters quite ripe for a revolt, sought to repair his fault by restoring the independency of *Genoa*. On the feast of *St. John the Baptist*, when *Arismino*, the *Milanese* governor, was about to enter upon his post, *Spinola*, and a few friends, who were in his secret, issued from his palace, and proclaimed liberty in the market-place. The *Genoese* were so unanimous in joining them, that *Arismino* took refuge in the castle ; and his predecessor *Opicino*, in endeavouring to reach the palace, where he had two thousand soldiers, was intercepted by the mob, and torn in pieces. After this the *Genoese* took the castle, and driving all the *Milanese* out of *Genoa*, regained their independency.

RINALDO DE ALBIZI was still in exile, and the duke resided at *Milan*, where he practised upon that duke to declare war against the *Florentines*. He was not without many specious arguments to support his solicitation. The intercourse between the *Florentines* and the *Genoese* was so far from being a secret; that, after the latter recovered their liberty, the *Florentines* not only entered into a new league with them, but sent a body of troops to their assistance, and even persuaded the *Venetians* to do the same. Notwithstanding all those provocations, *Philip* was very backward in entering into a fresh war, which he saw must be attended with expence and difficulty. Before he broke with the *Florentines*, he sent *Picinino* with an army to endeavour to retake *Genoa*; but though he obtained some advantages over the *Genoese*, he returned unsuccessful. Upon this the duke of *Milan* declared war against the *Florentines*, whom he blamed for the defection of *Genoa*, and

and *Picinino* besieged and took *Serazana*. Pope *Eugene* was at this time at *Florence*; but, upon this new war breaking out, he went to *Bologna*, where he endeavoured to mediate a peace between *Philip* and the *Florentines*, in which the *Venetians* were to be comprehended. *Philip* would hear of no terms, unless the *Florentines* would renounce their alliance with the *Genoese*, which they peremptorily refused to do. Upon this the pope ordered his general *Sforza* to join the *Florentine* general *Neri de Gino*, and to make head against *Picinino*, who was then at *Lucca* with a design to reduce *Pisa*, though he gave out that he was about to march to *Naples*, to assist the king of *Arragon*. The two armies, that under *Sforza* and *Neri de Gino*, and that under *Picinino*, were pretty equal as to numbers, and in all other respects; but it was *December* before they took the field, and each knew the other's strength so well, that both of them lay for some time upon the defensive. At last, *Picinino* made a movement; but failed in his attempt upon *Vico Pisano*, though he took *S. Maria in Castello*, and *Filletto*, and burned *S. Giovanni-ulla-Vena*, destroying at the same time the neighbouring country.

who re-
main inac-
tive. THE *Florentines* under *Sforza* and *Gino* remained all this while inactive out of complaisance to the pope, who mediated a peace. *Picinino* attributed their inactivity to their cowardice, and laid siege to *Borgo*, which lay in the *Arezzian* territory. This attempt drove the *Florentines* from their neutrality; and *Sforza* not only raised the siege of *Borgo*, but totally defeated *Picinino*, and fell into the *Lucquese* territories, with an intent to besiege *Lucca*. In the mean while, the *Venetians* being called upon by the *Florentines*, in consequence of the treaty subsisting between them, sent an army under *Giovanni Francesco de Gonzaga* to invade the *Milanese*, which obliged *Philip* to recal *Picinino* from *Tuscany*. The *Florentines* made use of that opportunity to recover *S. Maria in Castello*, and all the other places that had been taken by *Picinino*. They likewise besieged *Camajore*, which they took, together with *Mosca* and *Serazana*; and about the beginning of *May*, 1437, *Sforza* laid siege to *Lucca* itself. The *Lucquese* in vain applied to the duke of *Milan* for assistance; and obtaining none, they abandoned all the open country, which was wasted by the *Florentines*, and prepared to make a vigorous defence of their capital, which they fortified with new works. The *Florentine* army, on the other hand, obliged *Monte-Carlo* to surrender, and besieged *Uzzano*; so that *Lucca* was reduced to the utmost distress. The *Lucquese*, in this extremity, again applied to the duke of *Milan* so movingly, and so effectually, that he determined to send a great body of troops to their relief. The

A. D.

1437.

Fl.

Florentines, to divert this storm, applied to the *Venetians*; but *Their dis-*
the marquis of Mantua, who was in their pay, went over to *ficulties*.
the service of the duke of Milan: upon which *the Venetians*
threatened to disband their army, if *Sforza* was not sent to
command it. This request put the *Florentines* to great incon-
veniences. On one hand, they saw the necessity of prose-
cuting, by way of diversion, the war in *Lombardy*; on the
other, they were bent on the conquest of *Lucca*, in which
they despaired of succeeding without *Sforza*. The latter had
made it one of the conditions of his service, that he should
not be obliged to pass the *Po*; and he kept steady to that re-
solution, for fear of too much exasperating his future father-
in-law the duke of *Milan*. The *Venetians* pretended, that
without him they must be obliged to evacuate *Lombardy*; and
the *Florentines*, to keep them in temper, prevailed on *Sforza*
to write them a letter, promising that he would pass the *Po*.
He accordingly, after making dispositions for continuing the
siege of *Lucca*, went to *Lombardy*; and when he came to
Reggio, the *Venetians* formally requested him to pass the *Po*,
and head their forces, which he obstinately declined to do.
Upon this, some reproachful language passed between him and
Andrea Morosini, who had been sent from *Venice* to treat
with him; but nothing could prevail with *Sforza* to break
with *Philip*, in whose interest he all along was; and he re-
turned to *Tuscany*, as *Morosini* did to *Venice*, after making a
formal protest, that *the Venetians* should be no longer obliged
to give *Sforza* pay.

THE *Florentines* had foreseen this, and required him to *The siege*
continue the *siege of Lucca*, which he absolutely refused to do *of Lucca*
till the *Venetians* should pay him his *arrears*; and the duke of *raised*.
Milan was not wanting to improve the quarrel to his own
interest. He promised *Sforza*, that he should consummate
the marriage with his daughter, if he could bring about a
peace between the *Florentines* and the *Lucquese*; and *Sforza*,
dazzled with so illustrious an alliance, and in hopes of be-
coming duke of *Milan* (*Philip* having no male issue) inti-
mated that he was resolved to break off all connections with
the *Florentines*, who, he pretended, were unable to support
him, now that they were abandoned by the *Venetians*. In this
doubtful state of affairs, *Cosimo de Medici*, who was now at
the head of the *Florentine* republic, and in high reputation all
over *Italy*, went in person to *Venice*, where he laid before the
senate the dreadful consequences that must ensue to them, as
well as the *Florentines*, if *Philip* and *Sforza* should join their
forces. The matter was fully debated; but the *Venetians*, far
from complying with *Cosimo*, inveighed bitterly against *Sforza*'s

*They make
peace.*

ambition and insolence. They pretended, that he was in the Florentine service, and that they ought to pay him; that they were resolved to act upon the defensive, and to suffer *Sforza* to take his course: so that *Cosmo* was obliged to return without succeeding in his commission. By this time the duke of *Milan* had brought over to his service *Furlano*, a general officer, on whom *Sforza* had great dependence; and this defection served him with a pretext to finish his treaty with *Philip*; one of the articles of which was, that he should take no farther concern in the affairs either of *Tuscany* or the *Romagna*. This reconciliation, in fact, obliged the *Florentines* to relinquish all their designs against *Lucca*; and in April, 1438, a peace was concluded between them and the *Lucquese*, who were declared to be a free people; but the *Florentines* remained in possession of *Monte-Carlo*, and the other acquisitions they had made from the *Lucquese*.

*Affairs of
Italy.*

UPON the death of *Fortebrachio*, which has been already mentioned, *Poppi*, whose daughter *Fortebrachio* had married, held *S. Sepolchro* as part of his daughter's dower, though demanded by the pope as belonging to him; and *Poppi*, finding himself unable to contest with his holiness, offered to deposit the place into the hands of the *Florentines*; but they refused it, for fear of giving umbrage to the pope, whom, at last, they prevailed upon to compromise the difference, by putting him in possession of *S. Sepolchro*, while he relinquished all his conquests in the *Casantin*, and returned them *Prato*, *Vecchio*, and *Romena*.

*Dedication
of the ca-
thedral of
Florence.*

IT has been noted in history, that though the *Florentines* were thus involved on every side with difficulties and dangers, the magnificence and splendor of the city was as great as ever. The affairs of the pope having obliged him to return to *Florence*, and their cathedral of *S. Reparata* being finished, it was now consecrated by his holiness. The pomp of this consecration is celebrated both by *Aretin* and *Machiavel*; and the concourse of people was so great, that the magistrates were obliged to erect a most magnificent platform for the procession, between the place of the pope's residence and the church that was to be consecrated. The pope encouraged this and all other extravagances of that kind, that he might impress the emperor of *Constantinople* and his prelates, who were then at *Florence*, and treating of an accommodation with the *Latin church*, with high ideas of his grandeur⁴. A council was accordingly indicted at *Ferrara*, to perfect the reconciliation.

⁴ ARETIN, pag. 265.

THE duke of *Milan* at this time was intent upon a war *Craft of* with the *Venetians*, whom he dreaded more than he did the *the duke of Florentines*. His secret aim was to retake *Brescia* and *Bergamo*; but perceiving that he would be opposed by the pope, he secretly treated with *Picinino* to invade the *Romagna*; but not as his general, being bound up by his late treaty with *Sforza* from attacking any part of the papal dominions. The deceit was carried on so well, that *Picinino* over-reached his *boldness*, surprised *Ravenna*, *Forli*, *Imola*, and *Bologna*; subdued all the pope's possessions in the *Romagna*, and carried the war into *Lombardy*, where he besieged *Brescia*. Though all *Italy* was sensible of the collusion between the pope and *Picinino*, yet they continued to dissemble their engagements, and *Philip* openly disavowed all that *Picinino* had done. The *Florentines* applied for assistance to *Sforza*, who durst not venture to disoblige *Philip*, and therefore remained neutral. Being disappointed in that quarter, they dropt all their resentments against the *Venetians*, and resolved to join them. In the mean while, they were greatly favoured by *Philip*'s dissimulation, who found daily pretexts for putting off *Sforza*'s marriage with his daughter, though he had sent him thirty thousand florins as part of her fortune. This did not satisfy *Sforza*, who saw into *Philip*'s design, which was to keep him in a state of dependence till he was enabled, by his great success against the *Venetians*, to crush him. The *Florentines* again attempted to make him sensible of the duke's views, and succeeded so far, at last, as to bring him into a confederacy with them and the *Venetians*. The conditions were, that the *Venetians* should pay two thirds of the expence of the war. The remaining third was to be defrayed by the *Florentines*, and both republics engaged to defend *Sforza*'s estate in *Ancona* and the *Romagna*. One difficulty, however, still remained, which was *Sforza*'s absolutely refusing to pass the *Po* with his army, and to carry the war into the *Milanese*.

ALL they could prevail upon him to do was to put himself *Negociation* at the head of the *Venetian* troops in the *Paduan*; but great *with Ve-* difficulties even in that occurring, *Neri di Gino Capponi* was nice. *sent*, ambassador to *Venice*, to concert measures for the pre-*servation* of both republics. *Capponi* was received with all the respect due to a sovereign prince; and having previously had a conference with *Sforza*, he brought him to consent to pass the *Po*, and to march to the relief of *Verona* and *Pisa*, which were ready to fall under the power of the duke of *Milan*. A public audience was granted to *Capponi* in the *Venetian* senate, where he made a very fine speech, magnify-*ing* the friendship of *Florence* to her sister republic; and offered

The war
in Lombardy.

them, in *Sforza*'s name, his own service, at the head of seven thousand horse and two thousand foot, to be employed where they thought proper. The senators were so much overjoyed at this proposal, which was greatly beyond their hopes, that, without waiting for the doge's answer, they embraced *Capponi* with tears in their eyes as their common deliverer ; and on the 20th of June, *Sforza* arrived with his army in the *Paduan*, and marched to the relief of *Verona*, which he effected, tho' opposed by all *Picinino*'s power. He then proceeded to the relief of *Brescia* ; but, an epidemical distemper happening amongst his troops, he was obliged to give over that enterprise, which gave *Picinino* great advantages. *Sforza*, however, refreshing his troops, again advanced to relieve *Brescia*, and came to a battle with *Picinino*, whose army was routed near *Tenna*, he himself almost miraculously escaping. But this victory was not improved as it might have been ; and *Picinino*, having joined the remains of his army, surprised *Verona*, at a time when the *Venetians* thought him either dead, or ruined beyond all possibility of recovery. *Sforza* was at *Tenna* when this unexpected news reached him ; and, without losing a moment's time, he marched to retake *Verona*, before *Picinino* could complete the new fortifications he had designed for its defence. Though *Sforza* undertook this expedition against the advice of all his general officers, yet it succeeded ; for, making a feint as if he intended to march to *Vicenza*, he suddenly turned short, and assaulting the unfinished works of *Verona*, while *Picinino*'s soldiers were busy about the plunder, he carried the castle of *S. Felice*, and obliged *Picinino* and the marquis of *Mantua* to save themselves by flight, and to rejoin their camp, which still remained before *Brescia*.

Duke of Milan en-
raged at the Floren-
tines.

THE duke of *Milan* attributed all his misfortunes to the *Florentines*, and resolved to be revenged. It was now the dead of winter ; and *Sforza*, having thrown supplies of men and provisions into *Brescia*, went into quarters at *Verona*. Many of the exiled *Florentines*, who formed an army of themselves, were then at the court of *Milan*. The principles of patriotism were not perhaps so strong within them, as were those of revenge upon their enemies. All of them passionately wished to be restored to their country, and they were backed in their solicitations by *Picinino*, who pretended to be executor to *Brachio*, and sought to dispossess *Sforza* in his absence. But all this could not be effected without a war ; and so great was the duke's caution, that he would not declare himself on that head till he should hear all that could be urged for it. *Picinino* assured him, that the relief of *Brescia* was impracticable ; and that the siege might continue, though he should be sent with

with an army into *Tuscany*; that he would no sooner enter it, than the *Florentines* must be constrained either to submit to his will, or to recal *Sforza*; in either of which cases he must acquire a victory. The exiles gave the duke the strongest assurances, that his army would no sooner approach *Florence*, than the people, exasperated by taxes and tyrants, would declare unanimously for him; and that if he marched his army by the *Casantine*, it would meet with no opposition. The duke, at last, seemed to be determined; and the rather as he knew that *Giovanni Vettelschi Cornettano*, first apostolic notary, then bishop of *Recanati*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, and cardinal of *Florence*, who commanded the pope's armies, where he had more power than the pope himself, was their enemy, on account of their having formerly banished *Rinaldo*, while under the pope's protection. He was encouraged likewise by a coldness that was growing between the *Venetians* and *Sforza*. Notwithstanding the bitter inclemency of the season, they were perpetually importuning him to employ his whole force in the relief of *Brescia*, which he absolutely refused to undertake till the spring, when he could be assisted with a fleet.

THE *Florentines* were no strangers to what was in agitation against them, and began to reflect that the *Venetians* had craft. They reaped the benefit of all they had done in *Lombardy*. They imagined that *Picinino* never would have abandoned the siege of *Brescia*, which was upon the point of surrendering, to march into *Tuscany*, unless he had been sure not only of being assisted by the army of the church, but of being joined by a party with whom he had correspondence in *Florence*. But their fears of *Vettelschi* were soon quieted. We have several times taken notice of the excellent intelligence with which the *Florentines* always were furnished; and, like all other states, they sometimes employed means not strictly justifiable, particularly by spies and agents, who had the art of intercepting and inspecting letters. Some of those spies intercepted certain letters at *Monte-Pulciano*, a town in the *Siennese*, written in cypher by *Vettelschi* to *Picinino*, which the *Florentines* sent to the pope. His holiness, who knew nothing of this correspondence^{*}, not able to decypher the letters, and jealous of the patriarch's great power in the army, resolved to destroy him. To do it the more securely, he communicated his intention to *Antonio Rido* of *Padua*, governor of the castle of *S. Angelo*, ordering him to arrest the patriarch as soon as he could. An opportunity soon presented. The patriarch was secured while he was conversing with *Antonio* upon the draw-bridge of the

* *MACHIAVEL*, book v.

castle,

Death of Vetteleschi. castle. It was in vain for *Antonio* to endeavour to soothe his prisoner under his reverse of fortune; for *Vetteleschi*, foreseeing his fate, died in a short time. Though we have given this important incident, as related by *Machiavel*, yet it seems, from the whole complexion of it, to have been a contrivance of the *Florentines* to work upon the pope's fears; or, which is more probable, a collusion between them and his holiness, who, though he durst not avow it in the patriarch's time, was the friend of *Florence*.

A treaty of peace. THE death of *Vetteleschi* did not quiet the apprehensions of the *Florentines* on account of *Picinino*, who was then on his march. The pope, being now freed from his master, could not behold his advancing to *Tuscany* with indifference; and he came into a league with the *Florentines* and *Venetians*, engaging to hold in readiness four thousand horse and two thousand foot, for the defence of the *Florentine* dominions. Nothing now remained for the safety of the *Florentines*, but to make up the breach between *Sforza* and the *Venetians*. For this purpose they deputed *Neri di Gino Capponi* and *Giuliano d'Avanzati* to go to *Venice*. While they were on the road, they understood that *Picinino* had passed the *Po* with six thousand horse; and when they came to *Venice*, they found that senate in a state of despondency at *Brescia* not being relieved; and *Capponi*, as he had been instructed, set out for *Verona*, to confer with *Sforza* on that head. The latter gave him many military reasons why it was impracticable to relieve *Brescia* at that season; but, after several conferences, at which the *Venetian* deputies likewise assisted, it was agreed, that *Sforza* should receive eighty thousand, and each of the soldiers forty ducats, if he would immediately take the field, so as to oblige the duke of *Milan* to recal *Picinino*. The *Venetians*, who both hated and feared *Sforza*, durst not dispute those terms; but they trifled egregiously in fulfilling them, and a new scene opened in *Tuscany*.

War renewed in Tuscany. *PICININO*, having passed the *Po*, marched towards the *Romagna*, where he was joined by the *Malatesta* family, upon whose friendship both the *Florentines* and *Venetians* had great dependence; and the latter were afraid that their general *Orsino*, who lay on the frontiers of the *Romagna* with an army, should be defeated. This desertion of the *Malatestas* alarmed *Sforza* so much for his own dominions in the marquisate of *Ancona*, that he repaired to *Venice*, where he told the senate, in a full assembly, that their only course now was to transfer the seat of war to *Tuscany*; declaring, at the same time, that as he came into *Lombardy* a sovereign prince, he was determined not to leave it a private subject. This pro-
polar

posal was strenuously opposed by the senate; and all that either party could be brought to consent to, was to wait for a few days, till it should be known what turn affairs would take in *Tuscany* and the *Romagna*, and how the pope was disposed towards his new allies. Intelligence soon came, that the pope still continued steady in the league; that *Orsino* was retired with his army to *Tuscany*, and that the *Malatesta* family had, in fact, been forced into their connections with *Picinino*. *Sforza*'s apprehensions were calmed by those accounts, and he consented that *Capponi* should return to *Tuscany* with fifteen-hundred horse of his army; but engaged him at the same time to let him know of *Picinino*'s progress, promising, in case of danger, to leave all other concerns, and march to oppose him.

PICININO, having settled his affairs in the *Romagna*, Florence intended to force his way into *Tuscany* over the *Appennines*, attacked and by the valley of *Montone*; but he found the passes there by *Picinino* well guarded by *Nicolo de Pisa*, that he failed in his attempt. He therefore turned off towards *Maraddi*, another pass of the *Appennines*, which was guarded by *Orlandini*, a *Florentine* knight, whom he knew to be a coward. The pass, though not fortified, was defensible against all *Picinino*'s force, and the inhabitants were willing and brave; but the governor no sooner heard of *Picinino*'s approach, than he withdrew to *Burgo S. Lorenzo*: so that *Picinino* entered the pass without resistance, and marched directly towards the valley of *Mugelli*, where he took some forts, and besieged *Monte-Pulciano*. While this siege lasted, he sent out parties, who over-ran and plundered the whole neighbouring country, and carried their incursions to within three miles of *Florence* itself. The *Florentines*, being now assured of support, were not so much alarmed as they usually had been with their danger. Their internal dissensions and jealousies had been quieted by the prudence and credit of *Cosmo de Medici*, who was beloved by all parties in the state. They knew the pope's auxiliaries were on their march, and the detachment under *Capponi* had already arrived at *Florence*. His arrival gave great spirit to the citizens; and as he was known to be an able officer, they committed to him the defence of their capital. He soon raised an army, with which he retook *Remoli* from *Picinino*, whose quarters he likewise straitened so much, that he was obliged to remove to a greater distance from *Florence*.

PICININO, when he carried his arms into *Tuscany*, had great dependence upon an insurrection in *Florence*, of which he had assurances from the *Tuscan* exiles. Being disappointed of that, he resolved, if possible, to draw *Capponi* to

to a battle. *Francesco*, count of *Poppi*, who held considerable commands under the *Florentines*, had, from the affection he bore to *Rinaldo de Albizi*, deserted them, and joined *Picinino* as soon as he entered *Tuscany*. By his advice, *Picinino* marched into the *Casantine*, where he took *Bibienna* and *Romena*, and besieged the castle of *S. Nicolas*, which stands on the confines of the *Casantine* and the vale of *Arno*. This castle, which was strong, made so good a defence, that the *Florentines* had time to draw together three thousand horse, the command of which they gave to *Orsino*, under whom *Papponi* and *Bernardo de Medici* served. The castle of *S. Nicolas* had now held out about thirty days, and messengers were sent from the garrison to the *Florentine* generals to implore their relief. The generals, after reconnoitring the situation of the place, and the dispositions of the enemy, judged that the attempt was impracticable; and after highly commending the fidelity of the inhabitants, they gave them leave to surrender, which they did on the 32d day of the siege.

MACHIAVEL^f is justly of opinion, that *Picinino*'s marching to the *Casantine* was the ruin of his expedition, and that he would have succeeded much better, had he continued the seat of war near *Florence*, where the citizens would have been soon tired of the expence attending it. But he was over-persuaded by count *Poppi*, who had private views of revenge to gratify. After reducing the castle of *S. Nicolas*, *Picinino* took *Raffina* and *Chiugi*; and the count endeavoured to persuade him to remain in that country; but it proved so rocky, that *Picinino* dryly told him his horses could not eat stones; and therefore he fell back to *Borgo S. Sepolchro*, in hopes of making himself master of *Citta di Castello*; but in this he failed, the inhabitants being in strict friendship with the *Florentines*. He made the like attempt upon the *Perugians*, and he entered *Perugia*, where the pope had a legate. The citizens treated him with civility, though he failed in his negociation; but he extorted from the inhabitants a contribution of eight thousand crowns. His next attempt was upon *Cortona*, then in the possession of the *Florentines*; and he formed a party in the city, which was to be delivered up to him in the night-time. The conspiracy, however, was discovered to *Bartolomeo Senfo*, one of the citizens, and defeated; so that *Picinino*, who was waiting at the gate, was obliged to return to his quarters.

WHILE *Picinino*, who appears to have been a braver general than he was an able politician, was proceeding thus un-

^f *MACHIAVEL*, book v.

cessfully in *Tuscany* and the *Romagna*, matters in *Lombardy*, did not wear a more favourable aspect for the duke of *Milan*. *Sforza*, perceiving his own dominions were out of danger, early in the spring made dispositions for raising the siege of *Brescia*, being furnished by the *Venetians* with shipping, he entered the lakes that surrounded it, where he defeated the *Milanese* fleet, and retook all the neighbouring castles, which had been garrisoned by *Philip*, and this obliged his land-troops to withdraw. Thus *Brescia*, after a long siege, was relieved. *Brescia* relieved. The *Milanese* army retreated to *Soncino* on the *Oglio*, from whence they were driven by *Sforza* to *Cremona*, where the duke of *Milan* made a stand; and in the mean time he sent hasty orders for *Picinino* to evacuate *Tuscany*, and join him as soon as possible.

A. D.

1440.

ACCORDING to the best accounts², the city of *Florence* was then under an excellent government. The fear of *Picinino* had driven all the country people into their capital; so *Florence* at a scarcity of provisions was dreaded, which might bring about mutinies and revolts. The wiser part of the *Florentines*, however uniting, as we have already seen, under *Cosmo*, a most excellent choice was made of the ten field-deputies, now called the *council of ten*; and *Aretin*, the historian, was continued for two years in that station. By the time that *Picinino* received the duke of *Milan*'s orders for his return to *Lombardy*, the *Florentine* army was complete, by the junction of the troops of their allies. Their own force amounted to four thousand foot, and the horse which were brought out of *Lombardy* were commanded by *Michalotti*, as the foot were by *Bjino*. They were joined by two thousand of the pope's cavalry at *Arezzo*; and their whole army, being in high spirits, advanced to *Anghiari*, *Capponi* having the chief command over the whole. While they lay at *Anghiari*, which is a castle seated at the foot of the mountains dividing the vales of *Tevere* and *Chiana*, the magistrates of *Florence* received intelligence of *Picinino*'s recall, together with *Sforza*'s successes; and sent orders to their deputies not to hazard a battle, as they might gain all their ends without bloodshed. The *Florentine* exiles came to the knowledge of these orders, and, informing *Picinino* of them, they persuaded him that the *Florentine* army, thinking themselves perfectly secure, might be easily surprised, and that he had it now in his power to retrieve all his past disappointments by a glorious victory. *Picinino* believed all they said, and prevailed with the people of *Borgo Sepolchro* to join him with between two and three thousand

² *ARETIN*, p 266. *MACHIAVEL*, *ibid.*

men, in hopes of sharing in his spoils. According to *Machiavel*^b, this plan of surprize was very near succeeding; but *Aretin*¹, perhaps for private reasons, conceals the circumstances.

Picinino defeated.

THE *Florentine* army lay encamped on a fine level ground under the walls of *Angiari*, and that of *Picinino* advanced with the utmost silence and secrecy between *Borgo S. Sepolcro* and *Citta di Castello*. According to *Machiavel*, his approach was not perceived (A) till *Michalotti*, discovering a great dust, the weather being then excessively hot, gave the alarm; and it was with the utmost difficulty that he and the other general officers could assemble their troops, which were carelessly dispersed through the fields, or encamped without order or regularity. They got, however, under arms before *Picinino*, whose men were terribly fatigued by the heat and length of the march, could attack them. *Michalotti* commanded the van of the *Florentine* army, and marched down to dispute a bridge over which the enemy must pass. His promptness and presence of mind probably saved the *Florentine* army, because he held the enemy in play till the other generals drew up a line of infantry on each of his flanks. *Michalotti* repelled the first charge; but it was renewed with so much fury by *Picinino* in person, that *Michalotti* was driven from the bridge to the foot of the hill on which *Angiari* stands. But *Picinino*'s men, in the pursuit, were flanked by the *Florentine* infantry, who plied them from their cross-bows; so that *Picinino* was again driven back to the bridge, where the dispute continued very sharp for two hours; during which it had been lost and won several times by both parties: but *Picinino*'s men were obliged to advance thro' a defile, and could only act in front; a circumstance that gave the victory to the *Florentines*. For the latter making a furious charge, drove the van of their enemies upon their center, and their center falling back on their rear, their whole army fell into disorder, and a total rout ensued, most of them flying towards *Borgo S. Sepolcro*. The *Florentines* were in much better condition than their enemies, who had not now strength for flying, and were taken prisoners almost without resistance, not above one thousand of them, and those to horse, with *Picinino* at their head, escaping to *Borgo*. The slaughter however, though the dispute lasted four hours, con-

^b *Machiavel*, *ibid.*

¹ *Aretin*, *ubi supra*.

(A) *Aretin*, *ubi supra*, tells us, that the *Florentine* army, being afraid of a surprize, had drawn themselves up close to the walls of *Angiari*, which the more emboldened *Picinino* attacked them, as thinking they were afraid.

isted but in one man, who fell from his horse, and was trod to death. - The reasons why the victory was so bloodless, were, first, the almost impenetrable armour in which the troops on both sides were cased; and, secondly, the avarice of the Florentine army, which was composed of mercenaries, who found their account in the ransom of the prisoners, and therefore they made as many as they could. Two thousand two hundred of the inhabitants of *Borgo S. Sepolcro* were taken, and put to ransom; so that the booty made by the Florentine army, in men, horses, money, and baggage, was very considerable.

HAD the Florentines followed their blow, they might have *Bad dif-*
taken *Borgo S. Sepolcro*, while *Picinino* was within it; but *the Flo-*
other service till they had secured their booty and their pri-
soners in *Arezzo*, which they accordingly did, none of the
Florentine generals or commanders having authority enough
to stop them.

PICININO laid hold of that opportunity to escape with the remains of his army from *Borgo*, and he was followed by all the Florentine exiles, who, seeing their hopes of returning to their country now at an end, dispersed themselves into different places and countries. *Rinaldo de Albizi* re-
tired to *Ancona*, and from thence visited the sepulchre of *Jesus Christ* at *Jerusalem*. Upon his return from thence, he was so fortunate, says *Machiavel*, as to die on the least unhappy day *Death of Rinaldo.*

UPON the return of the Florentine troops from *Arezzo*, *War in the Casantine.* they presented themselves before *Borgo*; the inhabitants of *Casantine*, which offered to surrender upon terms, which were refused them by the Florentines. The legate of the Holy See, to whom the town belonged, apprehending that the Florentines intended to make it their own, interposed, and thereby prevented their designs. In the mean while, the latter were at a loss to know the route that *Picinino* had taken, some affirming that he had gone to *Rome*, and others to *Ancona*. Upon this, the Florentine army divided itself. One party was appointed to march under *Bernardo de Medici* to *Perugia*, as the most proper station for succouring the dominions of his holiness, or of *Sforza*, should either of them be attacked. The other division was sent into the *Casantine* under the command of *Capponi*, who soon retook *Raffina*, *Bivenna*, *Prato*, *Vechio*, and *Romena*. *Capponi* then laid siege to *Poppi*, where the count was. The place was strong, and might have made a vigorous defence, had it not disfurnished itself of all its provisions and necessaries to supply *Picinino's* army.

army. After the siege was formed, the count offered to capitulate; but so exasperated were the *Florentines* at his conduct, that he could obtain no terms, but the liberty of departing with his wife, children, and portable goods; and that he should leave the *Florentines* in possession of all his estates.

The war continues in Tuscany. THE count thought those terms extremely hard, and demanded a parley with *Capponi* upon a bridge over the *Arno*, which was granted him, and where he made a speech to move the conqueror's compassion, who rejected all his requests, and stuck by the terms that had been offered him (A). The count, with great indignation, submitted to his fate, and thus lost an estate which had been transmitted to him, from father to son, for four hundred years.

THE gaining of the battle of *Angbri* did vast service to the *Florentines*, because it preserved their independency; but was of no farther prejudice to the duke of *Milan*, than obliging him to ransom his soldiers, and remount his cavalry. The *Florentine* soldiery were enriched by it, each man's booty and prisoners being his own property; but no advantage accrued thereby to the state. Thus, as *Machiavel*^k well observes, a general, or a prince, had it always in his power to replace, with ready money, the arms and horses he had lost, and in a very short time again to appear in the field as formidable as ever. The consequence of this to the conquerors, as well as the conquered, was, that both were obliged to make fresh demands of money upon their subjects; the former, to continue and improve the advantages they had obtained; and the latter, to repair the losses they had suffered.

Danger of the duke of Milan. *PICININO*, after his defeat at *Angbri*, in a few weeks was stronger in the field than he had been at the beginning of the campaign, and this gave a new turn to the affairs of *Lombardy*.

The duke of *Milan*, after his retreat to *Cremona*, was so pressed by *Sforza*, that he was obliged to employ *Nicholas d'Este*, prince of *Ferrara*, to mediate a peace, not so much with the *Venetians*, as with their general. *D'Este* ac-

* *MACHIAVEL*, book vi.

(A) The reader may have some idea of the authenticity of the speeches he so often meets with in the *Italian* and the other historians of those times, when we inform him, that the speech put into the count of *Poppi*'s mouth on this occasion, by so great a man, and so able a writer as *Machiavel*, is an almost literal translation of the famous one which *Tacitus* says was pronounced by the *British* *Caradoc*, when he appeared at *Rome* in chains before the tribunal of the emperor *Claudius*.

cordingly

cordingly repaired to *Peschiera*, where *Sforza* then was, and laid before him the consequences of the duke of *Milan*'s being crushed by the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*, who, when they had obtained their ends of him, would disregard *Sforza*, and reduce him to their own terms. He then, in the duke's name, offered to renew the treaty of marriage between his daughter and *Sforza*; and that the young lady should be sent to *Ferrara*, where he might espouse her as soon as the peace was finished.

SFORZA knew that a great deal of what the prince had *A treaty of* said was true; but he was too well acquainted with the duke *peace*. to trust him. He declared, that he had been so often baffled and disappointed in the marriage, that he could rely on no proposal of that kind; but that if the duke would conclude a peace with the *Florentines* and the *Venetians*, who were equally desirous of it as he was, he would conduct himself in that, and all other affairs, as his friends should advise him. Notwithstanding this unpromising answer, *D'Este*'s negotiation had great effects in the duke of *Milan*'s favour. It revived the secret ambition *Sforza* had always entertained of becoming one day duke of *Milan*, and made him act more coolly against *Philip*. The *Venetians*, on the other hand, could not bear to see their general negotiate a separate treaty with their enemy, and they grew backward in furnishing him with supplies for the war; thus the time of action passed over without any thing remarkable being done in the field in *Lombardy*; and *Picinino*, arriving there the beginning of winter, all the armies retired into winter-quarters. *Sforza*'s went into the *Veronese*; the duke of *Milan*'s into the *Cremonese*; that of *Florence* returned to *Tuscany*, and that of the pope into the *Romagna*.

IT is hardly credible how averse the people of Italy still *Aversion* were to the temporal government of the pope. The inhabitants of the *Italians* of *Bologna* and *Forli* had submitted to *Picinino*, who had given his son the government of them. After the battle of *Anghiari*, his holiness attempted to reduce them; but they were so bravely defended by young *Picinino*, that he failed in his purpose. The inhabitants of *Ravenna*, however, alarmed at the neighbourhood of the pope's army, and dreading to fall again under his power, persuaded *Ostasio* of *Tolenta*, who was their lord, to consent to surrender their city and territory to the *Venetians*, who, fearing that so noble a prize might be retaken from them, sent *Ostasio* and his son prisoners to *Candia*, where they died. Neither were the *Florentines* wholly without their indemnification for the expenses they had sustained by the war; for his holiness found

his finances so exhausted, that he sold to them the town of *Borgo St. Sepolchro*, for the small consideration of twenty-five thousand ducats.

War re-newed in Lombardy

THE face of affairs was now changed in *Lombardy*. Upon the return of *Picinino*, the duke of *Milan*, who had taken care to ransom all his soldiers who had been made prisoners at the battle of *Anghiari*, soon remounted his cavalry, dropt all farther mention of peace, and, though it was yet winter, he put *Picinino* in a condition to make a better figure in the field than ever. The *Venetians*, on the other hand, intent upon new acquisitions, and still jealous of *Sforza*, had neglected the war in *Lombardy*; and *Sforza* was obliged to go in person to *Venice*, to concert with the senate the operations of the ensuing campaign. While he was there, *Ciarpellone*, one of *Sforza*'s best officers, entered into the duke of *Milan*'s service; and *Picinino*, passing the *Adda*, took possession of a large tract of country near *Brescia*, and, at the same time, surprised and carried off two thousand of *Sforza*'s horses. This news obliged *Sforza* to break off his conferences at *Venice*; but he first prevailed with the *Venetians* to recall their troops from *Tuscany*, and to give the command of them to his kinsman *Michalotti*.

between Sforza

By this time *Picinino* had returned to winter-quarters; but in the spring he besieged *Cignano*, a fortress about twelve miles from *Brescia*. *Sforza* marched to relieve it, and at the same time besieged *Martinengo*. Both generals, on this occasion, displayed all the art of war then in use; but the fortune of *Picinino* prevailed; for, leaving *Cignano*, he laid siege to *Bergamo*, while *Sforza* was before *Martinengo*, which was well provided for a defence; but *Picinino* gained a post which cut *Sforza* off from all his provisions, and was at the same time impregnable, so that *Sforza*'s army was more effectually besieged than *Martinengo* was by him; and there was a probability that they must in a few days surrender prisoners of war.

and Picinino.

NOTHING can give us a better idea of the spirit of the mercenaries of that age than *Picinino*'s conduct on this occasion. Having made such dispositions, that he thought it was impossible for *Sforza* and his army to escape, he sent to acquaint the duke of *Milan* that it was now in his (*Picinino's*) power, to make him master of all *Lombardy*; but that, after serving him a long time in the field, he had not gained for himself so much earth as would bury him; that, as the victory was certain, so should the reward be, and therefore he demanded the city and territory of *Piacenza*, where he might repose himself after his labours. This insolent message induced the duke of *Milan*, in good earnest, to treat with *Sforza*.

Sforza. He sent to him *Antonio Guido Buono* of *Fortona*, and offered instantly to conclude the marriage between him and his daughter, and to give in dower with her the city of *Cremo-
na*, with other advantageous terms, both for him and the *Venetians*. These were readily embraced, and the treaty was privately agreed to by all parties. The duke of *Milan*, upon this, sent a positive order for *Picinino* to make a truce with *Sforza* for a year. *Picinino*, alarmed and confounded by this order, made such difficulties to obey it, that the duke was obliged to threaten to withdraw from him his protection, and to give him up either to his own soldiers, or his enemies. *Sforza* *Picinino* thus finding the duke resolute, obeyed, but with the *marries the* utmost reluctance; and *Sforza*'s marriage with *Biancha*, the *duke of* *duke's daughter*, was celebrated, and all the other terms of *Milan's* the peace complied with.

IN November 1441, the late treaty between the duke of *Milan*, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines*, was ratified; and 1441. by that the *Venetians* gained *Peschiera*, *Asola*, and *Leonato*, for *Peace rat-
tresses in the Mantuan*. But while peace was thus restored *tify'd*. to *Lombardy*, a new war was kindled up in the kingdom of *Naples*, where *Alphonso*, who had prevailed over his antagonists *Regnier*, seized upon *Benevento*, and all *Sforza*'s estates. Upon this *Regnier*, who still held the city of *Naples*, invited *Sforza* to join him, while *Alphonso* earnestly applied to his former ally the duke of *Milan*, to prevail with him to give *Sforza* such a diversion, as that he might be of no service to *Regnier*. The duke, notwithstanding the late peace concluded in *Lombardy*, entered into *Alphonso*'s views, by prevailing with the pope to attempt to retake the estates which had been dismembered from the church's patrimony by *Sforza*. Those estates were very considerable, and had again and again been confirmed to *Sforza* by the popes, though he made little account of their authority. Pope *Eugene*, encouraged by the duke of *Milan*, who offered to send *Picinino* and his army to his assistance, which he did, took the field, and began hostilities against *Sforza*'s dominions in the marquisate of *Ancona*. *Sforza*, being thus obliged to march to the relief of his own dominions, *Alphonso* took *Naples*, and forced his competitor to take refuge at *Florence*, where he was kindly received, and from whence he went to *Marseilles*. *Picinino*, and the pope's troops, prevailing against *Sforza* in the marquisate, he was obliged to apply to the *Florentines* and the *Venetians* for assistance. *Annibal Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*, some time before this, had solicited assistance from the *Florentines* against *Picinino*, and they had favoured his request, so that they could not immediately return an answer to *Sforza*, who re-

War in
Tuscany,

presented to them, that the liberties of all *Italy* were on the point of being swallowed up by three great powers; the duke of *Milan*, the pope, and the king of *Naples*. This consideration, and the success of *Bentivoglio* against *Picinino*, determined them to assist *Sforza*; but, if possible, without breaking with the duke of *Milan*, who had no farther concern in the war than to obtain the quiet possession of the kingdom of *Naples* for *Alfonso*, which was now effected. The *Florentines* therefore sent a deputation, frankly telling the duke that they intended to assist his son-in-law; but requesting him, at the same time, to renew his league with *which is invaded by* *Alfonso* to desist from all hostilities in *Ancona*, *Alfonso*, and retire to *Naples*; while the *Florentines* furnished *Sforza* with the assistance he required.

It is certain, from the prodigious success of the *Florentines*, in dissipating or disappointing the powerful confederacies formed against them, that their internal government, for some time, had been in able hands; but the pestilence, common to popular establishments, now broke out. *Neri di Capponi* became so popular, by his own great services to the state, and those of his father, who had reduced *Pisa*, that *Cosmo di Medici* grew jealous of him; not from any malevolence in his own nature, but because he well knew that two interests, of the same authority, could not long subsist in a popular state without one of them being ruined. *Baldaccio of Angiari* was then general of the *Florentine* infantry; a man, who, in accomplishments, virtue, courage, and personal qualifications, was second to none in *Italy*. An intimate friendship, of the most laudable kind, subsisted between him and *Capponi*; and his credit with the troops was so great, that it was dangerous to proceed against him in the ordinary forms of justice, though his crimes were no other than his abilities and his popularity. *Capponi*'s enemies thought it necessary to humble him, by taking off *Baldaccio*; and they had a most convenient tool for that purpose in *Orlandini*, the same who had so infamously betrayed the pass of *Maraddi* to *Picinino*, being then gonfalonier of the people. *Baldaccio*, before *Orlandini* was advanced to that high station, had often bitterly reproached him for his cowardly conduct; and his enemies improved *Orlandini*'s resentment, so as to make him resolve to assassinate *Baldaccio*. For this purpose, he engaged some ruffians, whom he concealed within his apartments in the palace; and *Baldaccio*, in a day or two after, coming to the piazza as usual, to treat upon some business, was accosted by the gonfalonier, who artfully drew him towards his apartments,

ments, where he was assassinated by the russians. The barbarity of *Baldaccio*'s enemies was not satisfied with his death. His body was thrown out of one of the windows of the palace, and his head being cut off, was exposed a whole day to the people. *Machiavel* himself pays a just tribute of praise on this occasion to the memory of *Baldaccio*'s widow *Anna-leria*, the mother of his only son, who refusing, after her husband's death, the most advantageous matches, associated herself with some noble matrons of her own principles, converted her house to a monastery, and there lived and died in holy retirement.

No internal commotion followed the infamous assassination of *Baldaccio*; so profound, at this time, was the veneration of the *Florentines* for their legal governors, whose ten years power was now almost expired. But in the year 1444 a new *Balia* was erected, which continued them in their offices, gave them new powers, and, by virtue of those, they turned out of authority all whom they so much as suspected to be *lations in* their enemies; some of whom they imprisoned, and banished Florence, others, every thing being now settled according to the mind of the governing party in *Florence*. They then applied themselves to foreign affairs. *Picinino*, though abandoned by *Alphonso*, and not countenanced by the duke of *Milan*, still continued the war in the *Romagna*; but was defeated by *Sforza*, through the assistance lent him by the *Florentines*, and obliged to take refuge in *Montecchio*. Here he fortified himself so effectually as to bid defiance to *Sforza*, who, knowing his active genius, applied to the duke of *Milan* to recal him. Before the duke came to a determination, *Picinino* had re-assembled his troops, and, by the assistance of *Alphonso* and the pope, took the field at the head of an army far superior to that of *Sforza*. Upon this the duke of *Milan* sent a message for *Picinino* to confer with him, which was so well received, that *Picinino*, leaving the command of his army to his son *Francis*, posted to *Milan*. *Sforza* did not omit that opportunity of attacking *Picinino*'s army, which he entirely defeated, and took *Francis* prisoner. *Picinino*, upon the news of this defeat, and his perceiving that he was deceived by the duke of *Milan*, died of heart-break in the year 1445. In him the hopes of the *Brachian* forces, between whom, and those of *Sforza*, all *Italy* had been so long divided, were extinguished. The scale of war had been long suspended between those two bodies of mercenaries, each of whom was headed by great men. The first *Sforza*, from a mean birth,

A. D.

1444.

New regu-
lations in

Florence,

Death of
Picinino.

A. D.

1445.

* *Machiavel*, book vi.

came to be a considerable prince. *Brachio's* birth was noble, as were his actions, in which he rivalled *Sforza*; but he died as a mercenary, and the same rivalry which had subsisted between the first *Sforza* and *Brachio*, descended to the second *Sforza* and *Picinino*, the companion and inheritor of *Brachio's* fortunes. It is however evident, that the genius of the younger *Sforza* had the ascendant over that of *Picinino*, who was a brave and an able commander, but defective in judgment every where but in action.

A peace concluded. UPON the death of *Picinino*, and the defeat of his forces, the pope, not daring to trust to the king of *Naples*, employed the *Florentines* to mediate a peace for him with *Sforza*; in which they succeeded, and by it *Oscimo*, *Recanati*, and *Fabriano*, a village equal to most cities, were yielded to the pope, and *Sforza* was continued in all his other possessions in the marquisate of *Ancona*; and thus the peace of *Italy* seemed to be for some time secured, when it was again disturbed by the *Bolognese*. *Annibal Bentivoglio*, who had driven *Picinino* out of *Bologna*, had formed a league between the *Bolognese*, the *Florentines*, and *Venetians*, at which the duke of *Milan* was secretly uneasy. *Battista Canneschi*, the head of a powerful family in the *Bolognese*, and in alliance, but not in friendship, with that of *Bentivoglio*, knew that the duke of *Milan's* great ambition was to become master of that city; and *Battista* engaged to put him in possession of it, by dispatching his rival *Bentivoglio*, which he actually did on the twenty-fourth of June, 1445. He had been promised to be supported by the duke of *Milan*; and the *Venetian* and *Florentine* deputies then residing at *Bologna*, not knowing how far the conspiracy might extend, confined themselves to their own houses. The *Bolognese*, however, in general detesting the assassination of *Bentivoglio*, ran to arms, defeated the *Canneschi* family and party, drove them out of the city, and, dragging *Battista* from a corn-chest where he had concealed himself, put him to death, no succours from the duke of *Milan* having appeared. The *Bolognese* were now at a loss for a head. They adored the *Bentivoglio* family; but *Annibal* had left behind him only a son of six years old, and his relations began to quarrel amongst themselves about the government of the city. The count of *Poppi*, whom we have already mentioned, was then at *Bologna*; and, perceiving how the city was divided, he intimated to some of the leading men, that he could furnish them with a descendant from *Annibal Bentivoglio*, who could head them. Upon enquiry, he affirmed that *Hercules*, the son of *Annibal*, happening about twenty years before to be at *Poppi*, had begot a son called *Santi*, whose

Affairs of Bologna.

whose countenance resembled *Hercules* so much, that it was a sufficient proof of his original. He added, that *Hercules* had always acknowledged him to be his, though the mother, who was married, had educated him as the son of her husband, who was now dead, and whose name was *Agnolo Cascefe*. The *Bolognese*, eagerly attached to the *Bentivoglio* family, eagerly embraced the proposal, and sent deputies to the *Florentines*, in whose possession the count's estates were, to send the young man, who was now about twenty years of age, to take upon him the administration of their affairs. The matter was referred to *Cosmo de Medici*, and *Neri di Capponi*; but they proceeded cautiously. The youth was then living with his reputed uncle *Antonio Cascefe*, who being rich, and childless, intended to make him his heir; a prospect which the young man thought preferable to his promised greatness. Being sent for to appear before *Cosmo* and the *Bolognese* deputies, the latter no sooner saw him than they recognized and almost adored him; but still the youth seemed to be backward as to the proposal. At last, *Cosmo* taking him aside, talked to him, according to *Machiavel*^b, in the following terms. "None can in this case advise thee better than thyself, for thou art to make that choice which thou findest thy own soul inclinable to; and if thou be the son of *Hercules Bentivoglio*, thou wilt dispose thyself to actions worthy that house and family; but if thou be the son of *Agnolo Cascefe*, thou wilt content thyself to stay in *Florence*, and follow his mean trade of dressing wool." Those words aroused the youth to ambition. He resigned himself entirely to *Cosmo* and *Capponi*, who persuaded the *Florentines* to furnish him with dress and equipages suiting the station to which he was called; and he set out for *Bologna*, where he received the charge of the *Bentivoglio* family, which he managed with so much prudence, that he lived with honour, and died in peace; a happiness denied to his ancestors.

THE duke of *Milan*, after *Picinino*'s death, being at a loss for a general to command his troops, treated with *Ciarpellone* before-mentioned, to whom he had given some possessions in the *Milanese*. *Sforza* had some notice of the negotiation; and when *Ciarpellone* applied for leave to repair to the *Milanese*, *Sforza* laid him under arrest, and then put him to death. This incident was far from being displeasing to the *Florentines*, who were apprehensive of nothing more than they were of the good understanding between *Sforza* and the duke of *Milan*, who hearing the cause of *Ciarpellone*'s death, resolved to

^b Ibid. book vi.

be revenged upon *Sforza*, whose son-in-law was *Gismondo Malatesta* lord of *Rimini*.

The duke of Milan applies to the king of Naples. *THIS Gismondo* had pretensions upon *Pesaro* and *Urbino*; the first of which *Sforza* gave to his brother *Alexander*, and the other to *Frederick of Montefeltro*, *Gismondo's* professed enemy. The duke of *Milan* sided with *Gismondo*, and brought the pope and the king of *Naples* over to the same party: *Ancona* thereby became the seat of war; and the *Florentines* and *Venetians* favouring *Sforza*, he seized upon all *Gismondo's* estates. On the other hand, the duke attempted to take from *Sforza*, *Cremona* and *Pontremoli*; but failed in both undertakings: the latter being defended by the *Florentines*, and the former by the *Venetians*. *Francis Picinino* was then general of the duke of *Milan's* army; but was totally defeated at *Cesal* by *Michalotti* the *Venetian* general. The duke being then blind, aged, and infirm, the *Venetians* pushed their conquests beyond the *Adda* to the very gates of *Milan*. Upon this the duke applied for assistance to the king of *Naples*, who could send him no troops without their fighting their way through the *Florentine* territories, and those of *Sforza*.

Sforza joins the duke of Milan.

THE reader is not to imagine, amidst all those complications of affairs, either enmity or friendship had the smallest share. Both of them were produced by interest; and the balance of power in *Italy*, was the great aim for which all parties either negotiated or fought. No sooner were the *Venetians* victorious, than *Sforza* grew jealous of their greatness, and began to listen to terms with his father-in-law, who, in the most moving manner, solicited his friendship. *Sforza* was the more disposed to this, as he perceived the *Venetians* began now to trust to their own power, and were slow in supplying him with money. The *Florentines*, from the like motives, were equally backward; but it must be acknowledged that *Sforza* on this, and indeed on most other occasions, behaved like an able politician. He knew that the great aim of the *Venetians* was to deprive him of his succession to *Milan*; but, though the duke offered to make him general of all his forces, provided he would leave the service of *Venice*, and compromise affairs with the pope, he kept himself undetermined. The *Venetians*, sensible how extremely advantageous the duke's offers were to *Sforza*, reminded him of the obligations he lay under to them for preserving *Cremona*, and promised to him *Milan* if they should conquer it, together with the perpetual command of their armies, if he would continue the war and obstruct the march of the *Neapolitan* forces to *Lombardy*. *Sforza*, after long deliberation on a choice so difficult in its own nature to determine, thought that the *Venetian*

Venetian offers were too extravagant to be sincere; and that, if he was successful, he must take the law from them. He therefore hesitated upon his answer; and the *Venetians*, afraid that he would determine himself in favour of the duke, attempted to surprise *Cremona*, but were baffled by *Sforza's* garrison; upon which he immediately resolved to take part with his father-in-law.

SFORZA at that time lay at *Cotignola*, and was preparing to march to his father-in-law's assistance when he heard of his death, which happened on the last day of *August*, *1457*, ^{who dies.} This news threw him into infinite perplexities. Through the backwardness of the *Venetians*, he was greatly in arrears to his troops, who he was afraid would mutiny. He could not trust to the *Florentines*, whom he knew to be strictly allied with the *Venetians*, now his declared enemies. He could expect little assistance from the reigning pope, who was *Nicholas V.* because he was in possession of great part of the church's patrimony; and the king of *Naples* had always professed himself to be his implacable adversary. He therefore wisely resolved to depend on his own courage and fortune. He instantly marched into the *Bolognese*, passed by *Madona* and *Reggio*, and offered his service to the *Milanese* to defend them against the *Venetians*. The state of *Milan* was then *Sforza's* greatly divided. Some were for converting their government ^{difficulties.} into a republic, resembling that of *Florence*; some were for submitting to *Alphonso*, king of *Naples*; and some for receiving *Sforza* for their master; while others inclined to the *Venetians*. Those differences were not unfavourable to *Sforza's* views: he repaired to *Cremona*, and there he received deputies from the *Milanese*, who offered to make him general of their troops upon the terms he had concluded with the late duke, and to give him *Brescia* and *Verona*, as soon as he could conquer the latter. Pope *Nicholas*, upon his accession to the popedom, with a view of making a general peace in *Italy*, had proposed to the *Florentine* deputies a congress at *Ferrara*, to which all the princes and states of *Italy* should send plenipotentiaries. This was agreed to by the *Florentines*, and their ambassadors, with those from *Venice* and *Milan*, repaired to it; but the king of *Naples* stood out. He had advanced as far as *Tivoli* to the assistance of the late duke, and threatened to force his way through the *Florentine* territories. Notwithstanding this, the congress at *Ferrara* still went on; and, after many debates, it ^{A congress} was agreed, that the duke of *Milan* should make his choice ^{at Ferrara.} either of a perpetual peace, or a truce for five years; but the deputies, who were to carry him the option, found him dead,

Divisions NOTWITHSTANDING this, the regency of *Milan* would *amongst the* have stood to the agreement; but *Lodi* and *Piacenza*, two *Milanese* places of great importance, having submitted to the *Venetians* after the duke's death, the latter thought that all the *Milanese* would follow their example, and that they either would force or persuade the rest of the late duke's subjects to submit to them. They were the more encouraged in this, because the *Florentines*, whom they knew to be extremely jealous of the ballance of power in *Italy*, had at this time sufficient employment in opposing *Alfonso*'s passage through their state. He *Progress of* had already made himself master, by a conspiracy, of the *Alfonso*. castle of *Cennima*, in the upper vale of *Arno*; which alarmed the *Florentines* so much, that they immediately appointed their ten field-deputies, and made preparations for war with so much vigour, that *Alfonso* marched into the *Siennese*, in hopes to bring that city to join him. The inhabitants, however, were so faithful to their attachments to *Florence*, that all he could obtain from them was some provision for his army, which they durst not refuse him. By this time the *Florentines* had an army on foot, and had retaken *Cennima*. *Alfonso*, upon that, took several forts in the *Volterrano*; and from thence he marched to the *Pisan* territories, and made himself master of some places, by the favour of the counts of *Ghirardesca*; but he failed in his design upon *Campegli*, the winter being far advanced, and the place making a strong resistance; so that, after throwing garrisons into the places he had taken, he went into winter-quarters in the *Siennese*.

He was no sooner retired than the *Florentines* took the field, in the depth of a most bitter winter. Their generals were *Frederic* lord of *Urbino*, and *Gismond Malatesta*; and some differences, that subsisted between them, being reconciled by the prudence of *Capponi* and *Bernardo de Medici*, they not only retook all the towns the *Florentines* had lost in the territories of *Pisa* and *Volterra*, but straitened the *Neapolitans* in their quarters. Spring coming on, both armies received reinforcements; though that of *Alfonso*, consisting of fifteen thousand men, was by far the strongest. The *Florentines* marched to *Spadaletto*, and the *Neapolitans* to *Campegli*; but, turning suddenly off, they besieged *Piombino*, a place of the utmost importance both to *Florence* and *Pisa*. This laid the *Florentines* under great difficulties: they armed four vessels which they had at *Leghorn*, and sent them to *Piombino*, with three hundred men on board; while the main body of their army took post at *Caldacce*, from whence they could harass the besiegers. While they were in this station, they suffered great distress for want of provisions, especially wine; while they per-

perceived that their enemy's army had plenty of every thing brought them by sea. They attempted to supply themselves in the same manner; but their ships were intercepted by *Alphonso*'s gallies, and two of them taken, while the others were obliged to put back. This disappointment raised a kind of mutiny in the *Florentine* army, so that many of them deserted to *Alphonso*; and even those that remained refused to serve longer in a place where they were exposed to parching heats, without either wine or wholesome water to drink. This obliged the generals to move their camp. But *Alphonso*'s army, tho' plentifully supplied with provisions, began now to be infected with pestilential diseases, and a treaty of peace was set on foot. The terms demanded by *Alphonso* were, that he should be paid fifty thousand ducats for the expence of the war, and be put in possession of *Piombino*. The *Florentines* were so tired of the war, that they were inclinable to have accepted of those terms; when *Capponi*, arriving at the army, persuaded them to reject them, and to indemnify the lord of *Piombino* for the vigorous defence the place had made, which the *Florentines* unanimously agreed to do. When *Alphonso* heard of this resolution, he found himself under the necessity of shamefully raising the siege, after losing two thousand men before the place; and he retreated first to *Sienna*, and from thence to his own country, menacing to return next spring, and to be revenged for the affronts and injuries he had received. In the mean while, *Sforza* brought over to his views young *Picinino*; and taking the field, he marched against *Pavia*. The inhabitants were in no condition to resist him; but had a strong aversion to the *Milanese* government, and therefore offered to give up their city to *Sforza*, provided he did not subject them to the *Milanese*. He would gladly have embraced their offer, and have performed the condition; but he had some measures still to keep with the *Milanese*; and a new power, that of the duke of *Savoy*, now started up in *Italy*, and threatened an alteration in her political system. By accepting of the government of *Pavia*, he was afraid of exasperating the *Milanese*, so as to make them throw themselves under the protection or government of the *Venetians*; and if he did not accept of it, there was a party within the place ready to give it up to the duke of *Savoy*. He thought, however, the consequence of accepting was preferable to that of refusing it. He accordingly took possession of *Pavia*, for which he apologized to the *Milanese* by urging, that it was much safer for them that he should have it, than either the *Venetians* or the duke of *Savoy*. This excuse would not have satisfied the *Milanese*, had they not been beset with other difficulties,

Progress of
Sforza.

sculties, and secretly detested the *Venetians*. They seemed therefore to take all that *Sforza* had done in good part, and he continued to head their troops.

CHARLES of Orleans, nephew to the late duke of *Milan* by his sister, was a pretender, in right of blood, to the dutchy, and he was abetted by the duke of *Savoy* and the *Genoese*; but his pretensions were soon quieted by *Sforza*, who was employed against him: while the *Venetians*, supported by a strong party amongst the *Milanese* themselves, carried on the war with great advantage, being still masters of *Lodi* and *Piacenza*. *Sforza*, with great difficulty, retook *Piacenza*; and had the *Venetians* been willing to have given up *Lodi*, a peace must have ensued: so much did they smart under the burden of the war, and so jealous they were of their general, whom they were obliged to trust. They sent him orders to besiege *Caravaggio*, which, against his inclination, he obeyed; and the *Venetians*, in attempting to raise the siege, received the greatest defeat they had ever sustained, not above one thousand of their horse, out of twelve thousand, escaping. After this, *Sforza*, who, according to *Machiavel*², behaved with great magnanimity, marched into the *Brescian* territory, within two miles of that city.

The Florentines assist the Venetians.

THE *Venetians*, after their defeat at *Caravaggio*, and collecting the broken remains of their troops, perceived that their surest resource lay in the *Florentines*. All they aimed at, was to be in a condition to make a tolerable peace; which they soon effected by the fresh levies they made, and the assistance of two thousand horse and one thousand foot sent them by the *Florentines*, who were now unmolested by *Alphonso*. Their view was to make a separate peace with *Sforza*, to render him the more odious to the *Milanese*. *Sforza*, on the other hand, knowing on what terms he stood with the latter, readily came into the proposal. A treaty was concluded, by which *Sforza* agreed to return to the *Venetians* all the plunder, prisoners, and places, that had been taken from them in the course of the war; while they were to assist him with twenty-five thousand florins a month, four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, till he had conquered *Milan*. The news of this treaty arriving at that city, reduced the *Milanese* to such despair, that they sent ambassadors, not to treat with *Sforza*, but to revile and upbraid him with his conduct. This they did in the most bitter manner, denouncing the heaviest imprecations upon him and his posterity for his treachery and ingratitude towards their state. *Sforza* heard them without any apparent

² MACHIAVEL, book vi.

emotion,

motion, and recriminated upon them the charge of ingratitude, appealing to heaven for the rectitude of his conduct. The deputies leaving him, *Sforza* immediately advanced with his army to *Milan*, which was defended by the inhabitants under *Francis* and *Jacob*, the two sons of *Picinino*, from their hereditary hatred to *Sforza*. The *Milanese* hoped to defend themselves till *Sforza* and the *Venetians* should quarrel, an event by no means improbable. *Sforza*, on the other hand, to keep the *Venetians* firm to his interest, relinquished to them the fine city of *Crema*, situated on the river *Serchio* in the *Crestico*, if they could conquer it; and having subdued all the *Milanese* to the gates of that capital, he formally besieged it.

THE inhabitants, finding that they must submit, made an *peace*. Attempt upon the humanity of the *Venetians*, whom they contoured, by all the bonds of liberty and ancient friendship, not to give them up to a tyrant, whose ambition was insatiable, and which, if successful, would prove a scourge to *Venice* itself. The *Venetians* were then pressing the siege of *Crema*, which they resolved to make themselves masters of before they gave the *Milanese* an explicit answer. They however privately promised them assistance; and having taken *Crema*, while *Sforza*'s soldiers were plundering the suburbs of *Milan*, they then openly declared their intention to make peace with the *Milanese*, which they soon did, by promising to defend *Milan* in the possession of its newly acquired liberty. They next intimated the peace they had made to *Sforza*, and ordered their troops under him to withdraw from his army, allowing him twenty days to come to a resolution upon his being included in the peace, or not. *Sforza*, though he had long foreseen it, was shocked at this agreement. He kept the *Venetian* deputies for two days about his person, without returning them any answer; but at last he pretended a readiness to accede to the peace, and nominated ambassadors to repair to *Milan*, and ratify it. He gave them, however, secret instructions to raise quibbles and difficulties, in order to gain time, and not to ratify it at all. We are now to return to the affairs of *Florence*, which, in the subsequent part of the history, could not have been understood, without relating what had happened in *Lombardy*.

THOUGH *Florence* at this time was neutral in the disputes between the *Venetians* and the *Milanese*, yet it was the scene of great intrigue and action. The *Turks* were then so powerful, that they threatened the extinction of the *Greek* empire; the head of which, *John Paleologus*, had promised to submit to the *Latin* church, provided the western powers would assist him.

him against the infidels. Though this offer was highly against the sentiments both of his clergy and his people, yet the glory of converting a *Greek* emperor was too important a circumstance for the pope to disregard. The council of *Basil*, who declared itself superior to the pope, had voted money and ships for bringing the emperor over to that city, when they intended to settle the reconciliation. The pope was at *Florence*; but he had his emissaries at *Basil*, who surreptitiously voted, that the emperor should be received at *Florence* or *Ferrara*, to which last city the pope had adjourned the assembly. They even broke open the box where the seals of the council lay, and affixed them to this impudent forgery, which they had reduced into the form of a decree. The pope's gallies, being ready before those of the council, repaired to *Constantinople*, with money sufficient for the expense of the emperor; and there they took him on board, with his patriarch, and a few of his clergy, who were willing, for convenience, to follow his example. The pope received them at *Ferrara*, where, after a few ridiculous disputes, they were conciled to the *Roman* church; but neither the emperor nor his clergy kissed the toe of his holiness, or in the least descended from the dignity of their characters.

FROM *Ferrara* the pope adjourned the council to *Florence* as being a nobler scene for his triumph, and there the reconciliation was to be fully and finally completed. According to *Aretin*^b, no fewer than five hundred *Greeks* were then at *Florence*; amongst whom, besides the emperor and the patriarch, were the emperor's brother, many archbishops and bishops and other persons of the highest distinction and learning. Every thing succeeded as the pope, who was a man of great temper as well as abilities, proposed. The *Greek* ecclesiastics embraced the opinion of purgatory; and the emperor, the patriarch, and the other prelates, subscribed to the supremacy of the *Roman* church.

DISPUTES between Cosmo and Capponi. SCARCELY was this great transaction finished, when the state of affairs in *Lombardy* fell under the consideration of the *Florentines*, and revived the factions in their city. The temporizing conduct of *Sforza*, who made a truce for a month with the *Milanese*, and had withdrawn his troops, deceived both them and the *Venetians*. The former, no longer oppressed by his army, grew indolent and unguarded; and the *Venetians*, thinking peace as good as concluded, gave over all preparations for continuing the war. *Sforza* improved this breathing time to his own purposes. During it, he recruited

^b ARETIN. ubi supra.

and refreshed his army, and applied to the *Florentines* for assistance. His chief reliance was on *Cosmo de Medici*, who had always proved himself his friend, and in his greatest difficulties had supplied him out of his private purse; but when *Cosmo* proposed to the magistracy that *Sforza* should be supported, he met with great opposition. *Neri di Capponi* was at the head of a powerful party, who declared for assisting the *Milanese* to the utmost in preserving their liberty; and that it was for the interest of *Florence* that *Italy* should be divided into as many small states as possible. They added, that, if either *Sforza* or the *Venetians* should acquire the mastery of *Milan*, *Florence* would then have too powerful a neighbour; but that, separately, each might be a useful ally.

COSMO's party thought that *Copponi* urged those reasons, however specious and indeed solid they might be, against *Sforza*, only because he was *Cosmo*'s friend. This rendered the latter more vigorous in defence of his opinion: he urged, that the *Milanese* were so over-run with faction, and were so imperfect in their ideas of civil government, that, if left to themselves, they would soon forfeit their liberty; and that *Sforza* was an ally far preferable to the *Venetians*; that it was more probable that *Milan* would yield to him than to the *Venetians*, because he had within it a strong party, and they none; and that the *Florentines*, by their indecision, might forfeit his favour.

THOSE debates, managed by two citizens of such eminence and abilities as *Cosmo* and *Capponi* were, kept *Florence* for some time in suspense; and at last the magistracy came to a resolution, favouring of the policy of the times, which was to send deputies to *Sforza*, who, if they found him powerful and prevalent, were to agree to grant him all his demands; if otherwise, to accuse him with delays and difficulties. But by this time, both *Sforza* and the *Venetians* had taken the field. Though it was still winter, the *Venetians* had advanced to the banks of the *Adda*; from whence they sent agents to *Milan*, with mighty promises of success against *Sforza*, if the inhabitants could be prevailed upon to hold out for a little time. The eldest *Picinino* was now dead, and the command of the *Milanese* garrison devolved upon his brother *Jacob*; and, during the winter, *Sforza* had several skirmishes with the *Venetians*, who were hated by *Pandolfo Malatesta*. After many deliberations, whether *Milan* should be relieved by hazarding a battle, or by the *Venetians* keeping the posts where they were, by which they greatly straitened *Sforza*'s army, now in want of forage and provisions, *Pandolfo*'s opinion prevailed for the latter; and the rather, because the greater the necessities to which

Siege of
Milan.

which the *Milanese* were driven, they would the more readily submit to the *Venetians*.

BUT necessity, on this occasion, cut asunder the lines of policy. In proportion as *Sforza* himself was straitened, he straitened the inhabitants of *Milan*, till multitudes died of mere want in their streets, and discontent and murmurs filled the whole city. Two persons, who had entered into a discourse about the public miseries, being overheard by others who joined them, as they were by others, till the company grew great, and their clamours outrageous. They then chose one *Jasper of Visconti* for their leader, broke into the palace of their magistrates, where they put to death all who did not save themselves by flight, and tore in pieces *Leonard Vinetto*, the *Venetian* ambassador, whom they looked upon as the main spring of all their miseries. They next began to consider how they were to proceed. Some were for submitting to the *French* king, some to the king of *Naples*, and some to the duke of *Savoy*; but so inveterate they were against *Sforza*, that none mentioned him. At last *Jasper*, who had gained great authority over the assembly, finding them irreconcileably undetermined amongst themselves, proposed *Sforza* to be the master of *Milan*. He proved to his fellow citizens that their present condition was such, that it could admit of no uncertainties or delays; that though *Sforza* had been their enemy, yet he was a brave man, and the most likely person in the world to protect them; and that he had been forced by the falsehood and injustice of the *Venetians*, and the other states of *Italy*, to do all that he had done against them. In short, that as it was now evident they must part with their liberty, they could not chuse a better master. This speech was received with wonderful applause, and the assembly were more unanimous in making *Sforza* their master, than they had been in declaring him their enemy. *Jasper* was then sent their ambassador to give him the invitation; and *Milan*, on the 26th of *February*, 1450, with the utmost joy and magnificence, received *Sforza* as its master.

State of
Italy.

THIS news reaching *Florence*, couriers were dispatched after the deputies, now on their road to *Sforza*'s camp, with orders not to treat with him, but to congratulate him upon his accession to the sovereignty of *Milan*. *Sforza* received the *Florentine* ambassadors with demonstrations of the most cordial friendship, as coming from the only people in *Italy* on whom he could rely as his natural allies. Thus *Italy* was divided into two parties; the one consisting of the *Neapolitans* and the *Venetians*, and the other of the *Florentines* and the *Milanese*. *Alfonso* and the *Venetians* entered into a formal league, by which

which it was agreed, that he should fall upon the *Florentines*, and they upon the *Milanese*. To give some colour of justice to this proceeding, both *Alfonso* and the *Venetians*, who had leagues still subsisting with the *Florentines*, sent ambassadors to *Florence* to declare that their league was purely defensive; and yet the *Venetians* entered complaints which they thought might justify their acting offensively. They accused the *Florentines* of having given passage to *Alexander*, *Sforza*'s brother with his troops into *Lombardy*; and that they had been the means of *Sforza*'s reconciliation with the marquis of *Mantua*.

COSMO de Medici was, by the *Florentine* senate or *Alliances* *gistracy*, appointed to answer their complaints. He did this *between* by putting the *Venetian* ambassadors in mind of the vast acquisitions of power and territory their republic had made by the *tines and assistance* of *Florence*; that the matters they complained of *Sforza*, were mere trifles, and that, in all events, the *Venetians* might find their enmity as prejudicial to them; as their friendship had proved advantageous. With this answer the ambassadors departed; but *Sforza* and the *Florentines* knowing their own danger, entered into fresh engagements with each other, and prepared for the worst. The engagements between *Alfonso* and the *Venetians* soon began to unfold themselves, by all the subjects of *Florence* being banished, without any reason given, out of the territories of *Naples* and *Venice*. Immediately after this, the *Venetians* collected together all the exiles of *Bologna*, which still continued to be governed by *Santi Bentivoglio*, the firm friend of the *Florentines*. Their design was to introduce those exiles, and a body of troops by the common sewers, in which they succeeded so far, that they never were discovered till they were in the heart of the city. *Santi* was awakened out of his sleep with an alarm that the rebels were in possession of *Bologna*. He was advised to save himself by flight, as the city was thought to be irrecoverably lost; but he bravely faced the danger, put himself at the head of his friends and the well-affectioned citizens, defeated the conspirators, drove them out of the city, and by his valour fully proved himself to be of the *Bentivoglio* blood.

THE *Florentines* considered this attempt upon *Bologna* as *The Florentines* aimed against them; and prepared for war by levying new troops, and creating the council of ten field-deputies. Before they proceeded to action they sent deputies to *Rome*, *war with Naples*, *Venice*, *Milan*, and *Sienna*, which last state of late the king of *Castile* had linked itself with the *Venetians*, to justify their conduct, *Naples*, and to complain of the late attempt upon *Bologna*. The pope was too deeply engaged in controversies with the council of *Basil*, to take any part in the quarrel, farther than by giving

the deputies good words. *Alphonso*, who by this time secretly thought the *Venetians* were becoming too powerful, invented excuses for having banished the *Florentines* out of his dominions, and offered passports to all those who chose to return: but, notwithstanding this fair language, the deputies could easily see that he harboured resentment in his heart against their country. The *Venetians*, who in reality at that juncture aspired to the sovereignty of all *Lombardy*, excused themselves, on account of their engagements with *Alphonso*, from admitting the *Florentine* deputies into their territories; and they went so far in their enmity to the *Florentines*, as to solicit the emperor of *Constantinople* to prohibit their trading in his dominions; but he rejected their request. The *Siennese* gave the *Florentine* deputies a courteous reception, because their allies were not yet prepared to support them.

The king of France and the Genoese join the Florentines. THE implacable spirit the *Venetians* discovered against the *French* and *Florentines*, served but to strengthen the connections of the latter with *Sforza*, who brought the *Genoese* into their alliance, and compromised all ancient differences between them and the *Florentines*. Soon after, the *French* king became a party in the same league; and his accession to it was proclaimed by the *Florentines* and their allies with great pomp throughout all their dominions.

The emperor comes to Italy. THE *Florentines*, thus encouraged and strengthened, refused to admit the *Venetian* ambassadors into *Florence*, where they intended, in conjunction with *Alphonso*'s minister, to justify the conduct of their respective masters; and *Alphonso*'s ambassador refused to go by himself. In the mean time *Frederick III.* emperor of *Germany*, arrived in *Italy*. His business there was to receive the crown of *Lombardy* from the pope, and to meet *Eleanora*, the daughter of the king of *Portugal*, who had been espoused to him in marriage, and who arriving at *Pisa* was conducted to *Sienna*. As to the emperor himself, various are the reports concerning his journey. Some say he was so poorly attended, that he was attacked and robbed by the banditti, and scarcely escaped with his life; while others pretend^a that he travelled with great magnificence. The latter is most probable, as *Machiavel*^b tells us, that on the 30th of *January*, 1451, he entered *Florence*, attended by four hundred horse, and stayed till the 6th of *Februray*, receiving from the senate all the honours due to his high station. We know of no particular affairs he transacted in *Florence*. *Sforza*'s establishment in *Milan* was but yet new, nor was he well affected to the emperor; so that the latter durst not venture to repair to

^a HEISS's Hist. of Germany.

^b MACHIAVEL, book vi.

Milan, to receive what is called the iron crown, by which the Germanic emperors were crowned kings of Lombardy. The pope however crowned him at Rome; and in the following May he and his empeirs returned to Florence, where he was received with the same honours as before; and during this journey, he made *Borsi d'Este*, marquis of *Ferrara*, duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*, as a reward for his services in persuading the people to grant him the tutelage of young *Ladislaus*, king of *Bohemia*.

MOST of this year, and the beginning of 1452, was spent by the *Florentines*, as well as the *Venetians* and the other powers concerned, in forming alliances, or making preparations for the ensuing war. In the month of May the *Venetians*, and *Sforza*, their ally the marquis of *Montferrat*, entered the *Milanese* at the same time; the former with fourteen thousand horse and six thousand foot by the way of *Lodi*, and the latter by that of *Alessandria*. *Sforza* was not wanting to himself: his army consisted of eighteen thousand horse and three thousand foot; and having thrown strong garrisons into *Alessandria* and *Lodi*, he carried the war into the enemies country by destroying *Bresciano*, and taking many inconsiderable places, tho' without forming any important siege: but the marquis of *Montferrat* was defeated near *Alessandria* by *Sforza*'s troops.

ABOUT the time that the war in *Lombardy* was renewed, *The Neapolitans* invaded *Tuscany* with twelve thousand men, *politans* commanded by *Ferdinand*, eldest son to *Alphonso*, and *Frederick of Urbino*. *Machiavel* gives us the most contemptible idea of this expedition. The operations of the invaders began by the siege of *Fbian* (perhaps the modern *Focognano*) in the vale of *Chiana*; the only defence of which was a pitiful castle and a very weak wall, the whole garrison being no more than two hundred men. *Ferdinand*, favoured by the *Siennese*, through whose country he marched, besieged this place with all his army, thirty-six days before he could take it. The *Florentines* made use of this time to strengthen their garrisons and reinforce their army, whilst the *Neapolitans* marched farther into the vale of *Chiana*, where they were baffled in all the sieges they attempted before castles and towns, which in the days of *Machiavel* were, for their weakness, deemed to be untenable, and therefore slighted. The *Florentines* at that time had on foot an army of eight thousand men, under *Asterra* of *Faenza* and *Gismond Malatesta*; but perceiving their enemies to be so awkward and unexperienced in the field, they kept upon the defensive, knowing well that their chief towns

A. D.

1452.

Success of

Sforza.

* MACHIAVEL, book vi.

U 2

were

were in no danger, and that their enemies must waste themselves in their idle attempts. Ferdinand at last laid siege to *Castelma*, which lies in the vale of *Chiana*, within ten miles of *Sienna*; but though it was a very inconsiderable place, by art and nature, he was obliged, after laying forty-six days before it, shamefully to abandon the siege. Ferdinand, however, all this time sent out parties, which scoured the open country within six miles of *Florence*, but were unable to take the smallest town.

WHILE the siege of *Castelma* was carrying on, the *Neapolitans* had brought up a squadron of about twenty gallies, carrying some land troops, which lay off *Pisa*, and surprized the town of *Vada* in the *Volterrano*, situated at the mouth of the river *Cecina*, from whence they annoyed the neighbouring country; but they were soon confined within their walls and ships by some troops which the *Florentines* sent against them. The inactivity of this campaign is some proof that *Alfonso* was irresolute as to the part he had to act, and that his jealousy of the *Venetians* increased. Hitherto the *Florentine* seemed rather to sport with, than to be terrified by his arms; but in the spring of the year 1453, they thought it was high time to retake the places they had lost. Being reinforced with two hundred horse under *Alexander Sforza*, brother to the duke of *Milan*, they besieged and retook *Foiano*, and with some difficulty re-peopled it, having been abandoned by its former inhabitants. The town of *Vada* was likewise regained by the *Florentines*, after being set fire to and deserted by the *Neapolitans*, who now behaved like robbers rather than soldiers, subsisting by plunder and violence, without daring to face their enemies in the field.

Their attempt upon the *Florentines* by force of arms, now tried that of money. The vale of *Bagno* had been subjected to the *Florentines* many years, and the lord of it, *Gerardo Garribatorti*, had always appointed. *Alfonso* perceiving how little he gained by this, and the valley of *Tibre*; and *Alfonso* tampered with him to give them up to him in exchange for an estate in the kingdom of *Naples*, to which *Gerardo* agreed. The *Florentines* had some intimation of the negotiation, and sent a messenger, who taxed *Gerardo* with it; but he not only solemnly disclaimed it, but, pretending that he himself was indisposed, sent his son to *Florence* as a pledge of his fidelity, of which the *Florentines* seemed now to be quite satisfied. In the mean while the bargain being finished between *Alfonso* and *Gerardo*, the former sent one *Puccio*, a knight of *Jerusalem*, with some troops,

troops, who took possession of all the vale of *Bagno*, excepting the castle of *Corzano*, greatly against the inclination of the inhabitants. A brave young *Pisan*, one *Antonio Gualandi*, was with *Gerardo* when *Puccio* came to take possession of the castle; and *Gerardo* going to the gate to admit him, *Antonio*, who detested his treachery, thrust him out of the gate, which he locked, and took upon himself the command of the garrison, who declared for the *Florentines*. The news of this spirited well-timed action flying abroad, the people of *Bagno* had the courage to take up arms under the *Florentine* standards, and drove the *Neapolitans* out of their country; *Gerardo* himself escaped with difficulty, but left his wife, family, and effects, in the hands of the *Florentines*, who imprisoned his son the hostage, and sent troops into the country, who took possession of all *Gerardo*'s estate.

THE pope was too wise a man, and too intent upon securing, or rather regaining, his own power at *Rome*, to concern *cy* against himself in the wars either of *Tuscany* or *Lombardy*. His domination, and that of his clergy, was at that time detested by the *Romans*; and a hair-brained enthusiast had almost expelled them out of *Rome*. His name was *Stephen Porcari*, a man of family and learning; but his head being turned by reading poets, especially *Petrarch*, whom he believed to be divinely inspired, and that in one of his sonnets he had pointed him out as the deliverer of *Italy*, he began to affect many particularities in his living and dress, which coming to the pope's ears, made him conclude that the man's brain was affected, and therefore he committed him to the custody of the governor of *Bologna*, not under strict confinement, but with orders that no day should pass without *Stephen* appearing before him. This restraint served but to render *Stephen* the more expeditious and assiduous in his great design. He often went and returned from *Bologna* to *Rome*, where he concerted matters with his friends with such expedition, that the governor always saw him once a day; till, thinking his design was ripe for execution, he invited all the heads of them to a supper at *Rome*, and appearing amongst them in a most sumptuous habit, he laid down the plan for executing the conspiracy next day, by seizing the papal palace, calling the people to arms, and delivering *Rome* from the tyranny of the pope and his ecclesiastics. The assembly, however, were in the mean while in the papal toils; all of them were that very night seized, and *Stephen*, and the principal conspirators, put to death.

Tho' *Alfonso*'s invasion of *Tuscany* had done no great damage to the *Florentines*, yet it had obliged them to keep up *Anjou* an army at a great expence, of which they sought to ease *comes to them* *Italy*.

themselves. For this purpose they sent *Agnolo Acciaiolo* as their ambassador to the court of *France*, to engage *Regnier*, commonly called *René of Anjou*, who, as we have seen, had a great claim upon the crown of *Naples*, to come to *Italy*, and assert the same by joining the *Florentines* and the duke of *Milan*. *Regnier* listened to the proposal; and it was agreed, that the *Florentines* should pay him thirty thousand florins ready money, and ten thousand florins a month, upon his entering *Lombardy* at the head of two thousand four hundred horse, against the *Venetians*: but when *Regnier* was ready to march, the duke of *Savoy* and the marquis of *Montferrat*, allies to the *Venetians*, gave him to understand, that if he proceeded they would oppose his passage, which *Regnier* was in no condition to force. Upon this, by *Acciaiolo's* advice, he put part of his troops on board transports which carried them to *Lombardy*; and the king of *France* dealt so effectually with the duke of *Savoy*, that the rest went by land. *Regnier*, who now took upon himself the title of king of *Naples*, was received with great marks of respect by *Sforza*, and the *French* and *Milanese* troops joining, they recovered from the *Venetians* all that they had taken in the *Cremone*, with a great part of the *Bresciano*, and obliged the *Venetian* army to retire under the walls of *Brescia* itself. The winter then coming on, both armies went into quarters.

and returns.

BEFORE the spring the politics of the court of *France* took an unexpected turn; and when the duke of *Milan* prepared to take the field, and to finish the conquest of the *Bresciano*, *Regnier*, who had wintered at *Piacenza*, informed the duke that he was obliged to return to *France*; nor could *Sforza's* personal application and intreaties detain him. The truth is, *Regnier* had been drawn into *Italy* by the *Florentines*, without any intention to serve the duke of *Milan* (to whose dominions another prince of the blood royal of *France* laid claim) farther than as he was connected with the *Florentines*. The latter, on the other hand, never had any design of aggrandizing *Sforza* farther than was consistent with the ballance of power they wished to maintain in *Italy*, which they thought had been sufficiently established by his late successes. They were therefore under no concern at *Regnier's* departure, especially as they had nothing now to apprehend from *Alfonso*. All that *Regnier* could be prevailed on to do, was to leave part of his troops in *Lombardy*, and to promise to send his son *John* to command in his place. This young prince accordingly came to *Lombardy*, but he resided at *Florence*, where he met with an honourable reception.

THE

THE system of public power all over Christendom, but in *The recon-*
Italy especially, now received a great alteration. The *Grecian* ^{the Greek} *civilization* of
empire was little benefited by its emperor and patriarch sub- ^{with the} *Latin*
mitting to the supremacy of the western church. This sub- ^{church.}
mission was so hateful at *Constantinople*, that it was there com-
monly said, that they had rather see in their churches a tur-
ban than a cardinal's hat. The emperor however, still hop-
ing to be assisted by the western princes, conformed to the
Roman ritual, and was publickly attended by *Isidore* a *Roman*
cardinal. But all the assistance he received from *Italy* con-
fisted of four *Genoese* ships, one of which was furnished by the
emperor *Frederick III.* so that the great city of *Constantinople*
fell into the hands of the infidels, and the emperor lost his
life in defending it.

THE princes and states of *Italy* could not with indifference
see such an accession of power to the *Othmans*. *Constanti-*
nople was then reckoned the first city in the world, and the
infidels were strong enough at sea fully to avail themselves
of all the advantages of its situation. Their fleets had already
made great depredations on the subjects of the pope and
Venice, and it was every day expected they would invade *Italy*.
The pope was incessantly exhorting the *Italian* princes and
states to reflect upon their own danger; and indeed the state
of their affairs favoured his admonitions. The duke of *Mi-*
lan being deprived of the assistance of *France*, sought to ap-
ply himself to the regulation of his own dominions. The
Venetians had more than any other power to fear from the
Turks. The *Florentines* had attained all they aimed at; and
though *Alfonso* still held out, yet it was plain that he must
yield at last. At the pope's earnest request, all the powers at
war sent their ministers to a congress at *Rome*. Great alter-
ations happened between the duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians*:
the former insisted upon their giving up to him *Bergamo*,
Brescia, and *Crema*, and they, that he should yield to them
Cremona. Those differences which were thought insuperable
at *Rome*, were accommodated in *Lombardy*. On the 9th of ^{A peace} *April*, 1454, a peace was concluded between *Sforza* and the ^{concluded.}
Venetians, by which each was to be restored to the towns and
lands they had possessed before the war, and the duke was
left at liberty to recover all that had been taken from him by
the duke of *Savoy*, the marquis of *Montferrat*, or their allies.
The pope, the *Florentines*, the *Siennese*, and other *Tuscan*
states, immediately acceded to this treaty, which was followed
by a triple alliance, to be in force twenty-five years, between
the *Florentines*, *Sforza*, and the *Venetians*. *Alfonso* thought
himself ill used both by his allies and his enemies, in not

being considered as a principal in this treaty; but his obstinacy was at last overcome by the solicitations of the pope, and by a double marriage of his son and daughter with those of *Sforza*; so that he acceded to the peace, reserving however to himself a liberty of making war upon the *Genoese*, *Gismondo Malatesta*, and *Asterra* of *Faenza*. After this he recalled his troops under *Ferdinand* out of *Tuscany*.

A. D.
1455.

Picinino
renews the
war.

IT soon appeared that *Alfonso* was far from being sincerely disposed to the continuance of the peace. *Jacob Picinino*, who was in the *Venetian* service, was now dismissed from it; and *Lombardy*, the *Romagna*, and *Tuscany*, were filled with officers and soldiers, who had no employment. This led them, as usual, to associate amongst themselves; and they chose for their leader *Jacob Picinino*, who, in right of his father, had many family-claims both in *Tuscany* and the *Romagna*. Having assembled a small army, which *Alfonso* privately assisted him in doing, he marched into the *Siennese*, where he took many strong towns, and threatened *Sienna* itself. Pope *Nicholas* was now dead, and was succeeded by *Calixtus III.* a zealous active pontiff, who gave orders to his general, *Giovanni Ventimiglia*, to join his forces with those of the *Florentines*, and to march against *Picinino*. They accordingly engaged him near *Bolsena*, where *Ventimiglia* was taken prisoner; but *Picinino* was entirely defeated, and fled to *Castiglione*, where he must have been obliged to surrender himself prisoner, had he not been supported by *Alfonso*. As *Picinino* was considered by the other *Italian* states to be little better than a free-booter, *Alfonso*'s abetting him was highly resented by them; and that king, to regain their favour, brought *Picinino* to restore to the *Sienese* all their towns for twenty thousand florins, and then to retire to *Naples*.

A crusade
published.

THE progress of the *Turks*, and the detestation in which they were held, bade fair, at this time, to revive the spirit of crusading in *Europe*. The pope filled all the Christian courts with his nuncios, legates, preachers, and other ministers, to awaken them to a sense of their danger; and they were no where more successful than in *Florence*. There the chief citizens liberally contributed by their purses, and in their persons, towards an expedition against the infidels; and many of them even wore the sign of the cross, which had not for many years been seen in *Europe*, as a proof that they designed to take upon themselves the crusade. Public processions were every day seen in their streets, and their pulpits resounded with the merits of the expedition, and the mighty rewards that would attend, in this and the next life, those who should enter into it. This fervour, however, soon came to cool,

cool, and at last wholly subsided, upon some slight advantages gained by the Christians over the infidels on the side of Hungary.

FLORENCE was in profound tranquillity in the year ^{A hurricane.} 1456, when, on the 26th of August, Tuscany was visited ^{can.} with one of the most dreadful hurricanes mentioned in history. Castles and churches were unroofed, and the roofs carried to a mile's distance: the most stubborn oaks were torn up by the roots and tossed about. In other places, houses and churches were levelled to the ground; men and beasts were buried under their ruins, and all the elements seemed conspiring to return to a chaos. Machiavel ^d however observes, that this hurricane moved in a particular line of direction, and did not affect any of the great cities, where the consequences must have been still much more fatal. But we shall now, after a long interval, return to the internal affairs of Florence.

THAT city and state had been for some years under an ^{State of} excellent direction, while *Cosmo de Medici* and *Neri di Capponi* acted with unanimity in the public councils. *Capponi's* services to his country had gained him more friends to his virtue, than followers to his person; while the liberality, the beneficence, and affability of *Cosmo*, gave him as many followers as he had friends. The conduct of both in the state was irreproachable, their judgements equal, and each supporting the other, the government was firm and unshaken. Sometimes, it is true, they differed, as in the case of *Sforza*; but this difference arose from the natural severity of the one, and the opposite character of the other; nor did it proceed to any rancour of party. *Cosmo*, however, lived long enough to be sensible that he was mistaken in his opinion of *Sforza*, whose mind was formed more for ambition than friendship. *Cosmo* had been over lavish in assisting him; and it was owing to him that he was now duke of *Milan*. In their hours of intimacy together, *Cosmo* had secretly opened his heart to *Sforza*, and told him, that his great ambition was to be the means of putting *Lucca* one day in the possession of the *Florentines*; and *Sforza* solemnly promised to assist him in the attempt as soon as he became master of *Milan*. This promise greatly influenced *Cosmo* in supporting *Sforza's* interest; but the matter for a time was kept private, and when *Cosmo* called for *Sforza*, when he was duke of *Milan*, to perform his engagements, he was answered with sorry excuses and affected delays.

^d MACHIAVEL, book vi.

Cosmo *CAPPONI*'s death occasioned a great abatement of *Cosmo's* interest. Divisions went so far, that it was proposed to discontinue the *Balia*, or the extraordinary powers, by which the city had been governed under *Cosmo* and *Capponi*, and to return to the old method of imborstions, and filling up the chief posts by lot. Secret ambition was at the bottom of this proposal; for many who had all along appeared attached to *Cosmo*, seeing him now deprived of *Capponi's* assistance, and that it was unlikely he should be succeeded by a son of equal authority and virtue with himself, thought that a proper time to lay the foundations of their own greatness. *Cosmo* perceived their drift; and though he might easily, by force, have seized upon the government, yet he chose to shew them their own insignificance, by suffering their plan to take place, which it did, especially as he knew that few or none but his own friends would be returned by the imborstions; so that he was safe in all events.

Parties in Florence. THE other party made the experiment, but they soon perceived they had mistaken their measures. Popular elections being restored, put the meanest inhabitant, in that respect, on a footing with the highest. *Cosmo's* pretended friends, instead of being treated as they had formerly been, with reverence and respect, met now with the most bitter insults and reproaches in all public places, though none of them were returned by the imborstions as persons fit to serve the commonwealth, but those of his party. *Cosmo* had foreseen this, and the great men who restored the popular system, now saw plainly that, instead of diminishing his authority, they had ruined their own: so firmly was *Cosmo* rivetted in the affections of his fellow citizens; but he wisely dissembled all that had happened and his secret enemies had themselves only to blame.

Cosmo declines public business. *COSMO* being now well assured, that no revolution of state, or form of government, could affect him, gave way to the re-establishment of the tax *catasto*, which subjected all imposts to the law, and not to the discretion of any man, or set of men. This political self-denial had great effects in his favour; for the law being passed, and the commissioners for executing it appointed, all the great nobility and citizens repaired in a body to *Cosmo*, intreating him to deliver himself, as well as them, from the tyranny of the people. *Cosmo* seemed very willing to agree to their request, provided the imposts could be regularly repealed, and a new *Balia* take place without force, and with the consent of the people. The great men attempted this in vain, and renewed their applications to *Cosmo*, who gave them a flat denial; and

and thus shewed how insignificant the aristocratical power was, while he who was at the head of that aristocracy was upon good terms with the people.

DONATO COCHI was then gonfalonier of justice, and would have gratified the demands of the great citizens, had not the other magistrates, who were intirely in *Cosmo's* interest, treated him with such taunts and reproaches as drove him mad; and he actually was confined as a lunatic. He was, by the connivance of *Cosmo*, succeeded by *Luca Pitti*, who, being bold and enterprising, raised himself upon the dissensions of his country, as we shall have occasion to observe in the course of this history.

We have already seen, that *Alphonso* king of *Naples*, when *Alphonso* he acceded to the late pacification, reserved to himself a liberty of carrying on war with certain powers. He employed war. *Jacob Picinino*, though with little or no success, against *Gismond Malatesta*; but he directed the chief force of his kingdom against the *Genoese*. *Fregosa* was then doge or duke of *Genoa*, which was torn into so many factions within itself, that, despairing to make head against *Alphonso*, he offered the sovereignty of that republic to *Charles* king of *France*, who accepted the offer, and gave the government of the city to *John*, the son of *Regnier* of *Anjou*, *Alphonso's* rival in the crown of *Naples*. *John* accordingly took possession of *Genoa*, with a view of carrying his arms from thence into *Naples*. This was an event unforeseen by *Alphonso*, whose fleet then lay at *Capo Fino*, where he himself died, leaving his dominions to his son *Ferdinand*, who afterwards proved one of the greatest princes of that or any other age. He came to his crown, however, under great difficulties. He was engaged in a doubtful and an unpromising war with the *Genoese*; and he knew that great numbers of his chief nobility were in the interest of *France*. The pope openly pretended, that the kingdom of *Naples* belonged to the *Roman* see, and that he intended to annex it to the church's patrimony, and to give the government of it to his nephew, *Peter Lodowic Borgia*. Surrounded with so many difficulties, *Ferdinand* had no resource so natural as in *Sforza* duke of *Milan*, who knew that the *French* laid claim to his dominions, and therefore thought it his interest above all things to exclude them from *Italy*. To him *Ferdinand* applied, and received from him all kind of encouragement. In the mean while pope *Calixtus* died, and with him fell all his family's towering projects. He was succeeded by the famous *Eneas Sylvius*, a *Siennese*, of the house of *Piccolomini*, who took the name of *Pius II.* and, by his writings, had been a great advocate for the council of *Basil* against

against the pope; though he afterwards retracted that doctrine. He affected to govern by maxims different from those of his predecessor, who had ventured to lay *Ferdinand* under ecclesiastical censures, and had declared him a bastard. He disclaimed all thoughts of annexing the kingdom of *Naples* to the see of *Rome*, or of favouring the *French* claim upon that kingdom. He pretended to have no passion but for the good of Christendom and the church; and having bestowed the crown of *Naples* upon *Ferdinand*, the latter in return gave his natural daughter in marriage to *Antonio*, nephew, as he was called, to his holiness, created him prince of *Malphi*, and restored *Benevento* and *Tetracina* to the church.

Genoa
possessed by
John of
Anjou.

A. D.
1459.

THE dissentions of *Genoa* interrupted the internal tranquillity of *Italy*, where every thing again seemed disposed towards a general crusade against the Infidels. *John of Anjou* was still in possession of that city; but *Peter Fregosa*, the late doge, who was the cause of his advancement, not thinking his services sufficiently repaid, had retired to a castle of his own, where he first broke off all communication with *John*, and then came to open war with him. *Fregosa* was supported by *Ferdinand*; and *John*, having received some reinforcements from *France*, marched to dispossess him of his castle; but *Fregosa* was so well prepared to receive him, that he failed in his attempt, and retired to *Genoa*. Soon after *Fregosa*, in the night-time, entered the extensive fortifications of that city, where he made himself master of some posts; but next day, being surrounded by *John*'s troops, he, and almost all his followers, were put to the sword. *John*, elated with success, in the year 1459 equipped a considerable fleet, with which he made a descent upon the kingdom of *Naples*, where his party was very strong, and he was received as king by many princes and states.

JOHN king of *Arragon*, brother to the late king *Alphonso*, seeing his nephew *Ferdinand*'s crown in danger, sent ambassadors to *Florence*, requiring them to assist *Ferdinand*, in terms of their treaty with his father. To this request the *Florentines* answered, that they did not conceive themselves obliged to assist the son in a war which had been entailed upon him by the father, who had begun it without their consent or advice. This resolute answer threw the ambassadors into great perplexities; so that, after entering several protests and instruments, they left the city in a rage. The truth is, the *Florentines* thought it more for their interest that *Genoa* should be in the hands of the *French*, than in those of the *Spaniards*.

Ferdinand, the more effectually to oppose *John*, *His* *pro-*
made *peace* with *Gismondo Malatesta*; upon which *Jacob Picinino* *in-*
cinino, the sworn enemy of the *Malatesta* family, left his ser- *Naples*,
vice and entered into that of *John*. *Ferdinand*, however,
raised a good army, and gave the command of it to *Frede-*
rick Urbino; but coming to a general engagement near the
river Sarno, it was entirely defeated by *John*, and most of
his *best* *officers* were taken prisoners. *Jacob Picinino* advised
John instantly to follow his blow, and to march against *Na-*
pies, which still remained faithful to *Ferdinand*. But he im-
politically rejected this advice, and proceeded to reduce places
and *towns* *of* *les* *importance*, saying, that *Naples* *must* *of*
course *fall* *to* *him*. In the mean while, *Ferdinand* having
strengthened *himself* in his capital, to which all the great
men *of* *his* *party* *likewise* *repaired*, applied to the *pope*, and
to *the* *duke* *of* *Milan*, for assistance in men and money, which
both *of* *them* *liberally* *gave* *him*. He then again took the
field, and was recovering some of the places he had lost,
when *he* *was* *favoured* *by* *a* *fresh* *revolution* *in* *Genoa*.

THAT *inconstant* *city* *took* *an* *opportunity*, *in* *John's* *ab-*
fence, *to* *throw* *off* *the* *French* *yoke*, *by* *the* *assistance* *and*
instigation *of* *the* *duke* *of* *Milan*, *who* *reconciled* *together* *the*
families *of* *Adorni* *and* *Fregoso*, *and* *supplied* *them* *with* *troops*
and *money*. The *French* *sent* *a* *fleet* *to* *Genoa*, *under* *Regnier*
of *Anjou*, *John's* *father*, *to* *make* *good* *his* *party*; *but*, *while*
his *forces* *were* *landing*, *he* *was* *defeated*, *and* *obliged* *to*
return *to* *France*. This misfortune served to render *John* *the*
more *intent* *on* *the* *conquest* *of* *Naples*; *but* *he* *was* *entirely*
defeated *by* *Ferdinand*, *and* *obliged* *likewise* *to* *return* *to*
France.

LUCA PITTI still remained gonfalonier of *Florence*, *Distrac-*
where *Cosmo*, *partly* *out* *of* *disgust*, *and* *partly* *because* *he* *was* *tions* *in*
now *old* *and* *infirm*, *concerned* *himself* *very* *little* *in* *public* *Florence*.
business. *Luca*, *being* *a* *bold* *enterprising* *magistrate*, *at-*
tempted *to* *revive* *the* *Balia*, *or* *high* *commission*, *that* *had*
been *abolished* *upon* *Capponi's* *death*; *but* *not* *succeeding*, *he*
brought *troops* *into* *the* *city*, *and* *forced* *the* *people* *to* *agree*
to *all* *he* *demanded*. *He* *then* *proceeded* *to* *humble* *his* *chief*
opponents, *amongst* *whom* *was* *Girolamo Machiavel*, *whom*
he *banished*, *and* *who*, *after* *wandering* *up* *and* *down* *Italy*,
exciting *its* *princes* *and* *states* *to* *revenge* *his* *quarrel*, *was* *at*
last *sent* *prisoner* *to* *Florence*, *where* *he* *died* *under* *confine-*
ment. *Pitti*, *by* *this* *time*, *had* *succeeded* *to* *all* *Cosmo's*
power *in* *the* *state*; *but* *he* *was* *intemperate* *in* *the* *use* *of* *it*.
He *ordered* *the* *name* *of* *presidents* *of* *the* *trades*, *or* *artists*,
to *be* *exchanged* *for* *that* *of* *presidents* *of* *liberty*; *and* *instead*

of sitting, as the gonfaloniers used to do, on the right hand of the magistrates, he took place in the middle of them, a being their superior. He even carried his insolence so far as to claim the sanction of heaven for what he did, and ordered public processions and thanksgivings to be made for the restoration of his country's liberty. The presents he received from the wealthy citizens, are said to have amounted in one year to twenty thousand ducats, and his magnificence was answerable. He built two sumptuous palaces; one within a mile of the city, the other within it. The latter, which to this day, is called the palace of *Pitti*, is one of the most stupendous piles in *Europe*. It became afterwards the residence of the great dukes of *Tuscany*, and still attracts the admiration of foreigners. To carry on those fabrics, Pitti neglected no means that his high station put in his reach; and assassins, thieves, and robbers were pardoned, on condition of their assisting to build it. Though Pitti's rapaciousness was applied to noble purposes, yet it set the most detestable example to his inferiors, who plundered their inferior as he did them. Notwithstanding this, *Florence* was now become the admiration of the world for riches and magnificence, especially in buildings, by keeping itself neutral in all the dissensions of *Italy*, particularly between the *Malatesta* family and the pope, who endeavoured to deprive them of *Rimini* and *Cesena*. Thus, for several years, the *Florentines* applied themselves entirely to the cultivation of the civil arts; and nothing else remarkable is recorded of them.

A. D.
1464. IN the year 1464 died *Cosmo de Medici*, who, though the private subject of a republic, had more riches than any king *Death and in Europe*, and laid out more money in works of taste, magnificence, learning, and charity, than all the kings, princes, and states of that, the preceding, or the subsequent ages; those of his own family excepted. The riches he was possessed of would appear incredible, did not the monuments of his magnificence still remain, and did not his contemporaries give us unquestionable testimonies both of them and his liberality. They were such, that we are tempted to believe that he and his family knew of some channels of commerce which have been lost probably by the discovery of *America*, and the frequency of the *East Indian* commerce by sea, to which the *Europeans*, in his time, were almost strangers. He lent vast sums of money to the public, the payment of which he never required; and there scarcely was a citizen in *Florence* whom he did not, at one time or other, assist with money, without the smallest expectation of its being returned. His religious foundations were prodigious. He founded the convents and churches

churches of St. *Mark* and St. *Laurence*, the rich monastery of S. *Verdiano*, the church of *Girolamo*, the abbey belonging to it in the mountains of *Fiesole*, the church of the *Friars Minors* in *Mugelli*, with the abbeys of the *Servi Agnoli* and S. *Minuato*. Not contented with having founded so many religious edifices, he endowed them likewise with rich furniture, magnificent altars, and chapels. His private buildings were equally sumptuous. His palace in *Florence* exceeded that of any sovereign prince in his time; and he had other palaces at *Correggio*, *Fiesole*, *Cafaggiolo*, and *Fabrio*. His munificence even reached *Jerusalem*, where he erected a noble hospital for poor distressed pilgrims.

IN those works, of more than royal expence, he might *Cosmo's* have been equalled by men equally rich; but his deportment *virtues.* and manner was unexampled. In his private conversation he was humble, unaffected, unassuming. Every thing regarding his own person was plain, modest, and nothing differing from the middling rank of citizens; thereby giving a proof, at once, of his virtue and his wisdom, because nothing is more dangerous in a commonwealth, such as *Florence* was, than pomp and parade. The expences of *Cosmo* were laid out for the embellishments of his country, and begot no envy, because all his fellow-citizens partook of them. He declined ostentation, even in his family-settlements. He matched his two sons, *John* and *Peter*, into families of reputable citizens; and he married his grand-daughters in the same manner. *Cosmo*, however, with all that simplicity of life, had towering bold notions of his country's dignity and interest. His intelligence was beyond that of any prince, and there scarcely was a court in *Europe* where he did not entertain a private agent. By this means, he always had it in his power to disappoint, perplex, and confound the intrigues of his country's enemies. His long continuance in power, for thirty-one years, is a proof of his great abilities; and his so often disappointing and countermining the formidable confederacies and leagues which brought *Florence*, more than once, apparently to the brink of destruction, gives us the highest idea of his dexterity and management in the greatest undertakings. According to *Machiavel*², his wealth and credit were so extensive, that he forced the *Venetians*, the duke of *Milan*, and the king of *Naples*, into his own terms, merely by distressing them for money. After being recalled to his country, the short exile he suffered served to make him appear with the greater lustre, and to establish his influence in the commonwealth, whose

² *Machiavel*, book vii.

domi-

dominions he increased, by adding to them *Borgo di Sepolcro*, *Monteluglio*, *Casentino*, and *Valdibagna*. The former part of his life, to his fortieth year, was tumultuous, and may be said to have been unfortunate, being sometimes obliged to save his life by flying in disguise from his enemies. But the noble spirit he shewed in making all his friends partakers of his riches and good fortune, at last fixed his felicity. His presence is said to have been venerable, though his stature was mean; and, by the pictures we have of him, his features were strong

His love of learning, and harsh. He is not celebrated for learning, though he was the greatest patron of learned men of his age. By his own purse, he hired several learned Greeks to reside in *Florence*, and thereby revived the study of that tongue, and consequently of those arts that have rendered *Italy*, and that city in particular, so celebrated ever since his time. He entertained the famous *Marsilius Ficinus* about his own person, and assigned him apartments near his own palace of *Coreggio*, that he might study with the more freedom and convenience. He has been reproached with implacability towards his enemies, and for having driven a great many of his fellow-citizens into exile; but it is easy to clear him from that charge, by considering the nature of parties in *Florence*, which left *Cosmo* no choice between the destruction of his enemies or his country. He never was known to regret but two things. First, that he had not done all the good he wished to do to mankind. Secondly, that he had not sufficiently aggrandized his country. Notwithstanding his many religious endowments, *Cosmo* was no bigot; for one of his usual sayings was, That a commonwealth was not to be defended by beads in men's hands. Towards the end of his life, some family misfortunes are said to have given him uneasiness; and he was ashamed of having been duped by *Sforza*, duke of *Milan*. But all reproaches on his memory are wiped off by the unanimous consent of his fellow-citizens, who inscribed his tomb with the title of "Father of his Country."

and patriotism.

S E C T. VIII.

Containing the History of Peter de Medici's Administration. The Venetians invade Tuscany; a Peace; Peter succeeded by his two Sons; their joint History; Conspiracy against them; Julio de Medici murdered. History of Florence under Lorenzo de Medici, and his Son Peter, who is ruined. New Model of the Florentine Government.

LEWIS XI. of France was at this time so employed in ^{State of} Italy: civil wars against his own nobility, that he could give little or no assistance to the duke of *Anjou*, in his claim either upon *Genoa*, or upon *Naples*. He therefore endeavoured to gain the friendship both of *Sforza* and *Ferdinand*, by suffering the latter to remain unmolested in his kingdom, and by enabling the former to become master of *Genoa*, which was the great object of his ambition. *Sforza* succeeded in this attempt, and sent his son *Galeazzo* at the head of fifteen hundred horse to the assistance of *Lewis*. The alliance between *Ferdinand* and *Sforza* was productive of great revolutions in Italy. *Jacob Picinino* was still formidable, though he had no territory. The reputation of his family, and his own valour and courage, had attached many to his service; and neither *Sforza* nor *Ferdinand* thought themselves in safety, while he continued in a state of independence on both, and yet always ready to hire himself to the best paymaster. *Ferdinand*, therefore, having compromised matters with his great nobility, and ruined the duke of *Anjou*'s party in *Naples*, endeavoured to make them sensible of his and their danger from *Picinino*, who, being without dominions, and at the head of the old *Brachian* army, the irreconcileable enemies of *Naples*, would not fail to acquire territorial possessions at their expence. *Picinino*, whose troops lay at *Sulmona*, foresaw or understood his danger; and not suspecting the secret connections that had been formed between *Ferdinand* and *Sforza*, he offered his service to the latter, and threw himself into *Milan* with no more than one hundred horse. *Sforza* received him with the greatest demonstrations of friendship, and *Picinino* was even married to his natural daughter. *Sforza*, however, could not without jealousy behold a soldier of fortune so popular, and so respected all over the *Milanese*, as *Picinino* was; and, under pretence of serving him, he undertook to reconcile him

Picinino
put to
death.

An ineffect-
ual crus-
ade.

with *Ferdinand*, who actually took *Picinino* into his pay; and gave him one hundred thousand florins in advance. But after *Picinino*, with his wife and the *Milanese* ambassador, repaired to *Florence*, he and his son were decoyed by *Ferdinand* into the castle of *Naples*, and there put to death.

FLORENCE, and all *Italy*, was at this time in peace, through the indefatigable pains of pope *Pius II.* in promoting a crusade against the infidels. *Matthew* king of *Hungary*, and *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*, were by his holiness declared generals of the armaments that were to be employed in this expedition; the *Venetians* having promised the shipping that was necessary for transporting the troops to *Sclavonia*, and *Ancona* was appointed to be the place of general rendezvous, and the pope accordingly repaired to that city. The resort of people thither was prodigious; but the whole proved to be a rope of sand. No arms had been provided, no magazines had been erected, and no money raised for the troops; so that the great numbers assembled in or near *Ancona*, served only to create a famine. The king of *Hungary* and the duke of *Burgundy* neglected to appear at the rendezvous; and the *Venetians* sent only a few gallies, to make a shew of having kept their word. Those disappointments, and his own advanced age, being now sixty-four, threw the pope into a chagrin, which proved mortal in the year 1464; and he was succeeded by *Barbo*, a *Venetian*; who took the name of *Paul II.* Soon after died *Sforza*, duke of *Milan*, and he was succeeded by his son *Galeazzo*.

Peter of
Medici be-
trayed.

THOSE events produced great alterations in *Florence*. The expedition against the *Turks* was dropt at the death of pope *Pius*; and the death of *Sforza* dissolved the union, in which the dread of his power had confirmed the *Florentines*. To add to the public distractions, *Peter de Medici*, son and successor to the great *Cosmo*, was far inferior to his father in abilities, though he was a well meaning man, and might have made a great figure in another station. *Diotisalvi Neroni* had been the intimate companion and counsellor of *Cosmo de Medici*, who, upon his death-bed, recommended him in the same capacity to his son *Peter*. The latter, in strict obedience to his father's will, admitted *Diotisalvi* into his most private councils, and consulted him not only upon the management of the commonwealth, but upon his family affairs, which, it seems, then stood in need of economy. As *Peter* was possessed of a great estate, he ordered his stewards, and all he had concerns with, to send in their accounts to *Diotisalvi*, on whom he relied so implicitly, that he looked very little into his own affairs. This gave the other a hint, that it might

be easy to supplant *Peter* in his authority and power ; and, after pretending to have examined the accounts laid before him, he told *Peter*, that the ready money he was in possession of was not sufficient for supporting his figure, and maintaining his credit in the state, without calling in his father's debts. *Peter* inadvertently followed this plausible advice, and *Cosmo's* debtors were accordingly required to pay what they owed to his estate. This had not been foreseen or expected ; and as there scarcely was a family or man of note in *Florence* to whom *Cosmo* had not lent money, *Peter*, by his demands, acquired a vast number of enemies, who upbraided him for deviating from his father's principles, and for oppressing his fellow-citizens by his avarice.

WHEN the reader reflects, that the power of the *Medici* *Reflection* in *Florence* was rather personal than constitutional, and that it ^{upon his} rested in a great measure upon private attachments to the ^{power.} family, he will not be surprised at the effect of so general a clamour, which was increased by the then state of parties in the republic. *Luca Pitti*, whom we have already mentioned, continued still to be possessed of great power in the state ; but *Diotisalvi* knew, that, now *Cosmo* was dead, his abilities would appear insufficient for supporting his ambition, which was to succeed *Cosmo* in the entire direction of affairs. *Agnolo Acciaioli* and *Nicolo Soderini* were two other citizens of great weight and authority, but both of them secret enemies to the house of *Medici*. *Soderini* thought their power was unconstitutional, and inconsistent with public liberty. The enmity of *Acciaioli* was personal, and arose from the following grounds. His son *Rafael* had married *Alessandra*, of the *Bardi* family, with a large fortune ; but family-discontents arising, one of her friends, by force of arms, took her from her husband and his family, who complained of this violence ; and the matter was referred to the decision of *Cosmo de Medici*. His sentence was, That the lady's fortune should be restored to her and her family, and that she should be entirely at her own disposal. *Acciaioli* resented this determination, and resolved to be revenged on *Peter*, though he could not upon *Cosmo*. All those citizens disguised their private sentiments under plausible pretexts. They exclaimed against the monopoly of power in one family ; and that it was necessary to *He grows* restore the constitution to its first principles, by restoring the *unpopular* magistrates to their regular functions in the government. The numerous bankruptcies, which happened by *Peter's* demands, soon increased this spirit of discontent, which was crowned by a treaty of marriage entered into by *Peter* between his son *Lorenzo* and a *Roman* lady of the noble family of *Orsi*.

ni. This match corresponded so little with his father's principles, that *Peter* was publicly reviled as being ambitious and arrogant, in not marrying his son into a *Florentine* family.

Public exhibitions. NOTWITHSTANDING all those murmurings and discontents, the *Medici* family had still a vast sway in *Florence*; and, *Cosmo* being now dead a year, it was thought proper to exhibit some public shews, that might divert the minds of the people from state-affairs. The *Florentines* were excessively fond of such exhibitions; one of which represented the three kings of the East, following the star of our Saviour's nativity to *Bethlehem*, and was performed with such pomp and magnificence as employed all *Florence* five months in preparing it. This exhibition was succeeded by justs and tournaments, in which the *Florentine* youth challenged those of all *Italy*; but *Lorenzo de Medici*, the eldest son of *Peter*, bore the praise of address and valour from them all.

Peter takes part with the duke of Milan. THOSE shews being over, the public discontents revived. The authority of the *balia* was near expired; and a great party was for discontinuing it, and putting the government upon its ancient foundation. But other difficulties now occurred.

Galeazzo, the young duke of *Milan*, demanded that the subsidy paid by the *Florentines* to his father should be continued to him. This was strongly opposed by a great party, who thought that *Galeazzo* did not deserve the same consideration his father had done; and that the payment of the subsidy ought to cease at the latter's death. *Peter de Medici* was of a very different opinion. He reproached the other party with avarice, and an ill-timed frugality; and urged, that the liberty of *Florence* must be ruined by the *Venetians*, if she should separate herself from the duke of *Milan*, whose youth and inexperience would render him an easy prey to that republic. The people, in general, did not relish *Peter's* reasoning; and his enemies now held private meetings, and subscribed to associations for his ruin. But when they came to deliberate upon particulars, *Peter's* enemies could agree in nothing. The wisest and most public-spirited part of them were for immediately putting an end to the power of the *balia*, and for restoring the old form of government. They urged, that this must ruin *Peter's* power, without doing any injury to the peace of the public; and that any violent methods would give him great advantages, by affording him a specious pretext for arming himself and his party. They who were of the opposite opinion urged the danger of delays, and the folly of suffering *Peter* to live in a city where his interest was so powerful, and where he might make a bad use of it; and that the other opinion was more plausible than practicable.

They

They added, that they never could have so favourable an opportunity, as then presented itself, for *Peter's* ruin; and that they ought immediately to take the marquis of *Ferrara* into their pay, to put themselves in arms, and to call a senate which should finish the work. One *Nicolo Fidino*, who was *Conspiracy* *against* *Peter's* enemies, suffered himself *to be corrupted*; and he made a full discovery to *Peter* of all *Peter's* *enemies*, with their debates and practices against him. He *covered*. was startled at seeing the power and numbers of his enemies, and had recourse to a counter-association, in which he succeeded so well, that he prevailed with great numbers to subscribe for him, though they had subscribed against him before.

THE time for the choice of a new magistracy being now *He retains* arrived, *Nicolo Soderini*, whom we have already mentioned, *his power*, was chosen gonfalonier, with such unanimity and applause of his fellow-citizens, that he was crowned with an olive-garland, upon his exaltation to that dignity, as a sign they depended on him for restoring peace and liberty to the state. *Nicolo* had good intentions, and was bold and spirited; but his brother *Thomas* was a wiser man, and a determined friend to the house of *Medici*. He advised *Nicolo* to persevere in his design of restoring the old constitution of government, of making new imbursements, and establishing a set of magistrates who should be at once friends to the peace and the liberties of their country. *Nicolo* attempted all this; but found it impracticable to be executed, through the opposition it met with from the violent party. The time of his magistracy therefore expired, without his doing any thing answerable to the high idea conceived of him. This inefficacy gave great advantages to *Peter*, whose party was now more united and strengthened than ever; and his enemies found it adviseable to temporize for some months. Finding, however, that they lost ground every day, they resolved to make use of force, to kill *Peter*, who then lay sick at his house at *Coreggio*, and to invite the marquis of *Ferrara* with his troops to their assistance. They then resolved to rush armed into the senate-house, and to oblige the members to come into their measures, by establishing such a magistracy as they should prescribe. *Diotisalvi* had a great hand in those resolutions; but dissembled so well, that he every day attended *Peter*, and gave him his advice, relating to public affairs, seemingly with great sincerity.

PETER had early and certain intelligence of all his *and takes* enemies designs, and resolved to be beforehand with them. *arms*. Summoning his friends, he put himself and them in arms; and declared, that he had received a letter from *Giovanni Ben-*

zivoglio of Bologna, informing him, that the marquis of *Ferrara* was in full march, at the head of an army, against *Florence*. He then set out for that city, and, without his enemies suspecting his design, entered it. They immediately ran to arms likewise; but were inferior, both in numbers and appearance, to *Peter's* friends. *Diotisalvi*, in consternation, ran about, sometimes persuading the senators, and sometimes *Pitti*, to oblige *Peter* to lay down his arms. *Nicolo Soderini* put himself at the head of the common people of that quarter of the town where he lived, and repaired to *Pitti*, whom he strenuously exhorted to appear on horseback against *Peter*, and to encourage the senators to oppose him. But *Pitti*, who had been before this time brought over to the party of the *Medici*, was so far from following *Soderini's* advice, that he obliged him to return to his house, declaring, that his intention was to refer all matters in dispute to the senate, and that every man should lay aside his arms. This declaration of *Pitti* was of great service to *Peter*; and many, who had been the most forward against him, now appeared on his side. The senators still continued to be shut up in the palace, without coming to any determination; but an accommodation was now set on foot, and it was resolved, that a deputation should be sent to *Peter*, who remained indisposed at his house, to complain of the tumults in the city, which had been begun by his taking arms, and to know his meaning and reasons for *His enemies* so doing. *Peter's* answer was, that he had been constrained baffled, by the injustice of his enemies, and by their secret unwarrantable cabals against his life and dignity, to put himself in arms; that he had remained, ever since his re-entering *Florence*, upon the defensive, without stirring from his own house; that his enemies were mistaken, if they imagined he had any intention of reviving the power of the *balia*, or of depriving the magistrates of their authority; that neither he nor his father had ever had such intentions; and that it was not owing to them that the powers of the *balia* were continued. He then reproached them with ingratitude to *Cosimo*, and the family of the *Medici*; and with their not thinking themselves safe to live in the same city with him, who was the son of their greatest benefactor. He next addressed himself, in a more particular manner, to *Diotisalvi*, and others, who lay under the greatest obligations to his father and his family, in so spirited a manner, that it was with difficulty he restrained his friends from putting them to death. He concluded by declaring, that all he meant was to live in peace and security, and that he was ready to refer all matters in dispute to the senate.

THE heads of the opposite party, however, were far from *and be-*
trusting to Peter's professions. Nicolo Soderini, after com-*nished.*
mitting the care of his family to his brother, retired to his
house in the country; and it was easy to see that the city was
upon the eve of a new revolution. Bernardo Lotti, one of
Peter's adversaries, was then gonfalonier; but upon the ex-
piration of the time of his magistracy, he was succeeded, in
1464, by Roberto Lioni, who no sooner entered upon his office
than he summoned the people, and created a new *balia* and
magistracy, composed of Peter's friends.

UPON this, Agnolo Acciaioli fled to Naples; Diotisalvi, and *Fall of*
Nicolo Soderini, to Venice; Giovanni Neroni, archbishop of Pitti.
Florence, took refuge in Rome: and thus the whole faction,
that had opposed the house of *Medici*, were dissipated and at-
tainted; for all who fled were declared rebels. Those who
had the courage to stay were put under confinement, and
some were even put to death, while others underwent the
rack. Luca Pitti, relying upon the connections he had formed
with Peter de *Medici*, had the courage to remain in *Florence*,
but fell from the height of popularity into the most abject con-
tempt: all his friends were either ruined themselves, or had
abandoned him, and none ventured to take any public notice
of him. A stop was put to the magnificent edifices he had
begun, and many now demanded restitution of the presents
they had made him for carrying them on.

THE exiled *Florentines*, as usual, formed cabals and con- *Intrigues of*
spiracies for restoring themselves to their country. But *Ag-* *the exiles.*
nolo Acciaioli, before he entered upon any practices of that
kind, sent an apology for his conduct in a letter to Peter;
putting him in mind of his fidelity and sufferings for the house
of *Medici*, and for *Cosmo* in particular. He declared at the
same time, that he had no motive for opposing Peter, but the
service of his country, which he was afraid might suffer, if
Peter, who was in a bad state of health, should die. Peter
answered this letter in a very sarcastical manner, and put *Acciaioli* in mind of the great rewards he had received for his
services to his father; and concluded with the following ex-
pression, " If you have been rewarded for your merits, it is
" but just you should be punished for your offences. You
" never can plead the love of your country as an excuse, as
" it is well known that the family of *Medici* have been as
" good friends as ever that of *Acciaioli* were to *Florence*.
" Live therefore where you are in disgrace, as you knew not
" how to live here with honour."

THIS remarkable letter breathes the spirit of those times,
and shews the rancour of the two factions against one
another.

another. *Acciavoli*, finding his application defeated, went to *Rome*, where many of the other exiles resided, and did all they could to blast the credit of the house of *Medici* there; but to no purpose. *Diotisalvi* and *Nicolo Soderini*, on the other hand, applied to *Giovanni Francisco* of *Ferrara*, the son of *Palla Strozzi*, who had been banished from *Florence* in 1438, and brought him to join with them in soliciting the doge and senate of *Venice*, in assisting them to drive the *Medicean* faction out of *Florence*. They put the *Venetians* in mind, that all the losses they had sustained in *Lombardy* were owing to *Cosmo de Medici*; and they represented *Peter* and his party as a treacherous bloody set of men, who had usurped the government of their country, and had banished, or put to death, her best friends and patriots; and they concluded with imploring the compassion of a state which enjoyed its liberty, in favour of one that was enslaved. Those arguments were so well received by the *Venetians*, that they ordered their general *Bartolomeo Cagni* to invade the *Florentine* territories, and to join his troops with those of the duke of *Ferrara*, under *Ercol d'Este*.

and invade Tuscany. IT appears that the *Florentines* did not expect this invasion. *Peter de Medici*, and his friends, had celebrated days of solemn thanksgiving for the preservation of the state, and the re-union of their government; but they had taken no measures for warding off the blow that now fell upon them. The combined army having entered the *Florentine* territories, committed great ravages, and the *Florentines* applied for assistance to the king of *Naples*, and the duke of *Milan*, appointing the count of *Urbino* at the same time their general. *Ferdinand* readily promised them his assistance, and sent them some troops under the command of his son *Alphonso*; but *Galeazzo* came in person to their relief. We are however to understand, that the *Florentines* were to pay for their succours, and had advanced great sums for that purpose. The rendezvous of their army was appointed to be at *Castracuzo*, a *Florentine* town between *Tuscany* and the *Romagna*; but before the armies could be assembled, the *Venetians* and their allies had retreated to *Imola*, with little or no loss. This created great discontents amongst the *Florentines*, who loudly accused their field-deputies, or council of war, with mismanagement, and blamed them with having squandered the public money to no purpose. It soon appeared that the fault lay in *Galeazzo*, a young unexperienced prince, and without any talents for war. A few inconsiderable skirmishes however ensued, and the *Florentine* council of war declared, that they could expect no success while *Galeazzo*

Discontents at Florence.

so commanded. Upon this deputies were sent to persuade him to return to *Milan*, on pretence that if he should come to any misfortune in the field, his person was of so great consequence to the common cause, that their state must be ruined. They represented at the same time, that having but lately succeeded to his dukedom, his presence might be necessary in his own dominions. An application so seemingly respectful, prevailed on *Galeazzo* to return immediately to *Milan*.

THIS obstacle being removed, the *Florentines* and their *allies* took the field, and one of those ridiculous battles, *able battle*, which was so common in those days, was fought: for though it lasted for half a day, no person was killed on either side, and neither gained the least advantage; only a few horses being wounded, and some prisoners made.

THIS battle, however, though it may be said to have *A peace* been bloodless, was decisive. Winter coming on, the *Venetian* general was obliged to retire to *Ravenna*. The *Milanese* and the *Neapolitans* returned to their several countries, and the *Florentines* to *Tuscany*. The *Florentine* exiles, animated by resentment and despair, would have kept the field; but their followers beginning to clamour for money, they were obliged to disperse. *Diotisalvi* took refuge in *Ferrara*, where he met with a kind reception from that duke. *Nicolo Acciaiolo* fled to *Ravenna*, where the *Venetians* settled a pension upon him, and he there died in old age. Unsteadiness and want of resolution occasioned his misfortunes; but he had the reputation of being brave and honest. The *Venetians* now found that the *Florentine* exiles had been too sanguine in their expectations of an insurrection in that city; and seeing that they were no longer to be depended upon, began to listen to an accommodation, which was concluded with little or no difficulty. The *Florentines* might now have lived quiet, had not the remains of faction still been alive amongst them. To complete the public misfortunes, *Peter de Medici*, though not much above fifty years of age, was so infirm and feeble, that he could not stir abroad, and was ignorant of the intrigues and heart-burnings that prevailed amongst his fellow citizens, who seemed to make use of the peace they had acquired abroad, only that they might prosecute their dissents more furiously at home. Many of the wisest and most virtuous amongst them, had behaved with moderation during the late troubles, and all such were branded by the violent as being friends to the exiles and the outed faction. *Bardo Altoviti*, who was then the gonfalonier of justice, increased the disorders of the public by displacing from their office many citizens, and banishing others.

Peter de
Medici
checks the
Floren-
tines of his
party.

At last the oppression, pride, and tyranny of those in power, came to Peter's ears; but being confined to his bed, he could apply no other remedy but earnest exhortations for unanimity, and remonstrances upon the danger of their enemies returning and driving them out of the city. To give some amusement at the same time to their restless spirits, the marriage of his son *Lorenzo* with *Clarice of Orfani*, was now celebrated with all the profusion of pomp and magnificence which Peter's great wealth could furnish, and the fertile genius of the *Florentines* invent. After many luxurious days, the representation of a battle on horseback, and the storming of a town, were exhibited and conducted with the utmost decorum and address. Those amusements diverted the public for some time; but the spirit of faction recurred with such violence, that Peter, whose infirmities every day increased, found himself under the necessity of altering the whole system of his conduct. For this purpose he called before him the chief *Florentines*: he bitterly reproached them for their ambition, their rapaciousness, their having monopolized to themselves the revenues of the public, the estates of their exiles, with all the honours and dignities in the city; and not contented even with that, had exercised their power with injustice and cruelty over the innocent, by their violence and venality. He concluded his speech by solemnly assuring them, that unless they amended their behaviour, he should repent of his successes, and find means to make them repent the abuse of their power.

His de-
signs,

death,

IT appears from this speech, that the spirit and intellects of Peter were still vigorous, and his name was so much respected, that they to whom it was addressed returned him a respectful answer. In a few days, however, they relapsed into all their former disorders, and Peter privately invited *Acciaioli* to come to his house at *Caffagivolo*, to consult with him about the reformation of the state; and according to *Machiavel*^a, they had resolved to recal all the exiles, and to repress the fury of the factious citizens, when Peter de Medici died, in the fifty-third year of his age.

and reflec- WHEN a great family or man is illustrious for private vir-
tions on his tues, their public conduct often meets with applause that it
character. does not deserve. Nothing seems to be more certain, than
that the fundamental constitution of *Florence* had been more
than once subverted by the two last heads of the house of
Medici, and that Peter particularly had been too inflexible
and vindictive against some of the greatest and worthiest of

^a MACHIAVEL, book vii.

the *Florentines*. He saw his error when it was too late to mend it; and he would gladly have reinstated in their country the very men whom he had but some years before so ignominiously spurned out of it. In other respects, *Peter* seems to have been no unworthy descendant of his race. In his person he appears to have been brave and resolute. The unpopularity into which he fell at one part of his life, proceeded from his trusting too much to his father's friends; and to this he was partly obliged, by his not being able, thro' his infirmities, to look into his own affairs in person. He certainly wished as well to his country as the violence of the factions formed against him gave him leave; and he had the art, when her original constitution was restored, still to retain his influence and authority in the state. He was buried near his father in the church of *St. Lawrence* with vast pomp.

SEVERAL other deaths of great consequence happened in *Italy* at the same time, particularly those of *Borso d'Este*, marquis of *Ferrara*, who was succeeded by his son *Hercules*, and of *Gismond* of *Rimini*, whose son and successor was *Robert*. The next death of consequence was that of pope *Paul II.* which happened in 1471. He was succeeded by *Sixtus IV.* one of the most enterprising pontiffs that had ever mounted the papal throne, and likewise one of the most successful, though a man of no family, and of as little virtue: he owed his advancement to hypocrisy, and the appearance of sanctity. He had two sons, *Peter* and *Girolamo*, whom he called his nephews: he made the former a cardinal, an order which now appeared in its greatest lustre: he stripped *Antonio Ordelaff* of the city of *Forli*, which his family had possessed many years, and gave it to *Girolamo*, who likewise received the city of *Imola* in dower with his wife *Catharine*, natural daughter to the duke of *Milan*. In short, the lustre and power of the popedom never had been so high as now; and it was owing to a cause that naturally ought to have contributed to diminish both, I mean the growing power of the infidels, who were now masters of *Negroponte*. The consternation this occasioned in *Europe*, but more particularly in *Italy*, united the Christian princes amongst themselves; and all turned their eyes towards the pope, for stopping the progress of the infidels, which could only be done by his bulls and exhortations. Neither *Paul II.* nor *Sixtus IV.* had any such intention; but they were of great use to princes who wanted to raise armies, and maintain them cheap, under pretence of crusades; for after that pretence was dropt, the pope generally gave those princes who favoured them most, an indulgence or power to apply in their own private purposes what

A. D.
1471.
Deaths of
other
princes.

number of troops so raised they pleased. Thus most of the Christian potentates, about this time, found their account in paying a most slavish submission to the see of *Rome*, which the popes, especially the *Italians*, well knew how to improve to the utmost.

Peter suc-
ceeded by
his two
sons.

PETER de Medici left two sons, *Lorenzo* and *Giulian*, both of them, particularly the eldest, of great hopes, but as yet too young for taking into their own hands the reins of government. Not only the people of *Florence* therefore, but most of the princes of *Italy*, turned their eyes upon *Thomas Soderini*, who was then the leading man in *Florence*, and as such paid him their compliments; but *Thomas* gave on that occasion a noble and disinterested proof of the attachment he had always professed to the family of *Medici*: He did not even deign to answer the letters of felicitation which the *Italian* princes sent to him; and he took all occasions to recommend the sons of *Peter de Medici* to his fellow-citizens, as the proper objects of their love and regard. At last, that he might confirm them in their interests, he summoned the heads of all the *Florentine* nobility to the convent of *S. Antoni*, and presented to them the two young noblemen; requesting them to maintain them in the full possession of the honour and authority of their house, as being the surest means of consulting the tranquillity and independency of *Florence*; adding, that every other power set up in the state, than that of the *Medici* family, must be tumultuous and short-lived. *Thomas* having finished his speech, *Lorenzo*, the eldest brother, addressed the assembly in so manly, yet moving a manner, as to convince them that he would one day become an honour and ornament to his country; insomuch that all present before the assembly broke up, swore solemnly to stand by *Lorenzo* and his brother, as if they were their own children; while the two brothers promised to obey the nobility present as their fathers; and from thenceforth those young men were looked upon as the princes, or leading persons of the city, and they were so wise as to be directed by *Thomas Soderini*.

Fidelity of
Soderini
to them.

Conspiracy
against
Prato,

WHILE every thing was thus quiet in *Florence*, a dangerous conspiracy broke out in its territory. The two heads of the family of *Nardi* had, during the late commotions, been first banished, and then declared rebels; their names were *Silvester* and *Bernardo*. The latter being poor, head-strong, and resolute, consulted how he might raise a war in *Tuscany*, that might weaken and divide his countrymen. Having many acquaintances amongst the *Pistoians*, a people remarkably turbulent and warlike, especially in the family of *Palandri*, who had a great estate in the country of *Pistoia*, he consulted with

with them how he could surprise *Prato*, another city and district belonging to the *Florentines*. He was encouraged in his design by the discontents which appeared against the *Florentine* magistrates in *Pistoia*, and likewise in *Prato*; and he opened his mind upon the subject to *Diotisalvi*, to know his opinion, whether he was to expect support from other states and princes if he should succeed in surprising *Prato*? *Diotisalvi* thought the attempt was both hazardous and improbable; but glad of every opportunity to be revenged upon his countrymen, he dissembled his sentiments, and undertook to engage both the *Ferrarese* and the *Bolognese* to send assistance to *Bernardo*, if he could surprise *Prato*, and maintain possession of it fifteen days. Upon this assurance, *Bernardo* secretly renewed his application to the *Palandri* family, who promised to back him; and repairing privately to *Prato*, he formed a small party of the discontented, who engaged to favour his admission into the town. As the force with which *Bernardo* proposed to execute this enterprize was very disproportioned to its importance and danger, he proceeded by stratagem: he knew that in time of peace the governors of the towns in *Tuscany* are not very scrupulous of admitting the inhabitants by night; and it was agreed between him and his party in *Prato*, that they should be in arms by a certain hour, to favour his entrance, when he should present himself before the town, and *Diotisalvi* was punctually informed of all that passed.

ALL the force that *Bernardo* could collect, consisted of which is about one hundred horse, and being exact to his time, one of defeated, his party within the place applied to *Cesar Petrucci*, the *Florentine* governor, for the keys of the gates to admit a citizen, and *Petrucci* readily sent them by one of his own servants, whom the conspirators secured before he reached the gate, and forcing the keys from him, they admitted *Bernardo* and his attendants into the town, where he was joined by the other conspirators. They then divided themselves into two parties; one of them headed by *Silvester*, a *Pratonese*, who surprised the citadel, and the other by *Bernardo*, who took possession of the palace, and made *Petrucci* and his family prisoners. After this they ran through the town and proclaimed liberty; but no sooner did day break, than the inhabitants, rather amazed at than favouring the revolution, assembled in the market-place without joining *Bernardo*. The administration of the civil government of *Prato* was held under the *Florentines* by eight of the citizens, who immediately met in their palace to deliberate how to behave. By this time *Bernardo* and his party, after traversing the town, found

found that they had been joined by few or none of the inhabitants; and therefore, as his last tentative, he demanded to be admitted to a conference with the eight magistrates. This being granted, he declared, that he wanted to rescue them from slavery, and to restore them to their ancient liberties: he expatiated upon the glory that would attend their joining him: he laid before them the certainty of being succoured, if they would hold out the place but for a few days; and he assured them, that they would be supported by a strong party in *Florence*, who were ready to declare for them as soon as they heard that the townsmen joined him.

THE magistrates answered with great steadiness, that the *Florentine* government had always been such, as to give them no reason for revolting from it; they therefore thought that his best course would be to abandon his desperate enterprize, to release the podesta and his family, and to leave the town. *Bernardo* was so far from following this advice, that he gave immediate orders for bringing forth the podesta, and hanging him before the windows of the palace. This inhuman command was on the point of being executed. The podesta appeared at the window with the halter about his neck, but before he was turned off, addressing himself to *Bernardo*, he put him in mind of his folly in ordering him to be hanged, by assuring him, that his murder would render the *Pratones* his irreconcileable enemies; and that if he granted him his life, he had a chance of accomplishing his design, because he (the podesta) would be then able to do him service.

THIS artful speech saved the podesta's life. *Bernardo* thought he could not do better than to take his advice; and after obliging him to harangue the people in favour of the conspiracy, he re-committed him to prison. By this time the inhabitants, having recovered from their consternation, and seeing what a despicable handful followed *Bernardo*, they began to look upon the conspiracy rather as ridiculous than dangerous; and the *Florentines*, who then lived at *Prato*, with the best affected citizens, putting themselves under the command of *Georgio Ginori*, a knight of *Rhodes*, attacked *Bernardo* as he was haranguing the people in the market-place, wounded and took him prisoner, released the podesta, and either killed or took prisoners the rest of the conspirators. *Florence* was filled with most dismal relations of this conspiracy, which represented the place to be taken, the podesta and his family to be put to death, the *Pistoians* all in arms, and many of the *Florentines* themselves to favour the revolt. The magistrates immediately ordered as many troops as the shortness of the time would permit to be got together, and gave

gave the command of them to *Robert de St. Severino*, who was reckoned to be a good officer, with orders to march directly towards *Prato*; but he soon had reason to return, by the news which met him from *Petrucci* on the road. When *Bernardo* was brought to *Florence*, being questioned by the *the chief magistrates* about the madness of his attempt, he excused it *conspirator* by saying, that he chose to die in *Florence* rather than live in exile, and that his latter end should be signalized by some memorable event.

It is observed by *Machiavel*^{*}, that the tranquility restored *Change in Florence* by the prudence and moderation of her government, and the defeat of the above ill-judged conspiracy, introduced an alteration of manners amongst the citizens. *Florence*. Their dres, their entertainments of all kinds, and their diversions, especially amongst the younger sort, were now extravagant. Their estates were lost by gaming, or spent upon women. New modes of speech and talking were invented, and a sarcastical turn of wit was introduced into conversation. The truth is, the cultivation of the polite arts, which flourished now more in *Florence* than in any part of the world, was, perhaps, of no service to the morals of its inhabitants, whose estates could afford them the refinements and luxuries of life, especially at a time of profound tranquility and great opulence. But those abuses and innovations were greatly heightened by the arrival of the duke and duchess of *Milan* at *Florence*, under pretence of performing a vow of devotion. They were attended by their whole court, which was very splendid; and their reception was equally so, the *Florentines* thinking they could not sufficiently express their gratitude for so good an ally, and their regard for so great a prince. The *Milanese* courtiers, however, though *Italians*, were of a very different cast from those of the rest of *Europe*; for, tho' it was *Lent* time, and tho' they were in the very neighbourhood of the holy see, they would taste nothing but flesh and animal food of all kinds. Public exhibitions were now renewed, for the entertainment of the illustrious guests; and the church of *St. Spirito* was burnt down, in representing in it the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the disciples; so that when the court of *Milan* left *Florence*, those extravagancies had proceeded to such a height, that a sumptuary law was passed, by the interest of the more wise and considerate citizens, for restraining such expences in time to come; and this law extended not only to apparel and entertainments, but to funeral expences.

^{*} *Ibid. book viii.*

War with Volterra. As *Lorenzo de Medici* advanced in years, he found himself more and more uneasy under the tutelage of *Soderini*, and began to listen to those who advised him to throw it off. A difference that happened at this time between the *Florentines* and the *Volterrani*, served to widen the breach. A mine of allum was discovered by certain private citizens of *Volterra*, who applied to those of *Florence* for their assistance and protection in working the mine. The community of *Volterra* at first disregarded this undertaking; but, perceiving what profits arose from it, they claimed the mine as lying in grounds belonging to the public, and sent a deputation to *Florence* who made that demand. The matter was referred to a committee of citizens, who reported it as their opinion, that the claim of the *Volterrani* was unjust, and that as private persons had been at the trouble and expence of working the mine, it was their property, they paying only some acknowledgment to the community, because it lay in their grounds. This report threw the city of *Volterra* into a flame, the people insisting upon the mine being delivered up to them, and the proprietors urging the expences they had been at in working it, and the judgment of the *Florentines* in their favour. Those disputes produced tumults, in which a citizen of rank, one *Pecorino*, was killed, the houses of many of his party were sacked or burnt, and the lives of the *Florentine* magistrates, who resided there, were endangered. Those disorders produced another deputation from *Volterra* to *Florence*; and the deputies, by orders of their principals, declared, that the maintaining their citizens in their rights, was the price of their subjection to *Florence*.

THOMAS SODERINI and *Lorenzo de Medici* differed upon this occasion. The former was of opinion, that the *Volterrani* ought to be gratified, and that the flames of war, raised so near themselves, might reach *Florence*. He urged the restless ambition of the pope; his connections with the king of *Naples*, who was a powerful prince; and the uncertainty of *Florence* being supported by the *Venetians*, or the duke of *Milan*, as neither the good faith of the former, nor the courage of the latter, was to be depended on; and concluded with observing, that a lean peace was preferable to a fat victory. *Lorenzo de Medici*, on the other hand, urged, that if the insolence of the *Volterrani* went unpunished, all other states and places in subjection or dependence to *Florence*, would follow their example; and that they never would be without pretexts for so doing. *Lorenzo's* opinion prevailed; and the *Florentine* senate sent back the *Volterrani* deputies with this answer, that they must either submit to the terms prescribed

scribed them, or prepare for a war. The *Volterrani* chose the latter, and applied for assistance to the princes and states of *Italy*, who, all but the *Siennese* and the lord of *Piombino*, were deaf to their representations. All, therefore, the *Volterrani* could do, was to fortify their city, and to hire one thousand mercenaries for defending it.

In the mean while the *Florentines*, sensible how dangerous ^{which is} delays are in such cases, raised an army of ten thousand foot ^{sacked.} and two thousand horse, and gave the command of it to their general *Frederick*, lord of *Urbino*, who immediately reduced all the open country of *Volterra*, and laid siege to the city itself, which he battered with great violence on its most accessible side. Upon this the *Volterrani* mercenaries, in a manner, deserted the defence of the city; but were very forward in insulting the citizens, who made the best resistance they could; but were obliged to submit to the mercy of the *Florentines*. No capitulation having been made, the magistracy of *Volterra* was dissolved, and the city given up for a whole day to the plunder of the *Florentines*, who were joined by the soldiers who had been hired to defend it. The news of this success was received with great joy at *Florence*, and *Soderini* was insulted upon it by the friends of *Lorenzo de Medici*. The event, however, did not alter that wise man's opinion. He declared, that he looked upon the conquest of *Volterra* to be a loss rather than an acquisition to *Florence*, which might have been benefited by it, had it been taken by capitulation; but that, as it was taken by sack, it would, in time of war, be a thorn in the sides of the *Florentines*, and in time of peace a useless burden upon them.

THE ambition of pope *Sixtus* every day disclosed itself more ^{Ambition.} and more. His professed design was to re-annex to the ^{of the popes} church all the territories and places that ever had belonged to her; and with that view he had stormed *Spoletto*, and laid siege to *Citta di Castello*, then in possession of *Nicolo Vitelli*. This nobleman was the intimate friend of *Lorenzo de Medici*, who, upon his application to him, sent him some assistance; a proceeding which laid the foundation of many calamities to the house of *Medici*. The pope took the place, and sent his son *Peter*, whom he had created cardinal of *Sisfo*, to endeavour to form a league amongst the *Italian* princes against *Florence*. This cardinal, under all the disadvantages of birth and education, which was in a convent, had great abilities both for peace and war, and an equal share of ambition; so that his father employed him as his chief confident and first minister. Under pretence of doing honour to the nuptials of the marquis of *Ferrara*, he

*Parties.
and in-
trigues in
Italy.*

made a kind of a tour through *Lombardy*, and other parts of *Italy*, and particularly to *Venice*, which he wanted to engage in the league against the *Florentines*. But, by this time, both the *Venetians* and the duke of *Milan* were alarmed at the ambition, and the great progress of the pope, when served by such a counsellor and minister; and the former, it is said, secretly gave him poison, which, upon his return to *Rome*, put an end to his life. After this the *Florentines* joined in an alliance with the duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians*; but time was left for the pope and the king of *Naples* to accede to it. Another league was formed between the above three contracting powers, into which they invited the lesser states to enter, for maintaining the balance of power in *Italy*, which was endangered by a new dispute between the king of *Naples* and the *Venetians*. The former laid claim to the island of *Cyprus*, which the latter was in possession of; and the pope taking the king's part, all *Italy* was engaged in the quarrel. *Frederick of Urbino* still continued to head the *Florentine* army; and his reputation as a general was so high, that the pope and *Ferdinand* offered him very high terms to enter into their service. *Urbino* made some difficulty of this; but the pope prevailed upon him to undertake a journey to *Naples*, which the *Florentines* as strenuously endeavoured to dissuade him from, by putting him in mind of the fate of *Jacob Picinino*. *Frederick*, however, went to *Naples*, where he was received with a profusion of honours, and accepted of the proposed service, and thus became general of the league against the *Florentines*.

*New al-
liances.*

NOTWITHSTANDING those dispositions, and the dread or ambition of all the parties concerned in them, no war broke out in *Italy* for two years; but every thing was managed in the way of intrigue or negotiation. The *Florentines* took into their pay, as their general, *Robert of Rimini*, renewed their league with the *Perugians*, and entered into new connections with the government of *Faenza*. The pope and the king, on the other hand, strove all they could to detach the *Venetians* from the *Florentines*, as being the only means of maintaining the pope's late acquisitions to the church, and of preserving his son *Girolamo* in the possession of his estates in the *Romagna*.

CHARLES, the youngest son of the famous *Bracchio*, was still alive, and had, for some years, served in the *Venetian* armies. The time of his engagements being expired, he refused to renew them, and informed the *Venetians* that he designed to attempt to recover his right to *Perugia*, which was his inheritance from his father. The *Venetians* con-

sented

sented to this, notwithstanding the league between the *Perugians* and the *Florentines*. The latter so strenuously supported the former, that *Charles*, despairing of making any progress against them, turned his army against the *Siennese*. His pretext was, that they were debtors to his father, for services done their state; and he attacked them so furiously, as to put their government in great danger. The *Siennese*, upon this, from their natural inclination always to believe the worst of the *Florentines*, complained of them to the pope and the king of *Naples*, alledging, that all the misfortunes of *Sienna* were owing to the *Florentines* having persuaded *Charles* to attack them, instead of the *Perugians*. They sent deputies to *Florence* with the like complaints. The *Florentines* not only firmly denied the charge; but, to prove their innocence, ordered an embassy to be sent to *Charles*, requiring him to abandon his expedition against the *Siennese*, under pain of their displeasure. It is probable, that this embassy was more the effect of the fear of a confederacy against them, than of any regard they had for the *Siennese*: for though *Charles* was obliged to submit, yet he reproached the *Florentines* as cowards, and enemies to themselves; because, as he gave out, he intended to have delivered up the city of *Sienna*, which he was upon the point of taking, to the *Florentines*; a present we cannot well imagine he would have made them, but upon some previous contract. The *Siennese* were so much of that opinion, that they did not even thank the *Florentines* for their deliverance, though apparently it was owing to them. But an amazing revolution now happened in *Milan*, in the following manner.

G A L E A Z Z O duke of *Milan* was, according to some *Character* writers, the picture of one of the tyrants of antiquity. His love of money was the source of his misfortunes, as it led him to violate the honour of his greatest subjects, in the most tender point. He generally ruined those whom he injured; some of them he put to death, and others he deprived of their rights and possessions, that none of them might retain in their hands the means of resentment. At home he was despotic; abroad he was powerful in his relations and alliances; and the instruments of his tyranny being likewise the companions of his pleasures, no time was left him for reflection. His cruelty proceeded so far as to torture those whom he put to death; and it was even said, that he dispatched out of the world his own mother, because he thought her an obstacle to the perpetration of his crimes. Notwithstanding all this complicated guilt, *Galeazzo*, perhaps, might have reigned and died in peace, had he not openly gloried in his vices,

and murder
of the duke
of Milan.

and published to all the world the names of those whose beds he had dishonoured.

A SCHOOL-MASTER, a profession at that time exercised in *Italy* sometimes by the greatest ministers of state, and held in the highest esteem, became an instrument in delivering the world from this monster. His name was *Cola*, a native of *Mantua*, to whose lessons the noblest youths in *Milan* repaired. He was a man of learning; but had applied himself so much to reading, studying, and teaching the *Greek* and *Roman* classics, that he became an enthusiast in favour of republican government. The general topics on which he declaimed, was the unhappiness of being governed by a single man, whose subjects were his slaves and beasts of burden, and the glory of being born in a republic, where alone true merit and virtue met with protection, rewards, and honours; and he endeavoured to prove from history, that the greatest men of all ages were republicans. He had three noble pupils, *Giovanni Andrea Lampognano*, *Carlo Visconti*, and *Girolamo Olgiate*, whose brains were touched by his repeated declamations; and to them he opened himself without reserve, by acknowledging that he meant all he said should be applied to their sovereign the duke of *Milan*; and that the most glorious action human nature could perform, was to remove a tyrant out of the world. The noblemen were too young as yet to execute his doctrine, by assassinating their sovereign; but he obtained from them a promise that they would do it, and thereby deliver their country as soon as their strength and age would permit them. This resolution, instead of being weakened, was every day strengthened in them, by the growing vices and tyranny of the duke, and by the private injuries he inflicted upon their persons, particularly by his amours in the families of *Visconti* and *Olgiate*, and by keeping *Andrea* from the possession of the abbey of *Miramondo*, which had been given him by the pope, on the resignation of a kinsman. The design being thus fixed, the chief care of the conspirators was to make sure of their blow, rather than to guard against the consequences; but they were far from neglecting even those; for they vainly imagined that the moment the tyrant was dispatched, their countrymen would unanimously embrace their liberty. The frequent meetings they held, created no suspicions at the duke's court, where their ancient friendship and intimacy was well known. In those meetings they generally practised upon one another, with their daggers in their sheaths, the methods of giving the most mortal blows, and of stabbing the most vulnerable parts of the body. Being complete in this exercise, their next deliberation was

to fix on the spot of assassination, which they resolved should be when the duke went to *St. Stephen's* church in procession upon that saint's day. It does not appear that they opened their real design to any of their friends; but, as arms at this time were almost the only laws known to the *Italian* states, they found pretexts for persuading many of their companions to arm themselves, and their servants, and to attend them to *St. Stephen's* church on that day, where they proposed to pay their respects to the duke before they set out upon an expedition, which they pretended was to assist a friend, who had some differences with his neighbours in the country. They used other stratagems and pretexts for assembling, at the same place and time, all who they thought would join them when the blow was struck. Some prudential considerations likewise mingled in their plan. The *Milanese* at that time were afflicted with famine, and the conspirators proposed to give up the palaces of the most obnoxious of the duke's favourites, to be plundered by the people.

EARLY in the morning of *St. Stephen's* day, the three conspirators met in the church; and one of them, *Giovanni Andrea*, most devoutly prayed, after he had heard mass, before an image of *St. Ambrose*, the tutelar saint of *Milan*. They then took the stands they had pitched upon; and when the duke entered the church, *Lampognano* and *Olgiate* wounded him with their daggers, which were so short that they were concealed in their sleeves, in the throat, breast, and belly, as *Visconti* did in the back; so that he instantly expired with the words, "Oh Lady save me!" The bye-standers, far from rejoicing at the tyrant's death, revenged it by killing *Lampognano* and *Visconti*. *Olgiate* escaped, and for some time lurked about disguised like a friar; but being discovered, he suffered death, under exquisite tortures, though he was no more than twenty-three years of age, with incredible resolution, comforting himself by repeating, from the *Latin* classics, verses, and sentiments suiting to his attempt and fate. The assassination, however, was far from producing the effects the conspirators expected. Their cause was not backed by a single man, and the public seemed to have no sentiments but those of detestation for the murderers.

THE house of *Medici* was now, *viz.* in 1477, possessed of more power in *Florence* than it had ever been. Its branches and private alliances were numerous and well cemented, and *Lorenzo* seemed to possess the popular virtues of his ancestors. All the opposition which his father had met with contributed to *Lorenzo's* greatness; for they who secretly hated and envied him durst not oppose, because they well

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State of

knew that in republics, especially in that of *Florence*, there is no forgiveness amongst factions; and they had seen many instances of it in the differences between the *Medici* and their antagonists. This flourishing state of the house of *Medici* increased the aversion of the pope to it, and made him resolve, if possible, to ruin it. The archbishop of *Pisa*, who was of the *Medici* family, happening about this time to die, the pope nominated *Giacomo Salviati*, a professed and determined enemy of the house of *Medici*, to be his successor. The *Florentines* remonstrated strongly against this nomination; but finding all their efforts vain, they refused to suffer *Salviati* to take possession of his new dignity.

*Conspiracy
against it*

THE pope ascribing this obstinacy to the influence of the house of *Medici*, set up against it that of *Pazzi*, the second then in *Florence* for riches and authority. The head of this family was *Jacob Pazzi*, who had received signal honours from the people; and though he had no children of his own but a natural daughter, he had seven nephews, *William*, *Francis*, *Renate*, *John*, *Andrew*, *Nicholas*, and *Galeatto*. *Cosmo de Medici* had, from a sagacious foresight of the rivalship between the two houses, given his niece *Biancha* to *William Pazzi*, thereby hoping to cement the interest of the two families. But in proportion as that of *Pazzi* advanced in riches and popularity, *Lorenzo de Medici* grew the more jealous of their obtaining any share in the government; so that *Jacob Pazzi* and his nephews, notwithstanding their riches, remained no more than private, though illustrious, citizens of *Florence*. Their rank, however, gave them a right to be present at popular assemblies; but the magistrates who presided there, paid little or no regard to their opinions. They even went so far as to summon *Francis Pazzi*, who happened to reside some time at *Rome*, to repair to *Naples*; a proceeding which plainly shewed they either were jealous of his business at *Rome*, or that they wanted to affront the *Pazzi* family. *John Pazzi*, another of the nephews, having married the daughter and heiress of *Giovanni Borromeo*, a dispute at law happened between the daughter's husband and *Borromeo's* nephew, about the succession to the estate of *Borromeo*, who was now dead; and the cause was given in favour of the nephew by the judges, not quite agreeably to the principles of justice. The *Pazzi* had long been secretly exasperated against the *Medici*; but as there was no disguising that this iniquitous sentence was procured by their influence, the *Pazzi* lost all patience, and every where accused and reproached the *Medici* for their injustice and partiality against their family. This was looked upon by *Lorenzo* as an open attack upon his authority.

hility, and was far from producing any steps towards an accommodation. *Giulian de Medici*, who had less ambition, and more sentiments of justice, than his brother, often regretted the breach between the two families, and advised *Lorenzo* to moderate measures: but the latter, who, with all his judgment, was young and fiery, continued still to carry it with a high hand towards the *Pazzi*.

FRANCIS PAZZI, the most considerable of all the *ephews* for spirit, abilities, and wealth, was then a merchant, or rather a banker at *Rome*, where the vast estate he *Pazzi* acquired, introduced him to the company and intimacy of the principal personages in that city; and he lived in the strictest friendship with *Girolamo*, the pope's son or nephew. This gave him an opportunity of consulting about the ruin of the *Medici* family, which was equally obnoxious to *Girolamo* as to *Pazzi*, because the former, while their power subsisted, did not think himself secure in the possession of his estates. Nothing, however, but the deaths of *Lorenzo* and his brother could answer their purposes; and it was necessary to bring the pope and the king of *Naples* into their party. To succeed in this, they applied to *Salviati*, the archbishop of *Pisa*, who readily promised them his assistance. It was then determined, that *Francis* should repair to *Florence*, to bring *Jacob Pazzi* into their design, while the other two should remain at *Rome* to keep the pope steady in their party. *Francis* could make little interest with his uncle; and *Montefecco*, the pope's general, was applied to second him. *Montefecco* disliked the office; but, overpersuaded by the archbishop, he at last undertook it, and, under pretence of recovering to *Girolamo* certain towns near *Faenza*, he took *Florence* in his way. By this time the pope had fully approved of the horrid design of the assassination, and had ordered his general to further it to the best of his power. *Montefecco* behaved with great address; pretending business with *Lorenzo de Medici*, he was surprised at his affability and politeness; but, devoted to the pope his master, he at last, in conjunction with *Francis Pazzi*, prevailed on *Jacob* to consent to the conspiracy, provided it was backed by the pope's army. Nothing was now wanting but the consent of the king of *Naples*, which was soon obtained. The whole plot was carried on with such profound dissimulation, that the *Florentines* admitted the archbishop into their city; and thro' his interest, which was very powerful, the conspiracy was greatly strengthened by the accession of several young noblemen of great families and interest. The better to cover their designs, cardinal *Riario*, nephew to count *Girolamo*, came to *Florence*; where he hired a magnificent palace,

in which the chief conspirators were concealed and held their consultations. Many of their deliberations proved abortive, from various causes; but at last they resolved, that the two brothers *de Medici* should be assassinated in the church of *St. Raporata*. *Giovanni Battista*, who was appointed to murder *Lorenzo*, refused the horrid office, which was therefore committed to *Antonio of Volterra*; and one *Stephen*, a school-master, but at the same time a priest; while *Francis Pazzi* and *Bernardo Bandini* undertook to murder *Giulian*, at the same time that the archbishop *Salviati*, and *Poggio*, another of the conspirators, were to seize the palace and force the senators to come into their measures. The hour for the assassination being arrived, *Giulian de Medici*, not coming as was expected to the church, *Francis Pazzi* and *Bernardo*, who were destined to murder him, went to hasten him, which they endeavoured to do, by the most tender expressions of friendship, even to the embracing him, that they might discover whether he had about him any private armour, and with such an openness of behaviour, that *Giulian* lost all mistrust, and entered the church along with them, *Lorenzo* being already in the church. The first wound given to *Giulian* was by *Bernardo*, with a short dagger, in the breast, which proved mortal; but, tho' he almost immediately fell to the ground, *Francis Pazzi* threw himself upon the body, and gave it several stabs with such fury, that he even desperately wounded his own leg. The other two assassins, who were destined to the murder of *Lorenzo*, attacked him; but he bravely stood upon his defence, and obliged the assassins to fly: they were however afterwards found, and put to a shameful death. In the mean while *Lorenzo*, and the friends whom he happened to have about his person, had barricadoed themselves in the vestry of the church; and *Bernardo Bandini*, after killing *Francis Neri*, because he was a friend to the *Medici* family, ran about in search of *Lorenzo* to dispatch him; but in this he failed. The cardinal took refuge at the altar, where he was saved with the utmost difficulty from the rage of the people, by a guard which the senate sent him, and which escorted him to his palace. As to the archbishop, he went with some fugitive *Perugians* to the public palace; and leaving a party to secure the gates, he went up into the apartments of the gonfalonier, who was *Cæsar Petrucci*; but the archbishop's confusion was so great, that his design was soon known; and the senate being alarmed, he and *Poggio*, with two kinsmen who attended him, were seized, and the rest of his party, who had by this time entered the palace, were either killed or thrown alive from the palace-windows, out of which

*Giulian
Medici
murdered.*

*Lorenzo
escapes.*

which the archbishop, the two *Salviati*, and *Jacob Poggio*, ^{Punish-} were immediately hanged. The conspirators, however, who ^{ment and} had been left below, had forced the guards and the gates of ^{death of} the palace; but could proceed no farther, the senators and ^{the confi-} their attendants making good the upper rooms. *Francis rators*; *Pazzi*'s wound was so severe, that he could not, as he pro- posed, get on horseback to proclaim liberty to the people; but he prevailed on *Jacob Pazzi* to undertake that office. *Jacob*, at the head of about one hundred horse, accordingly sallied into the Great Square; but his success was very in- different. The people, who had not been sensible of the loss of their liberty under the *Medici*, refused to join him: the senators pelted him with stones from the palace; and he himself, now old, infirm, and naturally unambitious, was per- suaded by his brother-in-law to retire, which he did, at the head of his troop, towards the *Romagna*.

Lorenzo de Medici was now greater than ever; *and of the* his enemies were subdued or dissipated, and his name was joy- *Pazzi* fa- fully proclaimed through every quarter of the city, by the *mily*. people who dragged *Francis Pazzi* out of his house, and hanged him up in company with the archbishop and his other confederates; a fate to which he submitted with invincible fortitude. *Lorenzo*'s house was now the rendezvous of all the citizens, who offered to serve him with their lives and for- tunes. As to the rest of the family of *Pazzi*, *Jacob* was taken in his flight, as likewise was *Renate*; and both of them, though the latter was innocent, were brought to *Florence*, where they were ignominiously executed. *William Pazzi* was confined, as were the rest of his kinsmen who remained alive; and the other chiefs, who had been seized, were put to death. After this, the funerals of *Giulian de Medici*, who left a post- humous son of his own name, were magnificently celebrated. All this time a body of troops, under *Lorenzo de Castello*, in the vale of *Tevere*, and another under *Giovanni Francisco Tolentino*, in the *Romagna*, both of them in the pay of the pope and the king of *Naples*, were advancing in full march to- wards *Florence*, to support the conspirators; but hearing of their defeat, they returned.

THE miscarriage of this detestable conspiracy served only Tuscany to increase the rancour of the pope against the *Florentines*; invaded by and both he and the king of *Naples* ordered their generals to the pope. march their armies into *Tuscany*, but publicly to declare, that they had no other enemy for their object than *Lorenzo de Me- diki*. Upon this, *Lorenzo* summoned a meeting of the nobi- lity and chief citizens, to the number of three hundred, where he pronounced a speech in vindication of his own and his

his family's conduct, that, if it has not been embellished by *Machiavel*^a, shews him to have been one of the greatest orators that ever lived. Speaking of the late attempt against himself, “ Where parricides, says he, and assassins are secure, Lorenzo “ the *Medici* meet their murderers.” He then modestly redeMedici. counts the virtues of his predecessors, and exposes the designs of his enemies, who had stirred up the pope and the king of *Naples* against their country; and concludes in the following noble manner: “ This war, they say, is made against me “ and my family; I wish to God it were true: then the re-“ medy were both ready and certain; for I will never be so bad “ a citizen as to value more my own safety than your danger: “ much rather should I quench your flames with my own “ ruin; but, because injuries done by the mighty are always “ covered with some more seemly pretence, they have chosen “ this veil to cast over their present injustice: but if you “ think otherwise, I am in your hands; you may support, or “ you may suppress me, you, my fathers, you, my defenders; “ for whatever you shall command, I shall readily obey: nor “ will I refuse, if you shall think fit, to end this war with “ my own, which was begun with my brother's, blood.”

Answered. THE citizens answered him with tears of affection; and one, who was their spokesman, by their order, assured him, that, with the same readiness and affection with which they had revenged his brother and defended him, they would still preserve his life and reputation; nor should he lose either till they had lost their country. A guard to be maintained by the public was then voted, and raised, for his person; and levies of men and money were every where made through their state, to defend them from the impending storm.

Firmness of the Florentines against the pope. IT cannot be denied, that the conduct of the *Florentines* on this occasion was great and manly, and such as scarcely can be paralleled in a *Roman* catholic state. The pope had excommunicated them; but they were so far from regarding his censures, that they forced their priests to perform divine services. They summoned before them all the prelates under their dominion, enjoining them to pay no regard to the pope, from whom they appealed to the next general council; and they published a manifesto against him, in which they reproached him as being the very worst of tyrants and parricides, for having given sanction to murderers in a church, and during the very celebration of the holy sacrament. In short, none of the *German* reformers afterwards behaved with more spirit against the see of *Rome*, than the *Florentines* did on this

occasion. The pope, on the other hand, had nothing to oppose against those dreadful allegations, but the stale arguments of the independency of the ecclesiastic upon the civil power, and the illegality of the latter imprisoning cardinals, hanging archbishops, and quartering priests. But, notwithstanding all the just causes of provocation which the *Florentines* had received from the pope, they delivered up to him the cardinal, because it appeared he had been employed only as a blind, and had not been active in the conspiracy; for, if he had, it is more than probable he would have undergone the fate of the archbishop.

THE combined army of the pope and the king of *Naples* *The war* had advanced by the way of *Sienna* to *Chianti*, the army of prosecuted. the church being commanded by *Frederick* count of *Urbino*, and that of *Naples* by *Alphonso*, the eldest son of *Ferdinand* duke of *Calabria*. Their first enterprize was against *Castiglione*, belonging to the *Florentines*, which they took, after a siege of forty days. The truth is, the *Florentines* had little, at this time, to depend upon but their own courage and spirit. The *Milanese* government was then unsettled, and in the hands of the young duke's mother, who was at variance with all her husband's relations; but, in virtue of the late confederacy, she sent the *Florentines* some assistance; which the republic of *Venice*, the other party, declined to do, on pretence that the quarrel was of a private nature. Notwithstanding this disappointment, the *Florentine* army, under *Her-cules* marquis of *Ferrara*, took the field, and would have destroyed their enemies, who besieged and took *Monte S. Sovino* in the *Arezzan*, had it not been for the incapacity or treachery of their general, who granted them a truce for some days. After this, both armies retired to winter-quarters.

THE pope and the king of *Naples*, perceiving the *Florentines* *Revolution* supported by the dutchess of *Milan*, employed the rebel princes *in the Mi-* *lanese*. of the *Sforza* family, and the *Adorni*, to shake off the *Mi-* *lanese* yoke; whilst *Fregoso*, by favour of the dutchess, who was unable to recover the city for her son, got possession of it, and drove from thence the *Sforzi* and *S. Severino*, a *Neapolitan* general of great reputation, who, putting himself at the head of some troops, ravaged the territories of *Pisa*, and advanced almost to the gates of that city; and thus the *Florentines*, in the spring, found themselves oppressed by the confederate army on the side of *Sienna*, and by *S. Severino* on that of *Pisa*. It was, at the same time, with the utmost difficulty that they could keep the *Lucquese* faithful to their engagements. But the *Venetians* having lately made peace with the *Turks*, the *Florentines* took into their pay *Charles*, *Brachio's* son,

son, and count *Deiphobo*, *Jacob Picinino*'s son. Those two generals, bringing with them a body of mercenaries, forced *S. Severino* to desist from his attempt upon *Pisa*, and recovered all the places he had seized. But the animosities which had subsisted between their grandfathers broke out afresh, which obliged the *Florentines* to put them upon separate services. The body under *Deiphobo* remained at *Poggiobonzi*; that under *Charles* marched against *Perugia*; while *Nicholas Vitelli*, with the third party, attempted to retake *Citta di Castello*. *Charles* died in the career of his victories and successes, and was succeeded by *Robert of Rimini*; and all that *Vitelli* could do was to spoil the open country about *Citta di Castello*. The death of *Charles* gave such spirits to the pope's army, that they attacked that under *Robert* near the lake of *Perugia*, anciently that of *Thrasymene*, (on the very spot where *Hamnibal* beat the *Roman* army under *Flaminius*) but were defeated. This advantage was counterbalanced by a mutiny of their troops at *Poggiobonzi*, which obliged the *Florentines* to dismiss the marquis of *Ferrara* from their service. Upon this,

Progress of phonso duke of Calabria, *Ferdinand*'s eldest son, attacked and *the duke of Calabria* totally routed their army, which left all their ammunition, carriages, artillery, and baggage, a prey to the enemy; for, as *Machiavel*^b observes, in those days the motion of one horse, either to retreat or charge, gave defeat or victory. A pestilence, which at that time raged in *Florence*, had driven most of its inhabitants into the country; while the council of ten was obliged to recal the army under *Robert*, which was then besieging *Perugia*, to the defence of their capital; and it encamped at *S. Cassiano*, within eighteen miles of *Florence*. This gave the duke of *Calabria* an opportunity of extending his conquests on the side of *Sienna*. He took *Poggiobonzi*, *Vico*, and *Certaldo*; and laid siege to the strong castle of *Colle*, which, notwithstanding all the efforts of the *Florentine* army to relieve it, yielded on the 13th of November; on which both armies went into winter-quarters.

A truce for three months. THE state of affairs in *Italy*, at this time, induced the pope and the king of *Naples* to offer the *Florentines* a truce for three months, which was accepted. This respite enabled the *Florentines* the more coolly to reflect on their own disagreeable situation. They perceived they had nothing to trust to, either from *Venice* or *Milan*; and that their victorious enemies would probably, next year, be at the gates of their city. Each blamed the other: but the great charge of misconduct lay against *Lorenzo de Medici*; and one of the *Florentines*, in a

^b MACHIAVEL, book viii.

public assembly, bluntly told him, that he must, some way or other, think of giving them peace. *Lorenzo*, one of the wisest patriots any state ever had, wanted no inducement to follow this counsel; and after many deliberations with his friends, in which they resolved not to trust the pope, he came to the generous resolution of going in person to *Naples*, to treat of an accommodation. Leaving the charge of affairs in the city to *Thomas Soderini*, then gonfalonier of justice, he repaired, without any public character, and without acquainting the senate, to *Pisa*; from whence he sent them letters, informing them of his intention, which they answered by *Negociation* sending him full powers to treat, as the ambassador of the people of *Florence*, with the *Neapolitan* king. The command-^{zo.}ing presence of *Lorenzo*, the force of his reasoning and eloquence, and the openness of his manner, with a thousand other circumstances that characterise a great and wise man, did more than an age of *negociation* could have effected. *Ferdinand*, now old and experienced in the arts of government, no sooner heard him speak of the interests of *Italy*, and of her several states and potentates, than he was brought over to his sentiments, and resolved, at any rate, to make him his friend. Notwithstanding this, *Ferdinand* could not lay aside his insidious habits. He protracted the *negociation*, that he might see the turn which affairs might take in *Florence* during the absence of *Lorenzo*, who had many enemies there. But at last a league, offensive and defensive, was concluded between the king and the *Florentines*; and on the 6th of *March*, 1479, *Lorenzo* set out on his return to *Tuscany*.

THE amazing sagacity that gave rise to this *negociation*, *His bigb* the abilities with which it was conducted, and the success that *merit in* attended it, form an extraordinary period in civil history, and concluding were worthy the genius of the first man in the *Florentine* state, *the same*. *Lorenzo* had the glory and satisfaction to see his labours rewarded by the gratitude of his country, in the reception he met with at his return, and in the extinction of party-spirit, which now centered in the admiration of his virtues. Two days after his arrival, the articles of the offensive and defensive league were proclaimed. By them the king was to dispose of the places he had taken from the *Florentines* as he pleased. The *Pazzi*, who had been imprisoned, were to be freed; and the duke of *Calabria* was to receive from the *Florentines* a subsidy for a certain time. The *Venetians* and the pope complained of the disrespect shewn them by this peace, as they neither had been invited to the *negociation*, nor were they included in the terms. They expressed their resentment in such a manner, that the *Florentines*, to prevent the consequences,

quences, probably by *Lorenzo's* advice, constituted their supreme council of seventy citizens, who were invested with the highest powers in government. This council ratified the peace with *Ferdinand*, and nominated ambassadors to go to *Rome*; but they perceived, through various accidents, that they had still great difficulties to encounter.

Character of Lewis the Moor. THE dutches of *Milan* had been obliged to resign that government to *Lewis the Moor*, so called from his swarthy complexion, brother to the late duke, one of the most extraordinary characters in history. Though politic and penetrating, he was irresolute and timid, and fear generally determined him to the most dangerous courses. *Serazana* was taken from the *Florentines* by *Fregoso the Genoese*, who made all the garrison prisoners; and, what was more afflicting than all to the *Florentines*, the duke of *Calabria* still lay on their confines with his army, and not only totally disclaimed the late peace, but endeavoured to possess *Sienna*, as the first step towards his becoming master of all *Tuscany*. It is difficult to say what the consequences might have been, had not the *Turks*, who had been repulsed before *Rhodes*, made a descent upon *Italy*, and, after ravaging the sea-coasts, taken *Otranto*, the most convenient port for them in all the kingdom of *Naples*, and fortified it, with a view of continuing their conquests. This alarming event delivered *Tuscany* from the duke of *Calabria's* ambition; for he was obliged to return with his army to *Naples*; and the pope now declared himself willing to treat of an accommodation with the *Florentines*, notwithstanding all the provocations he had received from them.

Discontent of the duke of Calabria. They, on the other hand, not standing on forms where essentials were preserved, named twelve deputies to go to *Rome*; where, after a great variety of submissions on their part, and of haughtiness on that of his holiness, the pope gave them his benediction, and ratified the peace. Notwithstanding that, he insisted upon the *Florentines* maintaining fifteen armed gallies against the *Turks*. This demand, which the *Florentines* complained heavily of, was afterwards mitigated by the address of *Guido Antonio Vespucci*: and thus the *Florentines* were placed in a situation the most desirable of any they had known for many years.

The Florentines reconciled to the pope. **A peace.** THEIR first care was to obtain restitution of the towns that had been taken from them by the duke of *Calabria*, and which had been left to the disposal of *Ferdinand*, but were now in the hands of the *Siennese*. *Ferdinand* was warmly plied by the *Florentines* to resist their importunities, because he might have thereby kindled a new war in *Italy*, which might have deprived him of the assistance he expected against the

the *Turks*. The towns were restored ; by which, says *Machiavel*^b, it appears, that neither treaties nor oaths, but necessity, makes princes honest. Fortune thus seconding the virtues and abilities of *Lorenzo*, he was in his own country as great and glorious as a good citizen could wish to be ; and even accidents were now construed as the effects of his policy.

THE surrender of *Otranto* soon after by the *Turks*, tho' *The pope* it quieted the fears, renewed the dissensions of the *Italian* *states* and *princes*. The *Venetians* had pretensions upon the *Ferrarese* ; and gaining the pope to their side, they made *S. Severino* their general. The *Florentines* placed *Constance*, the lord of *Pefaro*, at the head of their army, and that of the *Milanese* was commanded by *Frederick of Urbino*. The pope not having declared himself, *Ferdinand* ordered the duke of *Calabria* to demand a passage for his troops through his dominions, for the assistance of the marquis of *Ferrara*, which was denied. The *Florentines* joining with *Ferdinand*, considered this denial as a commencement of hostilities on the pope's part, and took the field against him. The duke of *Calabria*'s troops, assisted by the family of *Colonna*, carried their incursions to the gates of *Rome*, and *Nicholas Vitelli*, by the assistance of the *Florentines*, recovered *Citta di Castello*, from the pope's governor. His holiness being thus straitened on every side, took into his pay *Robert* of *Rimini*, whose ^{the duke of} *Calabria*.

great reputation and experience gave so much spirit to the *Romans*, that they marched out of *Rome*, and obliged the duke of *Calabria* to come to a battle. The event was glorious for his holiness, or rather for his general. The battle was more bloody than any that had been fought in *Italy* for fifty years before, for almost one thousand men were killed on both sides ; but at last the *Neapolitans* were entirely defeated, and the duke of *Calabria* himself must have been taken prisoner, had he not been saved by some *Turks*, who had entered into his service after the surrender of *Otranto*. A few days after, *Robert* of *Rimini*, who is styled the *Magnificent*, died ; and his holiness, to testify his gratitude to a general who had served him so faithfully, after giving him a magnificent burial, sent his nephew, count *Girolamo*, to deprive his infant son of his inheritance of *Rimini*. The *Florentines*, on this occasion, generously interposed in favour of the infant and his mother ; and the pope was baffled by them, not only in that attempt, but in another that he had formed against *Citta di Castello*. The war all this while went on in

^a *MACHIAVEL*, book viii.

the *Ferrarese*, where the *Venetians* took *Figarola* from the marquis of *Ferrara*, and must have taken *Ferrara* itself, had not *Ferdinand* and the *Florentines* threatened the pope with the authority of a general council which the emperor had then convoked at *Basil*. His holiness, obliged to give way to necessity, at last sent ambassadors to *Naples*, where a league, or rather a truce, for five years was concluded upon, between him, *Ferdinand*, *Lewis the Moor*, and the *Florentines*, and the pope signified his pleasure to the *Venetians*, that they should desist from their war in *Ferrara*.

Alarming power of the Venetians. THE *Venetians*, at that time, were so excessively powerful, as to become formidable to the other states of *Italy*. They defeated both the *Milanese* and the *Neapolitan* troops, that had been sent to the assistance of the marquis of *Ferrara*, and were actually besieging *Ferrara* itself, when *Lorenzo de Medici*, the pope's legate, and the other allies of the *Florentines*, assembled at *Cremona*, to consult about doing something decisive against the *Venetians*. At first it was proposed, that *Lewis* should give them a diversion in their own country, which he declined doing; and then they resolved to march and attack the *Venetians* before *Ferrara*. It was, however, judged expedient to begin with destroying the *Venetian* fleet, which they eventually did.

A league against them.

The land-army of the *Venetians* consisted of two thousand two hundred men at arms, and six thousand foot; that of the *Florentines*, and their allies, of four thousand men at arms, and eight thousand foot (B). The *Venetians*, not daunted with this great superiority of numbers, sent *S. Severino* across the *Adda*, where he proclaimed the young duke and his mother the sovereigns of *Milan*, under the walls of that city. This measure produced no commotion in *Milan*, and exasperated *Lewis* so much, that he now agreed to the diversion he had rejected before, and in

(B) It may be here necessary to explain one circumstance to the reader, which may have puzzled him in the course of this history, in which he sees the number of horse in armies commonly superior to those of foot. This was owing to the pride of the *Italian* noblemen and gentlemen, who generally served on horseback, and were themselves attended by a number of attendants on horseback, who were all of them reckoned

to be soldiers, tho' perhaps not above two or three hundred out of one thousand were properly armed for the field. But a distinction amongst the cavalry now prevailed. Men at arms, were men completely armed, who served on horseback, and their attendants, who are called light horse, are seldom mentioned. This distinction, tho' new in *Italy*, was very ancient in *France*.

injunction with the duke of *Calabria*, he fell into the *Beramase*, the *Bressan*, and the *Veronese*, where they destroyed all the open country; and it was with difficulty that *S. Sezino*, the *Venetian* general, could prevent their becoming masters of the cities. This happened in the year 1483.

NOTHING now but dissention amongst themselves, could *it is* have prevented the allies from driving the *Venetians* out of *broken*, *bombardy*. But the interests of the duke of *Calabria* and *Lewis the Moor*, became then incompatible. *John Galeazzo*, nephew to *Lewis* and the true duke of *Milan*, had married the duke of *Calabria*'s daughter: and *Gonzaga*, the marquis of *Mantua*, who had always kept them in friendship, being now dead, the duke insisted upon *Lewis* putting his son-in-law in possession of his inheritance, hoping that as *Galeazzo* was but a weak prince, he himself would succeed *Lewis* as administrator of that duchy. This demand made *Lewis* fall off from the confederacy, and threw him into the arms of the *Venetians*, with whom he made a peace in *August 1484*. *A peace*. By the articles of it, the *Venetians* were restored to the possession of all the towns taken from them, which had been put into the hands of *Lewis*, while they retained all they had taken from the marquis of *Ferrara*. It was in vain for the *Florentines* and their allies to remonstrate against this treaty. They stood in need of peace, and they were obliged to accede to it. In the mean while, the allies had agreed with his holiness to withdraw all assistance from *Vitelli*, who remained in possession of *Citta di Castello*, which was besieged by his forces: but they were defeated by *Vitelli*, with whom his holiness was obliged to come to a compromise. The pope then joined the *Ursini* against the *Colonnas*, who favoured the *Neapolitans*. But at last each party beat the other into peace, neither being able to continue the war.

THE *Florentines* all this time had employed *Antonio de' Medici* to lie with some troops near *Serazana*, in hopes of renting it having an opportunity to retake that city. Nothing however but slight skirmishes passed on either side. It may therefore be said, that all *Italy* was at this time in a state of tranquillity; a circumstance so disagreeable to his holiness, that it broke his heart. His death filled all *Rome* with uproar and blood, occasioned by the differences between the families of *Ursini* and *Colonna*, and count *Girolamo* possessed himself of the castle of *S. Angelo*, which may be considered as the citadel of *Rome*. He, however, being desirous to oblige the next pope, retired to his own estates; and cardinal *Cibo*, who took the name of *Innocent VIII.* succeeded to the papedom, and restored the tranquillity of *Rome*.

They besiege Pietra Santa, *THE Florentines* still continued very uneasy under the loss of Serazana, and the more so, as it had been taken from them by *Fregoso*, a private *Genoese*. They therefore made vigorous preparations for retaking it; upon which *Fregoso* yielded up the possession of it to the proprietors of the bank of St. George, who then possessed almost all the territories belonging to the *Genoese*, without the walls of their city. By this cession the *Florentines* had no pretext for making war against the *Genoese* as a community; and they yet could have no hopes of succeeding in the recovery of Serazana, without taking *Pietra Santa*, a town belonging to the *Genoese*. That they might have a good colour for a breach, they ordered a great quantity of provisions, under a very slight convoy, to be sent from *Pisa* to their army before Serazana, by the way of *Pietra Santa*. That garrison could not resist the bait: they sallied out, and easily became masters of the plunder. Upon this the *Florentine* army abandoned the siege of Serazana, and undertook that of *Pietra Santa*; and the war thus becoming general between them and the *Genoese*, the fleet of the latter took and burnt the fortress of *Vada*, and ravaged the territory of *Vadterra*. Their ravages were repressed by *Buongianni Gianfeliazzini*, a *Florentine* officer, who was sent with a party of horse against them. The *Genoese* navy, however, made an attempt upon *Leghorn*, a place which now began to make a figure in *Tuscany*, from whence it was repulsed with loss, though they had been at vast expence in engineering to reduce it.

and at last take it. *THE siege of Pietra Santa* still went on; but so remiss was the *Florentine* army in its discipline, that they were surprised by a sally from the besieged, and driven from their works to the distance of four miles from the town. There they deliberated about abandoning the siege, and retiring into winter-quarters. This news coming to *Florence*, filled the whole city with indignation. *Antonio Pucci* and *Bernardo del Nero*, two of the most respectable citizens in *Florence* were immediately dispatched with a large sum of money to remonstrate to the army, which it seems was numerous and well appointed. The shame of being baffled before so inconsiderable a place, joined to the good conduct of the new commissaries, especially *Antonio Pucci*, was so successful that the soldiers stormed the works they had lost before, but with the loss of their general *Marciano*; and the town itself, perceiving their resolution, proposed a capitulation. To give the more honour to the defence made by the besiegers, *Lorenzo de Medici* came in person to the *Florentine* camp, and in a few days after the castle, as well as the town, was surrendered. This siege cost

cost the *Florentines* some of their best troops and officers, and amongst the latter *Antonio Pucci*, who died through the unwholesome heats of the country during the autumn season.

THE *Lucquese* did not fail to claim from the *Florentines* *It is claimed* *Pietra Santa*, as a place that had formerly belonged to their *ed by the state*. The *Florentines*, without denying that fact, told *Lucquese*, them, that before they gave it up, they must be satisfied for the vast loss of blood and treasure which the reduction of the place had cost them, and a treaty of peace being now set on foot by the pope, they were not sure whether they might not be obliged to restore the town to the *Genoese*. In those altercations the winter past, and all the next spring. *Lorenzo de Medici* was so afflicted with an hereditary gout, that he could do no business, and none could be done by the *Florentines* without him. This delayed the siege of *Serazana*: and the ambition of the duke of *Calabria* threw fresh obstacles in their way. The city of *Aquila* was so little dependent on the crown of *Naples*, that though it lay in that kingdom, it might be said to have been free. The duke of *Calabria* being in the neighbourhood with his troops, under pretence of *Revolution* *fines*, trepanned the count of *Montorio*, who had the greatest *in Aquila*. sway in *Aquila*, into his power, and sent him prisoner to *Naples*, in hopes of reducing *Aquila* to an absolute subjection to that crown. The *Aquilians* upon this flew to arms, and not only put to death the king's commissary, and several of *Ferdinand's* friends in that city, but erected the papal banners, and invited the pope to take them under his protection. His holiness greedily accepted of the invitation; and taking into his pay *S. Severino*, who had been dismissed from the *Milanese* service, all the friends of count *Montorio*, and many of the *Neapolitan* barons, declared in his favour. *Ferdinand* applied to the *Florentines* for assistance; and tho' they were extremely averse from either entering into a war with the holy see, or prosecuting the advantages they had obtained over the *Genoese*, yet they sent an army to his assistance, by which *Alfonso* remained master of the field against his holiness, and all his other enemies. At last, the *Spaniards* offering their *A peace.* mediation, a peace was concluded, by which all *Italy* was once more restored to its tranquillity, the *Genoese* alone being excluded, for having shaken off the yoke of *Milan*, and detaining the *Florentine* possessions.

THE punctuality with which the *Florentines* had fulfilled A. D. their engagements with *Ferdinand*, gave them vast credit 1446. with the pope; who, during the war with the *Neapolitans*, had *The pope* been betrayed by his general *S. Severino*, and he publickly favours declared, that he would do every thing in his power to serve *the Flo-*

and oblige them. This being reported to *Lorenzo de Medici*, he omitted nothing that could cement or improve the growing friendship, and actually gave one of his daughters in marriage to *Francis*, son to the pope, who had been married before he was exalted to the popedom. From that time the interests of *Florence* and the holy see became the same, as *Lorenzo* had agreed to every thing proposed for the advancement of his son-in-law in *Italy*. The pope, on the other hand, insisted strongly with the *Genoese* that they should restore *Serazana* to the *Florentines*, as holding it from an iniquitous title derived from *Fregoso*. The *Genoese* were so far from paying regard to the remonstrances of his holiness, that they fitted out a fleet of gallies, then landed three thousand foot at *Serazanella*, and after taking and plundering the town, and the neighbouring places, all which belonged to the *Florentines*, they planted artillery against the castle. This being done while a truce was subsisting under the pope's mediation, the *Florentines* complained loudly of it at *Rome*, but ordered their general *Virginio Orfini* at *Pisa*, to draw their troops together. They then sent ambassadors to require aid from their allies. But *Ferdinand* excused himself because of his war with the *Turks*, and *Lewis of Milan* trifled with them; so that they received none. Depending, therefore, on themselves alone, they appointed *James Guicciardini* and *Peter Vittori*, to command against the *Genoese*, who still pressed the citadel of *Serazanella*, and lay encamped on the river *Magra*. A battle quickly ensued, in which the *Genoese* were intirely defeated; and *Lorenzo de Medici* arriving in the *Florentine* camp, *Serazana* itself was besieged and taken, after an obstinate resistance, by the *Florentines*.

Serazana taken.

Events

in Romagna.

DURING those transactions on the *Magra*, *Lewis Sforza*, under prerence of sending some troops to the assistance of the *Florentines*, sent them to support an insurrection which he privately procured to be made in *Genoa*, by which that city once more fell into the hands of the *Milanese*. About the same time the *Venetians* were defeated near *Trent* by the *Germans*, and their general *S. Severino* was killed. But the *Venetians* soon made a peace, by which they gained more than all they had lost by war. The connections between the pope and *Lorenzo de Medici* grew every day stronger; for the latter persuaded *Boccalino* of *Osmo*, in the marquisate of *Ancona*, to restore that town to his holiness, after making it rebel. *Boccalino* afterwards lived in splendor at *Florence*, from whence he removed to *Milan*, where he was put to death by *Lewis Sforza*. In the *Romagna*, *Francis del Orso* assassinated count *Girolamo* in his own house, and made his wife

wife and children prisoners, but could not master the citadel. The countess offered to prevail with the governor to surrender it, and the conspirators accordingly suffered her to enter it, detaining her children as pledges. But far from performing her promise, she threatened the governor and all the garrison with death if they did not make a vigorous defence, and slighted all the menaces of the conspirators against her children. This resolute conduct, and the approach of some troops to her assistance from *Milan*, made the conspirators fly with all their effects to *Citta di Castello*; but the countess pursued them and amply revenged her husband's death. The *Florentines* were no farther concerned in this incident, than as it gave them an opportunity of recovering the castle of *Piancastelli*, which had been usurped from them by the count.

THE *Florentines* were more interested in another tragical event, but of a more different nature, which at the same time happened near *Forli*. *Galeotto*, lord of *Faenza*, was married to the daughter of *John Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*, and by her had a son called *Astorre*. The lady conceived so intolerable an aversion to her husband, that she resolved to have him murdered, and she brought her father into the same unnatural design, in hopes of becoming master of *Faenza* after his son-in-law's death. She counterfeited sickness, and her husband coming to visit her, the assassins rushed out and slew him. Upon this, she took refuge with her son in the castle, while *Bentivoglio*, and one *Bergamino*, a *Milanese* officer, took possession of *Faenza*, where there happened to reside at the time *Antonio Boscoli*, a *Florentine* commissary. But while the state of affairs in *Faenza* was unsettled, the *Faenza* country people took arms, and breaking into the town killed *Bergamino*, made *Bentivoglio* prisoner, and recommended the government of the state, and young *Astorre*, to *Boscoli*. The *Florentines* readily undertook the charge, but set at liberty *Bentivoglio* and his daughter, who had continued blocked up in the citadel.

FLORENCE was now at a very high pitch of happiness and prosperity. The *Venetians* were in no condition to *Florence*. *State of* hurt her; *Lewis Sforza* had no inclination, nor was it his interest. The pope and the king of *Naples* were her friends; and she might have been said to have possessed the ballance of power in *Italy*. Her people were rich, powerful, united, and flourishing in learning, arts, and sciences, beyond perhaps what any people ever were, excepting the *Athenians*. All this prosperity was owing to the wisdom and virtue of a private citizen, *Lorenzo de Medici*. For some years the tranquillity of his country was such, that it afforded no events pro-

*The Flo-
rentines
become the
admini-
strators of
Faenza.*

per for history to record, unless we mention as such, the prodigious encouragement given by the *Florentines*, after *Lorenzo's* example, to men of learning and genius, who filled their country during this happy interval with writings and works, that will ever be the admiration of mankind. *Lorenzo*, however, though honoured with the appellation of the father of the muses, did not forget his own family. He married his eldest son to *Alphonina*, daughter to the chevalier *Orfani*. Though his second son *John*, afterwards the famous pope *Leo X.* was not above thirteen years of age, yet he procured for him the dignity of cardinal; but his third son was too young for any provision. He had four daughters; one of them was married to *James Salvrati*, another to *Francis Cibo*, a third to *Peter Ridolphi*, all of them of great houses; and he would have given the fourth in marriage to *James Medici*, had she not died.

SUCH was the happy state of *Florence* and the *Medici* family in 1492, when *Lorenzo de Medici*, worn out by a complication of distempers which settled in his stomach, died, aged no more than forty-four years. For his character we must, in a great measure, refer to those we have drawn of his illustrious predecessors, whom he resembled in all their public and private virtues; but he seems, in progress of time, to have exceeded them in personal accomplishments. He owed, as we have seen, his life to his valour, and he had a turn for military affairs, which was of infinite service to his country, though peace was the darling object of all his measures. The commerce of *Europe* began, during his time, to run into new channels, and more expensive manners prevailing in life. *Lorenzo* found that he was imposed upon by his factors, who lived like princes, and he therefore narrowed his mercantile dealings, and laid out the money he was master of in territorial acquisitions, within the state of *Florence*, as being the most likely to give permanency to his family. He not only loved and rewarded, above any prince of his age, the fine arts, but practised them in his own person. According to *Machiavel*, compositions of his are still extant, that prove him to have been both a poet and a critic. He was a good judge of architecture, which in his time was commonly combined with painting, and of music. He founded the university of *Pisa*, to which he brought the most learned and ingenious men in *Italy*. He built near to *Florence*

Death and a monaster for father *Mariano*, who was an excellent *charact* preacher.

of Loren- HE is said to have been more amorous than was consistent *zo de Mc-* with the strict practice of virtue, and like *Scipio*, *Lelius*, and *dici*. *other*

other great men of antiquity, to have unbent his more serious hours with juvenile recreations; so that two souls seemed to reside in his body, for he sometimes made himself one of his own children. Though he had no opinion of distant conquests, yet he fortified *Florence* against invasion from abroad, not only by adding to the strength as well as the beauty of the city, but by putting his friends into the government of those states and places, that were in a manner the keys of the republic. He kept in his own hands the administration of *Faenza*; and, by his interest, the *Baglioni* governed in *Pergugia*; and the *Vitelli* in *Citta di Castello*. To amuse his busy pragmatical countrymen, as well as to render *Florence* more populous and frequented, he was perpetually exhibiting public jousts, tournaments, plays, entertainments, and other diversions, which had a wonderful effect upon the minds of the people, and reconciled them, in a great measure, to that aristocracy of which they were naturally so jealous. As *Italy* was then the country of learned princes and nobility, *Florence* and *Lorenzo* became the residence of all who cultivated, practised, or studied the fine arts: and the famous *Pico*, count of *Mirandola*, after travelling through all *Europe*, chose to fix there.

Lorenzo's fortune, in some respects, was equal to his merit. Several attempts, besides that of the *Pazzi*, were made upon his life; but all of them were defeated, and the assassins punished. The most distant princes were struck with reverence and esteem for his person and virtues; witness the correspondence he kept up with *Matthias*, king of *Hungary*, the ambassadors and presents he received from the reigning emperors of the *Turks*, one of whom delivered up to him the murderer of his brother *Bernardo Bandini*, who had taken refuge amongst the infidels. His palace was the center of unity for all *Italy*; and by his wonderful address, he brought it to a state of tranquillity, which it had not known for some ages before. Upon his death, all the *Italian* states and princes sent compliments of condolence by their ambassadors to *Florence*.

By the death of *Lorenzo de Medici*, which was succeeded by that of pope *Innocent VIII*, the ballance of power in *Italy* by his son was again destroyed. *Lorenzo* was succeeded by his son *Peter*; but he was far from being qualified, either by age or abilities, for maintaining his father's system. Both his wife and mother were of the *Orsini* family, and he resigned himself intirely to the direction of his kinsman *Virginio Orsini*, who persuaded him to strengthen his connections with the court of *Naples*; a measure which gave such umbrage to

Lewis Sforza, that it produced the most dismal calamities to Italy.

Borgia chosen pope by the name of Alexander VI. *INNOCENT VIII.* was succeeded by *Roderigo Borgia*, a Spaniard, who called himself *Alexander VI.* a name that ever since has been another title for all manner of impiety, impurity, cruelty, and wickedness. He mounted the papal throne by open simony, and was ever above the practice of hypocrisy in his vices. At the same time he was cunning and sagacious in finding out resources under all difficulties.

As the great strength of *Italy* now lay in an union, *Sforza* proposed that the ambassadors of all her princes should present themselves in one day, as the members of one body, to make their usual congratulations upon the pope's accession, and that one should harangue him in the name of all the rest. *Peter*, and the bishop of *Arezzo*, had been named ambassadors from the *Florentines*, and both of them designed to make a great figure; the former by the magnificence of his dress, equipages, and attendance; the other, by the speech he intended to make. They therefore privately prevailed on *Ferdinand*, who had approved of *Sforza*'s scheme, to oppose it, which he did, but at the same time named his advisers. This increased *Sforza*'s suspicions. *Cibo*, who was the natural son of the last pope, and brother-in-law to *Peter*, lived then at *Florence*, and was persuaded to sell the castles of *Anguillara*, *Cervetri*, and some others, which he held in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, to *Virginio Orfini*, whom they intended should be a bridle upon the pope. *Alexander*, who had destined the crown of *Naples* for one of his own family, declared that the bargain was null, because those castles were fiefs of the holy see; and he was backed in his resentments by *Sforza*, who remonstrated to *Peter de Medici* the impolitic step he had taken, and pressed *Ferdinand* to compromise matters with his holiness. Notwithstanding this, *Virginio* took possession of the castles, at the secret instigation of *Ferdinand* himself.

Peter differs with Sforza. *SFORZA* was penetrating enough to perceive how strong the connections were between *Peter* and *Ferdinand*; and he endeavoured, but in vain, to break them, that he might preserve *Florence* still for his friend. He had usurped the power of his nephew, son-in-law to the duke of *Calabria*, who, with his daughter the dutchess of *Milan*, made no secret of their sentiments, and that the young prince and his family were in danger from the practices of his uncle. *Sforza*, at the same time, was sensible that he was hated by the people of *Milan*, and that the new alliance was necessary for his safety. He applied to the *Venetians*, who appeared cautious and

and backward ; and to the pope, whose haughty spirit had been exasperated by the court of Naples refusing to give their king's natural daughter in marriage to one of his sons, with a large territory in Naples for her portion. The *Venetians*, at last, perceiving the pope to be irreconcileable to *Ferdinand*, in 1493 came into the confederacy proposed by *Sforza* ; the professed object of which was to dispossess *Virginia* of his acquisitions. *Peter de Medici* and the duke of *Calabria*, could easily, by the assistance of the *Colonna*, and the *Orsini*, have dashed this confederacy in pieces, had they not been restrained by the caution of old *Ferdinand*. In consideration of this, and of the uncertainty of the continuance of the friendship between the pope and the *Venetians*, and his own dangerous situation, *Sforza* had recourse to the desperate expedient of inviting *Charles VIII.*, king of *France*, to invade the kingdom of Naples, under the title of the *Ambovin* prince, which *wives* had been made over to him. This title, it must be acknowledged, was plausible. *Charles* was a weak, giddy, young *France* ^{to Italy.} prince, both in body and mind ; but had ambition, and a courage that well suited with the proposed expedition, from which he was dissuaded by his ablest counsellors ; but upon *Sforza*'s promising to supply him with money, he undertook it.

In this negotiation it is hard to say which was most absurd, *Negociations* the conduct of *Charles*, or that of *Sforza*, who, blinded by *tions on* his fears, invited the most powerful prince then in *Europe* ^{that head} into *Italy*. *Ferdinand* seemed to dissemble his apprehensions ; but he was dreadfully alarmed. He endeavoured, by his ambassadors at the court of *France*, where they were treating of a match between his grand-daughter (who was cousin-german to *Charles*) and the young king of *Scotland*, to divert *Charles* from his resolution, by even offering *Charles* an annual subsidy. He endeavoured to compromise affairs with the pope, and to remove all *Sforza*'s jealousies. He succeeded so far with the pope, that, after making great sacrifices both of honour and interest, the *Venetian* and *Milanese* troops, raised in consequence of the late treaty, were dismissed. By this time, *Sforza*, either from natural dissimulation, or inward conviction, expressed his apprehensions that he had gone too far ; and promised *Peter de Medici*, that he would prevent the consequences of the invasion. But it was now too late ; for *Charles*, having taken all measures that could secure his success, by alliances and negotiations with the great powers of *Europe*, required from the *Florentine* ambassadors a categorical answer, whether their state would give his army a passage through their dominions ; and, upon their evading the question,

tion, he threatened to banish all the Florentine merchants out of France, if it was not instantly answered.

Death of Ferdinand of Naples. PETER DE MEDICI, at first, endeavoured to bring Ferdinand to consent that he should yield to Charles; but Ferdinand remained inflexible on that head, and he died in the beginning of the year 1494. His son Alphonso, duke of Calabria, though possessed of all Ferdinand's faults of cruelty, oppression, and treachery, was inferior to him in address and temper. He perceived that the pope was exasperated by the difficulties he met with at home from the Florentine and Neapolitan factions, now in the French interest; but he brought him over, by making him a present of thirty thousand ducats, and by providing in the most extravagant manner for his three sons; one of whom was the famous *Cæsar Borgia*. The French king, on the other hand, without minding the intrigues of Italy, intimated to the Florentines, and the other Italian states, his intention of marching towards Naples. *D'Aubigny*, son to the regent of Scotland, was at the head of this embassy; and when the ambassadors came to Florence, they put both the Florentines and Peter de Medici in mind of the infinite obligations they lay under to the crown of France. Peter had hitherto had the address to avoid giving the French court any positive answer; but he found the Florentines, in general, very averse from taking upon themselves to oppose the French march. Peter's influence, however, was so great, that the ambassadors were dismissed without any positive answer.

Designs of Peter. THAT excellent historian *Guicciardini*^a, informs us, as he says, from good authority, that Peter had formed a design, by Alphonso's assistance, of intirely changing the Florentine government, by making himself prince or duke of that city. It is certain, that his father had no favourable opinion of his son's capacity^b; and that about this time two of his near relations, *Lorenzo* and *Giovanni de Medici*, men of great property, had entered into a correspondence with the French king and *Sforza*, for taking from him his power in the state, where all public offices were filled up by his appointment, and no measure could be concluded without his approbation. The design was discovered; but all the censure the conspirators received was a slight confinement to their own houses; though it was with difficulty that Peter was restrained from taking a much severer revenge. This discovery served only to render him the more irreconcileable to *Sforza*, whom he considered as author of the plot, and confirmed him the more in the

Conspiracy against him defeated. ^a *GUICCIARDINI*, book i. ^b *Annotatione in margini*, fatte da *Thomaſo Porcacchi*. *GUICCIARDINI*, libro primo.

measures he had proposed. A peremptory but a plausible answer was now sent to the French ambassadors, setting forth the inability the state of *Florence* was under of complying with the king's demands, without violating her most sacred engagements, which obliged them to defend the kingdom of *Naples* against any person that should invade it. This answer being intimated to *Charles*, he ordered the *Florentine* ambassadors immediately to quit his dominions; but, to shew that his resentment was chiefly levelled against *Peter*, he gave leave for all their merchants to remain in his dominions, excepting those who were factors or agents for him.

THE invasion of *Italy* by *Charles* is one of the most shining events in modern history. But we shall confine our narrative to the share which the *Florentines* had in it. Neither they nor the pope had yet openly broken with *Sforza*; and they were so cautious, that they even refused to admit *Alphonso*'s gallies into the harbour of *Leghorn*. After this, *Alphonso* and the pope, on the 13th of July, had an interview at *Kico Vare*, in which the operations of the war were settled, in case that *Charles* should execute his threats of invading *Italy*. *Alphonso* at that time had a noble fleet, with which he endeavoured to make an impression upon *Genoa*; but the design was defeated by the vigilance of the *French* in that city. The duke of *Calabria*, *Alphonso*'s son, a young prince of great hopes, marched at the head of an army into the *Romagna*, where the *Florentine* interest was very strong. *Astorre Manfredi*, the prince of *Faenza*, was directed by them; but *Caterina Sforza*, mother of *Ottaviano Riverio*, lord of *Imola* and *Forli*, refused to expose her son's territories, unless the *Florentines* would declare themselves, and indemnify him for all he might suffer in the war. This difficulty put a stop to all the operations that had been concerted; and it now appeared, that there was in the *Florentine* senate a party against breaking with the *French*, which *Peter* durst not venture of himself to encounter. To remove his apprehensions, the duke of *Calabria*, in an interview he had with him at *Borgo San Sepulcro*, offered him, in his father's name, to employ his army as he (*Peter*) should direct. This elated *Peter* so much, that, returning to *Florence*, he obtained, against the sense of his wisest countrymen, leave from the republic, which was to defray all expences, to take *Ottaviano*'s towns under the protection of the allies. *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, of *Bologna*, entered into the service of the allies upon much the same terms.

THE success of those negociations might have been at *Peter* fat-tended with the reduction of the *Milanese*, had it not been *hours the* for the unaccountable slowness of the *Neapolitans*, or the *Ar- court of* *ragonians*, *Naples*.

ragonians, as they were called, which gave an opportunity for *d'Aubigny*, the French general, to march with amazing celerity into the territory of *Imola*, before the duke's army had quitted *Cesena*; and thus the operations of the Neapolitan were confined to the *Romagna*, where the French and *Milanese* lived in great opulence. All this did not discourage Peter & *Medici*, who now declared himself openly against the French. He admitted the Neapolitan galleys to anchor and victual in the port of *Leghorn*, and to raise recruits all over the *Florentine* state. He sent one thousand men and some artillery to *Ferdinand*'s army, which, by his order, was now joined by the troops under *Bentivoglio* and *Astorre*. We are, however, given to understand that those steps, taken by Peter, were far from being agreeable to the sense of the *Florentine* senate; nor did their ambassadors at *Venice* with any vigour second the warm but vain instances made by those of the pope, to induce that republic to join the league; the heads of which, at this time, applied for assistance even to *Bajazet*, the emperor of the *Turks*.

Conduct of Sforza.

IT is probable, that *Sforza* would now gladly have restrained the vivacity of the French, who were making prodigious preparations for invading Italy; but the allies, instead of encouraging those sentiments in him, and bringing him over to a common league with all the other states of Italy, by their conduct rendered him desperate. His minister at *Florence* had strenuously endeavoured to persuade Peter, by all means, to continue inviolably attached to his league with *Alfonso*; and Peter, by *Alfonso*'s advice, disclosed to *Charles* all that passed between him and *Sforza*'s ambassador on that head. He even went so far as, under pretence of sickness, to give that ambassador audience in his own bed-chamber, where he had concealed the French minister, who overheard all that had passed between him and *Sforza*'s ambassador, who strongly insisted on Peter's entering into engagements for opposing the French invasion, and for continuing in his league with *Alfonso*. This stratagem, though natural, had a different effect from what Peter expected. When it became public in the French camp, *Sforza* had address enough to persuade the king, that all he meant was for his service; and having now nothing to hope farther, from his intrigues, he applied himself in good earnest to forward the French expedition. *Charles* wanted no spur for that. He was then advanced so far as *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*; but destitute of every thing, but invincible obstinacy, for proceeding on the expedition. To raise money, he was obliged to pawn all the jewels of his crown and person. His subjects, in general, were averse to his proceeding farther; and

and even his generals, having such proofs of *Sforza*'s irresolution or treachery, were very backward in their obedience. But the inviolable attachment of the *French* for their monarch overcame all difficulties. The king, obstinate and determined as he was, seemed to be startled, and to waver, at hearing of the disaffection of his troops to the service, and on being disappointed of a sum of money he had expected from *Sforza*. But the cardinal of *S. Piero in Vincoli*, the determined enemy of the pope and the *Florentines*, having resettled his resolution, he advanced to *Asfi*, where he received news that the *Neapolitan*s had been beaten by the duke of *Orleans* from *Rapalle*, and that *Genoa* was thereby secured in the *French* interest. In the *French* army, six thousand *Swiss*, then reckoned the best troops on the continent of *Europe*, served; and *Charles*, who, by falling ill of the small-pox, was detained a whole month, at last received from *Marseilles* a large supply of artillery, of a much more commodious construction, and far greater execution, than any which had been till then known in *Europe*. *Charles*, having now entered *Italy*, affairs in the *Remagna* took an unfavourable turn for the pope and the *Florentines*, where many princes and states fell off from his and the *Florentine* interest. And though the duke of *Calabria* at first obtained many advantages over the *French* and *Milanese*, he was at last, through the treachery of those about his person, obliged to retreat, and to act on the defensive. *Charles* by this time was advanced to *Pavia*, where he found his cousin-german *Galeazzo*, the true duke of *Milan*, on his death-bed, occasioned thro' poison administered by his uncle *Sforza*. But neither his languishing condition, nor the tears of his beautiful wife and infant son, who threw themselves at his feet for his protection against *Sforza*, could dissuade *Charles* from proceeding; and the duke dying some days after, *Sforza* was invested with the ensigns of the duke of *Milan*, in prejudice of his grand nephew, who was only five years of age. *Charles* was then at *Piacenza*; and neither he nor his court, abandoned as it was, could reflect without horror on the villainy and practices of *Sforza*.

It is probable, that this horror, and *Sforza*'s trifling with *He applies* his engagements, were so strong, that *Charles*, not being joined to the *Florentines* as he expected by the *Italians*, would have repassed the *Alps*, rentines, had it not been for the encouragement he met with from the enemies of *Peter de Medici*. *Lorenzo* and *John de Medici*, whom we have already mentioned, having broken out of their confinement, repaired to *Charles* at *Piacenza*, where they represented the unpopularity of *Peter*, and the affection the *Florentines* had for the *French*, in such colours as determined

Charles, at all events, to proceed. *Charles*, however, was so solicitous of gaining over the *Florentines*, that he sent them fresh ambassadors, offering them great advantages, if they would suffer him to proceed; and threatening them with the severest vengeance, if they obstructed his march.

who favour him. *THIS* message had vast effects upon the minds of the *Florentine* people, who now saw themselves exposed to the wrath of a great king, merely through the imprudence of *Peter de Medici*. It was plain that *Charles*, had it not been for his resentment against *Peter*, might have marched to *Naples* without touching the *Florentine* territories; but he was determined to subject *Tuscany* before he proceeded, and he marched by the way of *Parma*, at the instances of *Sforza*, to whom he was now reconciled, and who wanted to become master of *Pisa*. His army being strengthened by the junction of the *Swiss* from *Genoa*, he advanced victoriously, and took several places that belonged to the *Florentines* in the *Lunigiana*. The *Florentines*, or rather *Peter de Medici*, resolved to make their stand against him at *Serazana* and *Serazanella*, in a country where his army would find it difficult to procure subsistence if those places held out.

Peter submits to him. *BUT* the *French* carried on war in a manner that for many years had not been known in *Italy*. Each of their slight skirmishes were attended with more bloodshed than had been for a century past lost in the greatest battles fought there. Their artillery was irresistible, and they put a garrison which opposed them to the sword. All those considerations dismayed *Peter de Medici*, who finding so strong a dislike to him in *Florence*, came to a resolution unworthy of his rank and family, which was that of throwing himself at the feet of the *French* king. All that can be alledged in favour of *Peter* for this dastardly resolution, was the inability of the courts of *Rome* and *Naples* to support him, joined to the fresh remonstrances of his fellow-citizens against him, occasioned by a new order issued by the *French* for all the *Florentine* merchants, without distinction, to evacuate their dominions. While *Peter* was preparing for his journey, a detachment of *Florentine* horse and foot, under *Paul Orsini*, marching to reinforce the garrison of *Serazana*, was cut in pieces by the *French*. Being admitted, with some difficulty, to the presence of *Charles*, whose army lay before *Serazanella*, and in the utmost distress, he agreed, in the most abject manner, to more than was required of him. He immediately gave up *Serazana*, *Serazanella*, *Pietra Santa*, and the citadels of *Pisa* and *Leghorn* to the *French*; that king engaging, by an instrument, to restore them as soon as he should be seated on the

and betrays his country;

the throne of *Naples*; and that the *Florentines* should pay for the *French* protection and friendship two hundred thousand florins (A).

PETER's concessions secured all *Tuscany* to the king, and is paved his way into the *Romagna*, where the duke of *Ca-* himself *labria* was entrenched within the strong-lines of a camp near *ruined*. *Paenza*, which were, with a great deal of bloodshed, forced by the *French*. The *Florentines* now submitted to *Charles*; and the duke, not knowing whom to trust to, was obliged to retire with precipitation under the walls of *Cesena*, and from thence towards *Rome*; so that the *Neapolitan* affairs began now to wear a very gloomy aspect. It was plain, that the unexpected progres of the *French* in *Italy*, was owing to the pusillanimity of *Peter de Medici*; and the magistrates of *Florence* sent some of his most determined enemies as their ambassadors to the king. Upon this *Peter*, under pretence of executing his late engagements with *Charles*, repaired to *Florence*, where his best friends looked coldly upon him; and he was not only denied admittance into the palace of the republic, but proclaimed a rebel, together with his two brothers; and they all three fled to *Bologna*, where they were received by *Bentivoglio* with the most bitter reproaches upon *Peter*'s misconduct and cowardice.

UPON this revolution of the *Florentine* state, the *Pisans* Revolt of applied to the king, beseeching him to deliver them from the the *Pisans*. oppressive yoke of the *Florentines*, which, contrary to his agreement, he promised to do. Upon this the people pulled down the *Florentine* standards; and the king, sensible of his mistake, ordered the *Florentine* magistrates to continue in their places; but took possession of the new citadel, leaving the old one, which was of small importance to the *Pisans*, to the great disappointment of *Sforza*, who was in hopes of being put into possession of *Pisa*.

CHARLES was then at *Pisa*; and sending for *d'Aubigny* Charles to join him, he proceeded towards *Florence*, which he enters Flo- tered in the midst of his guards and army as a conqueror, ^{conqueror.} with his beaver up, and his lance erect. This terrible array, depressed and divided as the *Florentines* were, did not dispirit them. *Charles* had again and again declared, that he ex-

(A) *Sforza* arrived in the French camp next day, and *Peter* told him that he had wanted to meet him, but that he had missed him, because, he sup-

posed, he had taken a wrong road, "One of us, replied *Sforza* with a sneer, I believe to has."

pected

pected to be put into possession of the sovereignty of that republic; and finding the *Florentines* obstinate on that head, he dispatched messengers to *Bologna*, to recal *Peter de Medici*, who, by that time, had precipitately fled to *Venice*. But the *Florentines* were resolved to live or to die free. They called all their soldiers and subjects into their capital; and the word was given, that the moment the great bell was tolled, all should run to arms. It is more than probable that *Charles* came to the knowledge of this desperate resolution; for he had every motive that could induce him to prosecute his demands, which he at last receded from, on condition that the *Florentines* would suffer his deputies, under the denomination of men of the long robe, to remain in *Florence*, with a kind of jurisdiction; but the *Florentines* continued inflexible even on that head. It was now every moment expected that *Florence* must be deluged with blood; but the calamity was prevented by the unparalleled magnanimity of *Pietro*, a descendant of the famous *Neri de Capponi*. A day being fixed for the last determination, when all parties were assembled in the king's presence, *Charles* ordered his secretary to read the terms that were to purchase *Florence* her safety. They were harsh and tyrannical; and the secretary had scarcely finished the paper, when *Pietro* started from his seat, snatched it from him, and tore it before the king's face. "Now, " Sir, said he, "sound your trumpets, and we will ring our bells;" and then he left the room, attended by his companions. The *French* were no strangers to the wisdom and resolution of *Capponi*, who had resided in their court as the *Florentine* ambassador. They were daunted by the boldness of his behaviour; and civilly desiring the deputies to return, a convention was made, by which *Florence* was to be the friend and confederate of *France*; and it was agreed that the citadels of *Pisa* and *Leghorn*, with *Pietra Santa*, *Serazana*, and *Seraz-nella*, should be restored by *Charles* as soon as he was in possession of *Naples*, or as soon as he should return to *France*; but that in the mean time their revenues should accrue to the *Florentines*. The rebellion of the *Pisans* was to be forgiven. The *Florentines* were to make no steps in the present war without previously acquainting two ambassadors the king was to leave behind him. The attainders of *Peter de Medici*, and his two brothers, were to be taken off; but *Peter* was not to come within one hundred miles of the borders of the republic; nor his two brothers within one hundred miles of *Florence*. The *Florentines* were at liberty to reduce, by force of arms, all who rebelled against them; and the king, who was

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peace.

was to receive in hand forty thousand ducats, and seventy thousand afterwards, most solemnly swore to the performance of all the articles.

No people, perhaps, ever appeared greater than the *Florentines* did during the whole course of this transaction. *Charles* entered *Charles* proceeded from *Florence* to *Sienna*, and from thence to *Rome*. *Rome*, where the pope was now inclined to favour him; but he was so divided between hopes and fears, that *Charles* could not fix him to any resolution. His fears at last got the better. He yielded to all that was demanded of him; and he ordered the duke of *Calabria*, with his army, to evacuate the ecclesiastical state. *Charles* entered *Rome* as he had done *Florence*, and would have deposed the pope, at the earnest solicitation of the *Romans*, both ecclesiastics and laics, had not *Alexander* corrupted some of his principal favourites; so that an accommodation, greatly to the honour of the pope, was effected between them. We shall here but just mention, that while *Charles* was approaching to *Naples*, *Alphonso*, who was extremely disagreeable to his subjects, abandoned his kingdom, and his son was crowned; but he too in a few days was obliged to yield to the superior fortune of *Charles*, who, almost without a blow, became master of that great and populous kingdom.

CHARLES, before his departure from *Florence*, had *Disputes* neglected to give orders for paying the *Pisan* revenues to the *Florentines*. The *Pisans* availed themselves of this omission; and being favoured by the *French* governors, they drove from their city, or imprisoned, all the *Florentines*, and were supported by the republics of *Sienna*, *Lucca*, and *Genoa*; but chiefly under-hand by *Sforza*; so that the *Pisans* recovered their liberty, both within their walls, and in their territory. The *Florentines*, all this while, depended for redress on the good faith of *Charles*; but he was influenced by his courtiers, and his own natural instability, rather to favour than to quell the revolt, and he put the *Florentines* off with dilatory answers; so that they at last took arms, and recovered several places in the *Pisan*. At last, *Charles* appointed the ambassadors of both people to attend him, to hear the allegations of each.

THE *Florentines* deputed *Burgundio Lolo*, one of their townsmen, as their spokesman; as the *Florentines* did *Francisco* the *Pisan*, *and the Bishop of Volterra*, and afterwards a cardinal. *Florence* cause of their principals to the best of their tines.ighed against the pride, tyranny, oppression, and the *Florentines*, who had reduced *Pisa*, *to misery*; while *Soderini*, on the *XXXVI.* A a other

other hand, insisted upon the double right which the *Florentines* had to *Pisa*, by compact and conquest ², and that *Pisa* owed her existence to *Florence*; and concluded by putting the king in mind of the oath and engagements he was under.

Charles favours the Pisans. *CHARLES* favoured the *Pisans*, but proposed several expedients to keep the *Florentines* quiet; all which were rejected. He was, however, obliged to temporize, because he wanted money; and he sent the cardinal of *St. Malo* to *Florence*, under pretext of reinstating them in the possession of *Pisa*; but with secret orders to amuse them till he got the money, which was not yet due. The *Florentines*, however, generously made their next payment of forty thousand ducats; and the cardinal went to *Pisa*, where, instead of putting the *Florentines* into possession, he augmented the *French* garrison, and pretended he could do the *Florentines* no service, because, not being a soldier, but an ecclesiastic, he could not conquer the obstinacy of the *Pisans*. In the mean while the latter daily increased, both in strength and courage. *Sforza*, making use of the agency of the *Genoese*, still at war with the *Florentines*, sent them a strong reinforcement, both of horse and foot, under *Lucio Malvezzo*, one of his best generals, and privately encouraged the *Siennese* to keep possession of *Monte Pulciano*, which had lately revolted to them from the *Florentines*.

The government of Florence satisfied.

THE latter, as if the perplexity of their affairs called for a continuance of their divisions, were at this time split into a thousand factions about resettling, or rather remoulding, their form of government. They seemed to look back with surprise and horror at their situation under the family of the *Medici*; nor did they consider all the advantages it had brought to their country, as an equivalent for the interruption which they had given to the power of the people. They had preserved the forms of the constitution, but had deprived them of the substance; and no sooner had *Charles* left *Florence*, than a meeting of the whole body of the citizens, called a parliament^b, was held in the Great Square before the palace; and there, according to our author, they formed a model, seemingly popular, but really calculated for the interest of a few. The *Florentines* quickly perceived the defects of this model; and another meeting was held soon after to alter it. At this assembly, *Paolo Antonio Soderini* made a long speech, recommending a popular form of government, in which he

^a See Pages 199, 207.

^b Nel Parlamento, GUICCIARDINI, book ii.

made a distinction between the ordinary and extraordinary *Debates* power of the magistrates. He proposed, that all the magistrates and inferior officers, both in the city and territory, should be chosen in an assembly of all who were legally qualified to partake of the government; and that no new laws should be enacted but by such an assembly. This method, he thought, would be an incentive for citizens to aspire to public offices by virtue, merit, and modesty. As to the extraordinary powers, those which related to peace or war, the amendments of laws, and other matters of the highest importance in the government, he proposed that the people should chuse a separate magistracy for that purpose, who were to meet and deliberate independently upon them, on all matters committed to their determination, because they require to be treated with superior sagacity, learning, and secrecy. He thought, that on those two points depended the true form of popular government, which might be leisurely polished and improved by his fellow-citizens till it arrived at perfection; and he said, it was owing to the partition of policy which he proposed, that the state of *Venice* had so long maintained its liberty and independency. He advised the members present to lay hold of the present opportunity, now that they were their own masters, to introduce this popular model.

SODERINI was answered by *Guido Antonio Vespucci*, on that a citizen likewise of great eminence, who treated *Soderini's* *beak* proposal as chimerical and impracticable, and of all people in the world the least fitted to the genius of the *Florentines*. He thought that *Florence*, under a popular government, might run from one extreme to another; and being freed from tyranny, might plunge into licentiousness, which, he said, was the worst tyranny of the two. He thought there was a specific difference between the constitutions of *Florence* and *Venice*, because the latter had always a doge at the head of its government. He appealed to the experience of history, whether their own country, as well as *Athens* and *Rome*, had not been always saved by the wisdom of a few from the misgovernment of the many. But why, said he, should you object to the method that has been settled by the parliament, which leaves every thing to the disposal of the magistrates, who are not created for life, nor elected by a few, but are chosen by ballot from amongst those qualified, according to the ancient custom of *Florence*.

It is possible our author himself composed the speeches he puts into the mouths of those two citizens, the better to illustrate the political topics then agitated amongst his countrymen. But the madness of a *Dominican* friar set at nought

all their wisdom. He was of *Ferrara*, and his name was *Girolamo Savanarola*. He was perpetually haranguing from the pulpit; and he at last worked himself up to a pitch of enthusiasm, and thought himself endued with the spirit of prophecy. An enthusiast never fails to gain proselytes, especially in a free state; and if his doctrine admits of politics, he is soon at the head of a great party. *Savanarola* was a professed advocate for the power of the people in the government. He avowed the utmost hatred to pope *Alexander*, and the house of *Medici*; and in a short time he became so popular, that he was above the reach of civil justice. Having, according to the gloomy ideas of enthusiasts, foretold the invasion of *Italy* by foreign armies, which no walls nor troops could oppose; and that the *Florentine* government was upon the eve of a change, when *Italy* was in full tranquility, and the house of *Medici* in power; he was considered by the people as a prophet; for he disclaimed all carnal learning and human foresight, and pretended that his information came from God himself. In short, he brought the same great authority to prove, that a new parliament ought to be summoned; in order to abolish the present form of government, and to institute one entirely popular. His arguments were irresistible, and his party so numerous, that it was at last determined that a supreme council should be formed of the whole body of the citizens, who, according to the ancient laws, were qualified to bear posts in the government. The business of this council was to chuse all the magistrates in the city and the state, to settle the public subsidies, and to strengthen, amend, or alter, the laws in being. This council being settled, a public decree passed, in the nature of an *Athenian* amnesty, for abolishing all heart-burnings in the state, and preventing future discords, by enacting, that all past transgressions and treasons should be forgot.

THUS, from the ravings of a mad enthusiast, the foundations of a noble constitution were laid, by placing the legislative power in the hands of citizens legally qualified for posts in the government, who were to dispose of the executive power as they saw proper. This new model admitted of improvements; but these were deferred till the citizens should be reconciled to it, and sensible of its benefits.

BEFORE we proceed to other matters we shall, tho' not in order of time, recount the fate of *Savanarola*. The friends of the *Medici* and the pope, perceiving the prodigious power he had over the people, resolved to encounter him with his own weapons; and for that purpose raised up a *Franciscan*, an order of men that are mortal enemies to the *Dominicans*, who

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who opposed *Savonarola* so effectually, that in a short time the populace was divided between them, and the parties ^{Strange enthusiasm} *fel*-dom met without blows. At last a *Dominican* was found hardy enough to propose an ordeal, for proving the sanctity of *Savonarola*; and he offered to walk through a kindled pile of wood; and a *Franciscan*, to prove the sanctity of his order, offered to do the same. The challenge was accepted of on both sides, and the piles were lighted; but when the two champions were to enter upon the fiery trial, both their hearts failed them. The *Dominican* insisted upon having the host in his hand, which was obstinately opposed by the *Franciscan*, as being no part of the agreement; and, neither yielding, both escaped. The *Franciscans*, however, greatly triumphed over the *Dominicans*; and *Savonarola*'s party perceiving his sanctity not to come up to the ideas they had conceived of it, abandoned him to the fury of his enemies. The magistrates, out of compassion, desired him to make his escape; but tho' he knew how very powerful and inveterate his enemies were, he refused to leave the city. Upon this he was apprehended, and seven times put to the torture. Little credit is to be given to confessions taken from a rack; but it is said, that he acknowledged himself to be a false prophet, and that he had abused auricular confessions, both those that were taken by himself, and those that had been communicated to him by his brethren. He was at last condemned, with two of his ^{and death} *fraternity*, to the flames, into which their bodies were thrown, ^{of Savana-} *rola*. after they had been strangled.

CHARLES VIII. of *France* may be said not to have Charles taken so much pains in conquering as he did in losing *Naples*. forced to He succeeded by the panic, which his new method of making leave *Nawar*, and the *French* impetuosity, had spread over *Italy*. He ples, lost it by a series of miscarriages, which none but a weak-brained prince, surrounded by worthless sycophants, could have been guilty of. Having contracted an infinite contempt for the *Italians*, he suffered his soldiers to run into all kinds of excesses, and to practice every indecency that could wound the delicacy of his new subjects, who, in a few weeks, thought the *Arragonian* severity far preferable to the *French* insolence. Add to this, that *Charles*, far from acknowledging the zeal of the *Neapolitans* and *Italians* who had sided with him, gave away all places of posts and power to his *French* favourites. He was equally unattentive to all the other affairs of government. His scandalous breach of faith with the *Florentines*; his seizing their castles; his keeping possession of *Pisa*; and his trifling with *Sforza*, and many other circumstances, made all *Europe* believe that he intended to conquer and to hold

all Italy; so that the neighbouring powers were now alarmed. *Sforza* became as active an instrument against him, as he had been before zealous for him. Finding himself disappointed in all his favourite views, particularly that of re-annexing *Pisa* to the dutchy of *Milan*, he founded the *Venetians*, whom he found disposed to his wish; and the emperor *Maximilian*, who had particular grounds of quarrel with *Charles*, came into their party. Before he left *France*, he had given up to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* of *Spain*, the fine country of *Roussillon*, on their engaging not to molest him in the conquest of *Naples*; but they soon found evasions for breaking those engagements, by pretending that they had been formed under a salvo to any other person's right, and that they discovered that the kingdom of *Naples* was a fief of the *Roman* church: they likewise, therefore, came into the confederacy. As to the pope, he greedily embraced it.

which the Florentines refuse to join. THE allies, however, thought their confederacy imperfect, till they could bring the *Florentines* into it. The strongest applications were made for that purpose; and *Sforza* offered to employ all the power of the league in protecting them against the resentment of *Charles*, and in assisting them to recover *Pisa* and *Lighorn*. This offer, joined to the king's scandalous infidelity towards them, would, at another time, have moved the *Florentines*. But they had experienced, that they could have as little dependence upon the *Venetians*, *Sforza*, and the pope, as they could have upon *Charles*, and therefore they determined themselves for a neutrality. There was the more merit in this, as they had engaged the cardinal of *St. Malo*, by a large sum, to befriend them with *Charles*, and he had deceived them. When they complained to *Charles* himself, and requested him to oblige the *Siennese* to restore to them *Monte Pulciano*, he treated them only with taunts and sneers; but still they thought that their interest was safer with him than with *Sforza*, who, if he came into possession of *Pisa*, would retain it for ever; whereas *Charles* would be soon obliged to abandon it.

Librafatta taken. *CHARLES*, notwithstanding his natural indolence, was alarmed when he heard of the strength of the league formed against him. He ordered the garrison he had left at *Albi*, under the duke of *Orleans*, to be reinforced out of *France*; but above all, he sent a new body of six hundred *French* to reinforce his garrison at *Pisa*. *Librafatta* was at that time besieged by *Malvezzo*, who was in the pay of the *Pisans*, and he had been obliged to raise the siege; but being joined by the new garrison, he renewed it, and took both town and castle, which the *Florentines* could not relieve, because of the over-flowings

flowings of the *Arno* ; and after this, the garrison treated the *Florentine* territory as a conquered country. The *Florentines* complained bitterly to *Charles* of those abuses ; and he had at last the complaisance to assure them, that if they would have a little patience, he would give them full redress, as he was now upon his return to *France*.

BUT by this time the league had acquired a formidable *Return of degree of strength*. The *French* army, in the kingdom of *Charles Naples*, had been greatly reduced, and *Charles* was under a *towaras necessity* of leaving half of it behind him to preserve his conquests. Upon repeated advices of his danger, he resolved to run all risks, and to force his way to *Asti*, in his return to *France*. He first, however, endeavoured to obtain the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples* from the pope, to whom he offered great terms if he would comply ; which his holiness declined to do, and sent for a party of the *Venetian* and *Milanese* army to defend *Rome*, in case *Charles* should attempt to enter it. *Sforza* and the *Venetians* at first ordered three thousand men to his assistance ; but, on farther reflection, they countermanded their march ; so that they, having garrisoned the castle of *St. Angelo*, left *Rome*, which *Charles* entered, and afterwards marched peaceably through all the ecclesiastical state, except at *Toscanella*, which refusing entrance to his troops, was stormed and plundered. *Charles* then arrived at *Sienna*, where, notwithstanding the urgent motives he had to continue his march, he remained for six days, and gave audience to the *Florentine* deputies, who applied to him for the restitution of their castles, according to his solemn promise. To prevail upon him to perform it, they offered not only to pay the thirty thousand ducats that were still due to him, but to escort him to *Asti* with three hundred men at arms, and two hundred foot, under their general *Francisco Secco*. *Charles*, considering his situation, would not have hesitated a moment in accepting those offers, had he been rightly advised ; but *Ligni*, his kinsman, a young man, but a chief favourite, having a private pique against the *Florentines*, represented them as an inconsiderable power, and that the *French* army was able to force its way through all *Italy* without their assistance. He was joined by *de Pienes*, who expected from *Charles* the government of *Pisa* and *Leghorn* ; but the wiser part of his council advised him to relinquish all to the *Florentines* but *Pietra Santa* and *Serazana*, by yielding up which to the *Genoese*, he might engage them in his interest. Thus the application of the *Florentines* miscarried ; and it is probable that *Ligni* had a farther view in the advice he gave to his master on that head. Before *Charles* left *Sienna*, a party of

the *Siennese* themselves, dissatisfied with the government of the nine magistrates they were under, applied to be taken under the protection of *Charles*, and to have a *French* garrison, commanded by *Ligni*. Tho' all the rest of *Charles's* counsellors dissuaded him from accepting this offer, yet *Ligni's* counsel prevailed, and *Charles* received *Sienna*, and all its territory, under his protection, excepting *Monte Pulciano*; the difference about which he left to be adjusted between the *Siennese* and the *Florentines*. *Charles* leaving to the *Siennese* the choice of their governor, they pitched upon *Ligni*, and assigned him an appointment of twenty thousand crowns, on his engaging to maintain an officer and three hundred foot for their defence. It soon appeared that this weak young man thought of no less than making himself sovereign of *Sienna*, and perhaps of other parts of *Tuscany*; but very soon after *Charles* had left *Sienna*, the council of nine recovered their authority, and beat the *French* garrison out of their city.

The strength of the league increases. THE ambassadors of *Maximilian* had now given to *Sforza* the solemn investiture of the duchy of *Milan*; and he and the *Venetians* prevailed with *Bentivoglio* to bring the *Bolognese* into the league. *Sforza*, understanding that the *Germans* were the only people they could hire to be depended on to oppose the *French*, sent to inlist two thousand *German* foot, and ordered *Galeazzo di San Severino* to besiege *Asti*, with the rest of the *Germans* in his service. *Sforza's* avarice disappointed his design. The *Germans* refused to inlist, because he did not come up to their price. Those under *Galeazzo* deserted, while the duke of *Orleans* was so well reinforced from *France*, that he not only defended *Asti*, but made himself master of the important city of *Novara*, and laid siege to its citadel; and *Sforza*, who was hated by the *Milanese*, must have been ruined, had he not been supported by the *Venetians*.

Resolution of the Florentines. PETER de *Medici*, as we have already observed, was at *Venice* when he received *Charles's* letter, offering him his friendship, and to restore him to his power. He communicated this offer to the *Venetians*, who not only strenuously dissuaded him from agreeing to it, but secretly planted guards over him to observe his motions, and to prevent his escape. He found means, however, to repair to *Charles* at *Sienna*. The *Florentines* expected the latter would pay them a visit, and that he would bring along with him *Peter de Medici*. Being constant to their former purpose, they immediately filled their city with troops, and put the people under arms to oppose any attempt in his favour; and this shew of resolution determined *Charles* to leave *Florence* on his right hand, and to march to *Pisa*.

Pisa. During the short time he remained there, news came of the prodigious increase of the force of the confederacy, which was now assembled near *Parma*; and the restitution of the *Florentine* castles was again debated before *Charles*, and opposed by the same party that had defeated it before. They added to their former arguments, that the strength of the league ought to be a powerful inducement for *Charles* to keep possession of *Pisa*, that he might have a sea port to which he might retire, if he should meet with any misfortune in *Lombardy*; that the *Florentines*, who were as treacherous as the other *Italians*, were by no means to be trusted with it; and that his keeping possession of *Lieghorn* was necessary, for the security of his kingdom of *Naples*. *Charles* at first appeared to be undetermined, when the *Pisans* of all ages, sexes, *keeps possession of* and conditions, threw themselves in floods of tears at his feet, *sedition of* beseeching him, in the most moving manner, not to abandon *Pisa*. them to their former tyrants the *Florentines*, from whom they had nothing now to expect but the extremes of cruelty. Their distress moved even *Charles's* Swiss guards, and one of their captains, *Salazart*, in the name of the rest, conjured the king to consult his own honour, and that of his crown, by protecting the *Pisans* against their enemies; and if he stood in need of the *Florentine* money, that they were ready to lay their collars, plate, money, pensions, and pay, at his feet. *Charles* still appearing irresolute, a kind of a tumult ensued. The cardinal of *St. Malo*, and all about *Charles's* person, who were thought to be in the *Florentine* interest, were threatened with death; and *Charles* still, to keep up some appearances of justice, desired the *Florentine* ambassadors, who remained at *Lucca*, to meet him at *Asti*, where he promised to give them satisfaction. He then left *Pisa*, after changing the governor of the citadel, and strengthening the garrisons of the other castles.

IT was now perceived that *Charles* could not proceed to *The Asti* without a battle. The confederates were strong in the French *Parmesan*; but three-fourths of their army consisted of *Venetian* troops, who were commanded by *Francesco Gonzaga*, a *battle of Fornovo* brave young prince, under whom served several officers of great reputation and experience. *Charles* proceeded under ^{vo.} great disadvantages; and when his van arrived at *Fornovo*, the marshal *de Gié* demanded in his master's name, a passage for himself and his army. Before he had time to receive an answer, a party of the *French* was defeated by the *Venetians*; but they not following their blow, the *French* had time to collect together all their force, and the boldness of *Charles's* attempt struck his enemies with terror. Both armies at last canie

came to an engagement on the banks of the *Taro*, in which the *French* were victorious, notwithstanding the great superiority of their enemies in numbers, and proceeded to *Affl*. He was not equally successful in his operations where he did not command in person. *Ferdinand*, king of *Naples*, re-entered into possession of that kingdom, and was vigorously supported both by the natives and the *Spaniards*. An expedition which *Charles* had sent both by sea and land against *Genoa*, miscarried; while the *Venetians* and *Sforza*, now dropping all their frugal maxims, engaged in their service ten thousand choice *German* troops. The turn which affairs had taken at *Naples* in prejudice of *Charles*, was favourable to the *Florentines*, because it rendered their money necessary to him. They had reduced some places which had revolted from them in the neighbourhood of *Pisa*, particularly *Pontefaccio*, which had surrendered upon capitulation. The *Florentine* soldiers, however, were so exasperated by the cruel treatment they had received, that they broke the capitulation, by putting to death some of the *French* who had been in the fort, and would have killed more, had not the *Florentine* commissaries interposed. Their enemies about *Charles* made a handle of this for breaking off the treaty; but his necessities determined him at last to sign it with their deputies, which he did while he was at *Turin*.

A treaty.

THE terms were, that all the towns and forts belonging to the *Florentines* should be immediately restored; the *Florentines* obliging themselves, upon a valuable consideration, at the end of two years, to give up *Pietra Santa* and *Serazana* to the *Genoese*, if *Charles* was then master of that city; that the ambassadors should pay down the thirty thousand ducats, that were in arrears upon the convention at *Florence*; and that upon the restitution of the castles, for which they had security in jewels, the *Florentines* should lend to the king, upon the credit of his receivers-general, seven thousand ducats, which they were to distribute amongst his friends in *Naples*; that if they were not engaged in any war in *Tuscany*, excepting that concerning *Monte Pulciano*, they should send to the king's assistance in *Naples*, the troops that served under *Vi-telli* in the *Pisan*; but if they were free of all war, they were then to send two hundred and fifty men at arms on the same service, but not to stay longer than the month of *October*; that the *Pisans* should enjoy a general indemnity; that their effects should be restored to them, and that they should be encouraged in the cultivation of the arts and sciences; and that six of the principal citizens of *Florence*, should be delivered to the king as hostages.

WHILE

WHILE this treaty was negotiating, another was on foot at *Vercelli* between *Charles* and the allies, who granted him every thing with an intention to perform next to nothing. All they meant was to prevail on him to leave *Italy*, which he accordingly did. *Sforza* set all the *French* prisoners at liberty, restored the ships taken at *Rapalle*, removed his general *Fracassa* from *Pisa*, and delivered the castelletto of *Genoa* to the duke of *Ferrara*, and performed some other immaterial circumstances of the treaty, but evaded the rest; and such was his artful management, that he prevented the execution of the treaty of *Pisa* between *Charles* and the *Florentines*. All this he did under pretence that tho' he was sovereign of the *Genoese*, yet he had no compulsive power over their conduct; a distinction he invented after the treaties were signed. Under this evasion, he disappointed the *French* king of the succours that had been stipulated to be sent from *Genoa*, to support his interest in *Naples*; but, without having recourse to any pretexts, he stopped *Antonio Vespucci*, one of the *Florentine* deputies, in his road between *Turin* and *Florence*, with the treaty in his pocket, rifled him of his papers, and sent him prisoner to *Milan*. Perceiving by the treaty that the *Florentines*, as soon as *Pisa* was given up, were to send succours in men and money to the *French* in *Naples*, he and the *Venetians* contrived how to defeat the rendition. Each of them had an eye upon *Pisa*; *Sforza*, for reasons already hinted at, and the *Venetians*, because they aspired to the sovereignty of *Italy*, and knew that the *Florentines* could not preserve *Leghorn* without *Pisa*, which was the gate to *Tuscany*, and would give them the command of all the *Mediterranean*. *Sforza* knew their design, and countermined them. Thus *Pisa* was fed with hopes from both.

THE *Florentines*, sensible of the difficulties they had to encounter before the treaty of *Turin* could be executed, raised ^{The war} is renewed. an army, took the castle of *Palaia*, and encamped before *Vico Pisano* almost at the gates of *Pisa*. Here it appeared, that *Entragues*, the governor of the citadel of *Pisa*, and the other *French* generals, were as backward as the *Pisans* themselves were, towards admitting the *Florentines* into that city. *Paul Vitelli*, pretending secret orders from *Charles*, threw himself into *Vico Pisano*, from the siege of which the *Florentines* were driven with vast loss and disgrace. Authentic duplicates of the treaty of *Turin*, however, arriving in *Tuscany*, *Beaumont*, the *French* governor, presently gave up *Leghorn* to the *Florentines*; but when he began to consult with *Entragues* about the rendition of *Pisa* and the other places, the *Florentines* latter trifled so egregiously, that the *Florentines* were obliged to

*Another in
favour of
the Pisans.*

to complain to *Charles* who was at *Vercelli*. He seemed to blame *Entragues*, and sent him positive orders, which were no better obeyed than the former. He still found means to evade the performance; and the *Pisans*, who had now one thousand mercenaries in their pay, erected a strong fort at the *Florentine* gate, for their defence. This fort lay under the cannon of the citadel; and *Entragues* thinking the *Florentines* could not take it, invited them to come to the *Florentine* gate, and take possession of *Pisa*. *Paul Vitelli*, whom the *Florentines* had brought, or rather bought over to their interest, knew that the *Pisans* were determined to make resistance; and instructed the *Florentines* so well, that they carried the fort and drove the *Pisans* within it into the suburb, which they entered and took possession of. But while they thought themselves secure of success, the *French* governor all of a sudden fired upon their troops so furiously, that they were obliged to abandon the place, and retire to *Fasina*, from whence they again complained to *Charles*.

Design to favour the house of Medici. To embarrass the *Florentines* more, the allies and the pope now espoused the cause of *Peter de Medici*, and his kinsman *Virginio Orsini*, and sought to put him in possession of his family power in *Florence*. This design was strongly supported. *Peter* was master of ten thousand ducats in ready money; *Virginio* was at the head of a body of veterans; *Bentivoglio* was hired by the *Venetians* to act in concert with *Sforza*; and *Caterina Sforza* was to harry them from *Imola* and *Forli*. This plan was formed at *Rome*, while the *Venetians* still continued at war with the *Siennese* about *Monte Pulciano*, where they beat *Giovanni Savelli*'s regiment, took him prisoner, and demolished a fortress the *Siennese* had erected on the borders of the *Florentine* dominions. *Peter* was likewise encouraged to hope for assistance from the *Perugians*, whose sovereign was the pope; but their master was *Baglioni*, a friend to the *Medici* family. *Peter* and *Virginio* set out for *Rome*, with sanguine expectations of success from the assistances promised them, but chiefly from the divisions that prevailed in *Florence*. They continued for some time in the *Perugian* territory, and performed several important services to *Baglioni* and the *Perugians*. They could not, however, bring either of them to declare for them, the *Florentines* having engaged them in their interests by money, and taken some of the *Baglioni* family into their pay. *Peter* likewise failed in a design he had formed against *Cortona*, which was discovered by a mean fugitive; and not only that place was reinforced from the *Florentine* army, which still lay in the *Pisan*, but such measures were taken as prevented *Virginio* from joining with the

the Siennese. Peter and Virginio next endeavoured to force the Perugians; and this, together with the bad condition of their troops, who amounted to no more than three hundred men at arms and three thousand foot, made their friends look cold upon them. All they could obtain of Bentivoglio was permission to enlist men in the Bolognese; and Sforza had encouraged Peter only with a view of distracting the Florentines, while the Venetians refused to act, till they had proofs from Sforza that he was in earnest. But the real view of both was to drive the French out of Naples.

IN the mean while, Peter and Virginio were obliged to withdraw to Rapolano in the Siennese; but here Virginio, disgusted *gains* with the conduct of the confederates, entered into the service of France, and marched to Naples, where the army of Naples. king Ferdinand every day gained ground. Pisa was still in possession of Entragues, who, notwithstanding the most peremptory orders sent him by Charles, not only refused to deliver up the citadel to the Florentines, but in the beginning of the year 1496, he, by the intervention of Lucio Malvezzo, who was an agent for Sforza, (tho' he pretended to act for the Genoese) agreed to deliver up the citadel to the Pisans, on the payment of twenty thousand ducats. The Pisans struck the bargain, tho' all their state was not able to raise half the money. But the Genoese lent them four thousand ducats, the Venetians four thousand, and Sforza four thousand, tho' at that very time he pretended to negotiate a perpetual peace with the Florentines. By this means the Pisans were enabled to pay the twenty thousand ducats, twelve thousand of which Entragues appropriated to himself, and divided the remainder amongst his troops.

THE general opinion now was, that Charles had either *Difingenuously* secretly authorized Entragues for what he did, or that the *city* of the latter would lose his head. Neither was the case. Charles French was sincere, but was weak enough to be bullied, or flattered, *governor* into an approbation of all that had been done by Entragues, *towards* the Florentines. This was the more extraordinary, as the surrend^rer of Pisa absolutely disabled the Florentines from performing to Charles the engagements they had entered into by the treaty of Turin, and greatly contributed to his losing the kingdom of Naples. The Pisans, who razed their citadel as soon as it was in their possession, did not pretend to be independent; but they had a mortal aversion at all dependency upon the Florentines. They implored the assistance of all the Italian powers, and would have directly given themselves up to the subjection of Sforza, had he not been afraid of incurring

ring the resentment of his other allies. The affairs of *Pisa* were by them considered as a common cause, tho' each secretly aspired to be master of that city. As to the *Florentines*, they were now obnoxious to all the rest of *Italy*, on account of their attachment to the *French*; and all the confederates engaged to support the *Pisans* in maintaining their newly recovered liberty, which was confirmed to them even by *Maximilian*, as lord paramount of *Italy*. The dispute for the possession of *Pisa* lay now between the *Venetians* and *Sforza*, and was carried on by both parties doing the *Pisans* all the greatest offices, and giving them all the assistance that was in the power, even to a profusion of men and money. *Sforza*, however, partly through avarice, and partly through a natural craft, which led him sometimes to spin his politics to fine, began to slacken in his remittances to the *Pisans*, which made them apply the more assiduously to the *Venetians*, who supplied them so generously, that the *Pisans* offered to put themselves under their protection. The matter was debated in the senate of *Venice*, where the wisest members were against accepting the offer, and were for maintaining the dependency of the *Pisans*; but they were over-ruled by the party of their doge *Agostino Barbarico*. A public decree was drawn up by the senate, for taking the *Pisans* under the protection of *Venice*, for the defence of their liberty. The excellent author I last quoted^b, has exhibited a true, but very

Character of Sforza. extraordinary character of *Sforza*. With great wit and abilities he had a fund of vanities and weaknesses. He was the herald of his own praise, and used to boast that he was the son of fortune, and could manage his mother as he pleased. He publicly ascribed to his own merit all the great events that had happened in *Italy* for ten years before; and he vaunted in being the author of the most infamous counsels, provided they were successful. This arrogance became habitual, that he imagined himself to possess a kind of political infallibility; and he affected the character of cunning and treachery so greatly, that he was pleased with the appellation of the *Moor*.

The Florentines favoured by Charles ALL that the *Florentines* could do under the general odium of all the states of *Italy*, was to make earnest, but fruitless applications to *Charles*. That prince continued to favour them, and sent the most peremptory orders to all his officers and governors, who were in possession of the other places and castles stipulated by the treaty of *Turin* to be delivered to the *Florentines*, immediately to surrender them. He even

^b *GUICCIARDINI*, book iii.

sired the Florentine commissioners to repair to the castle of *Trasana*, and take possession of it; but instead of that, the French deputy-governor sold it before their faces to the *Genoese* for twenty-five thousand ducats. The governor of *Seranella* followed his example; and *Sforza* sent *Fracassa*, his general, with one hundred horse and four hundred foot into the *Lunigiana*, to over-awe the *Florentines* in those parts. Soon after *Entragues* gave up *Librafatta* to the *Pisans*, and sold *Pietra Santa* and *Mutrone* to the *Lucquese* for twenty-six thousand ducats. Those insults upon *Charles*, when at the height of his resentment, produced only a verbal order that *Entragues* should not return to *France*; and his patron *Ligni* was censured, only by being deprived of the honour of sleeping all night in the king's bed-chamber. The insolent favourite however, and his dependent, were soon after restored to the full enjoyment of their master's favour. The *Florentines* were obliged to put up with all, because, while the confederates were in possession of *Pisa*, it could not be their interest to break with *France*; and indeed, at this very time, the *Florentines* had resisted both their importunities and menaces, to enter into their alliance, upon which the confederates, after providing for the safety of *Pisa*, applied themselves entirely to the *Neapolitan* war. The *Venetians*, at the same time, gained over *Astorre*, the lord of *Faenza*, to be a check upon the *Florentines*.

THE *Florentines*, on the other hand, having no dependence but on the *French*, most earnestly requested *Charles* to return in person into *Italy*; and that prince made great preparations for the expedition, which was to be carried on by sea and land. *Charles* was the more animated to this, as the duke of *Savoy* and the marquis of *Montferrat* seemed to be disposed to join him; and he was not even without hopes that the terror of his arms would induce *Sforza* to break with the allies. For this purpose, he dispatched *Rigault*, one of the chief officers of his household, to let *Sforza* know his danger; but to offer him his friendship, upon his performing the articles of the treaty of *Vercelli*, and renewing his alliance with *France*. *Sforza* was startled at the news of the preparations making by *Charles*, which far exceeded those for his last expedition; but he amused *Rigault* with plausible pretexts, till, finding himself imposed on, he left *Milan*. *Sforza* invited *Maximilian* to march into *Italy*, and brought the *Venetians* to consent to send an army and money to *Alessandria* to oppose the *French*: they objected, however, to the march of *Maximilian*, who had pretensions upon some of their territories, and to making *Sforza* the general of the confederacy; but at last, lest he should

should throw himself into the arms of *France*, they agreed to all he proposed.

The allies attack the Florentines,

WE are now to consider the interests of *France* and *Florence* as the same. The allies employed *Bentivoglio* to attack the *Florentines* on the side of *Bologna*, while the *Siennese* and the *Pisans* were to do the same in other quarters : but tho' *Bentivoglio* was in the pay of the confederates, he was terrified by the greatness of the *French* power, and gave *Charles* private assurances that he would not execute his commission. It was with some reason thought, that, if *Charles* had prosecuted this undertaking with the same vigour he began it, he might have reduced all *Italy* to his obedience. But the cardinal of *St. Malo*, his treasurer and first minister for *Italian* affairs, had been corrupted by the pope and *Sforza*, to retard the operations ; which he found plausible pretexts to do, notwithstanding all the impetuosity of *Charles*, who loitered away his time in a love-intrigue, though all his friends in *Italy*, even with tears, implored him to be expeditious, the *French* being now reduced to the last extremity in the kingdom of *Naples* ; where *Ferdinand* died, in the height of all his glory, and was succeeded by his uncle *Federigo*, or *Frederick*, a prudent prince. Pleasure rendered *Charles* deaf to all solicitations to set out on his march, though *Maximilian*, in consequence of a convention between him and the allies, had already entered *Italy*, and undertook to compromise all differences relating to *Pisa*. The *Florentines*, notwithstanding the indolence of *Charles*, and all the applications of the allies, continued firm in their attachments to *France*, in which the government was greatly confirmed by the sermons and harangues of *Savonarola*, who thundered out judgments against the court of *Rome* and the allies. This enthusiast had even interest enough to prevail upon the *Florentines* singly to stand the shock of the confederacy, though the *French* king could give them no assistance ; and, had he been willing, his abilities were very questionable, because his generals and ministers paid no regard to his orders. It is certain, that, humanly speaking, the prospect of the *Florentines* was at this time very uncomfortable. They still maintained, though at a great expence to themselves, a war with the *Pisans*, who continued to be supported by the *Venetians* ; but its operations were indecisive, and so trifling, that they deserve no particular mention in history. Their generals, *Francesco Secco* and *Ercole Bentivoglio*, however, obtained some advantages, which cost the former his life. Their war with the *Siennese*, who were likewise supported by the allies, was equally unimportant ; though that great patriot *Ugo Capponi* was killed in storming a little place, which

who are distressed.

which is not to be found upon the maps. By those wars, the enemies of *Florence* became good soldiers, and the *Venetians* continued vigorously to support them; while *Sforza*, who seldom was in earnest in any thing he undertook, cooled more and more in his friendship, and at last seemed intirely to abandon them. This was owing to his dependence on the great authority of the emperor *Maximilian*, who now sent two ambassadors to the *Florentines*, to notify his intention to make up all differences amongst the *Italian* princes and states, and requiring them to suspend their hostilities against the *Pisans*. The *Florentines* returned a polite but vague answer to this intimation; and the *Venetians*, equally suspecting *Maximilian* and *Sforza*, ordered to *Pisa* greater supplies, both of men and money, than they ever had sent before. This consideration drove *Sforza* once more into a correspondence with the *Florentines*, and he endeavoured by all means to persuade them to submit to *Maximilian*'s decision. This they peremptorily ^{They refuse} refused to do, unless they were previously put into possession of ^{to submit} *Pisa*; and, having put *Leghorn* into a state of defence, they ^{to Maxi-} re-assembled their forces in the *Pisan*. The truth is, *Maxi-* ^{milian's} ^{arbitra-} *milian*, notwithstanding his high-sounding titles, made so poor a figure in *Italy*, and was himself in such needy circumstances, that the *Florentines* despised him, and believed him to be only the tool of *Sforza*. They affected, however, the most profound regard for his imperial authority; but gave him to understand, that they expected he would put them into possession of *Pisa*, before they came to any resolution to join in the confederacy. *Maximilian* was so much nettled with this declaration, which he received at *Genoa*, that he gave the *Florentine* deputies no other answer than referring them to the pope's legate, who referred them to *Sforza*, who was at *Milan*; to which city the deputies repaired, and there a most exquisite scene of dissimulation passed: for while the deputies were waiting for an audience from *Sforza*, they received orders from *Florence*, where the result of their negociation was known, to return home, without entering upon business with him. They were introduced, however, into his presence, under pretence of paying him their compliments; but all his art, though he declared the emperor had intrusted him with his answer, could not draw them into any negociation on that or any other head; which threw *Sforza*, who could not bear the thoughts of being outwitted, into a violent passion; so that he abruptly broke up the conference, to which he had invited all his chief nobility and foreign ministers, that they might be witnesses of his triumph in over-reaching the *Florentines*.

who re-
pairs to
Pisa.

The History of Florence.

MAXIMILIAN now in good earnest proceeded against the *Florentines*; and a *Genoese* squadron landed him at *Porto Spezie*, from whence he went to *Pisa*, and made dispositions for besieging *Leghorn* both by sea and land. The *Florentines*, on their part, hired a body of *French* troops; and a *French* fleet, designed for the relief of *Naples*, threw the troops into *Leghorn*, together with a large quantity of provisions, which the besieged stood in great need of. This relief was so feasible, that the *Florentines* attributed it to the immediate interposition of *Providence* in their favour, which *Savonarda* had predicted some days before. The siege, however, went on; and the *French* squadron proceeding on its voyage, *Maximilian* straitened the place both by sea and land. But the place was well provided for resistance; and a storm arose, which wrecking the *Venetian* and *Genoese* fleets, disheartened him so, that he precipitately raised the siege; and, to the amazement of all *Italy*, he marched to the *Milanese*, after doing the *Florentines* no farther damage than plundering an almost nameless village. From the *Milanese*, without acquainting any one of his intention, he returned to *Germany*, and left the *Italians* full of contempt for his pusillanimity, folly, and poverty.

The Vene-
tians sup-
port the
Pisans.

MAXIMILIAN, and the few *German* troops he had with him, which did not amount to above two thousand, being withdrawn from *Tuscany*, *Sforza* recalled his army likewise, and left the whole weight of the war upon the *Venetians*, who supported it at a prodigious expence. In the mean while, the *French* intirely lost *Naples*; and *Charles* sought to take his revenge upon the *Genoese*, who were out of humor with the duke of *Milan*, for not giving them the preference to the *Lucquese* in the sale of *Pietra Santa*. *Sforza*, upon this, took into his pay some troops that *Maximilian* had left in *Italy*, and sent them to *Genoa*; and, forgetting all his disgrits at the *Venetians*, he offered them his friendship. *Charles*, by this time, had sent a strong body of *Swiss* and *French*, under *Trivulzi*, to *Asti*, and prepared to attack the *Milanese* as well as *Genoa*. With this view, he required the *Florentines* to favour him, by attacking the *Lunigiana* and the *Eastern Riviera*. *Sforza*, who had yet received no succours from *Venice*, was not prepared to stand those shocks, and the campaign of 1497 opened with great advantages on the side of the *French*; and had *Trivulzi* been properly authorized, he could have taken *Alessandria*, and have marched to the gates of *Milan*. But fearing to proceed without orders, *Sforza* not only received the *Venetian* reinforcements, but took such measures against *Genoa* as defeated all the attempts of the *French* there. Their gene-

generals laid the blame upon the *Florentines*; but the miscarriage was owing to the dilatory wavering counsels of *Charles*; for the *Florentines* refused to take the field at the time required, because his army was not at hand to support them. The same backwardness and inconstancy obliged *Trivulzi* to forego all the advantages he had obtained in the *Milanese*, and to retire to *Asti*. Many reasons were assigned, besides the backwardness of the *Florentines*. The most probable were, that an *Italian* war was disagreeable to the *French* in general; that *Sforza*'s money had great influence in the counsels of *Charles*; and that the duke of *Orleans*, who was next heir to the crown of *France*, and had been appointed to command in *Italy*, disliked being out of the kingdom, as the state of *Charles*'s health was now almost desperate.

THE war between the *Florentines* and *Pisans* was still carried on, and count *Rinuccio* obtained some advantages over *Manfrone* the *Pisan* general. But a long truce being made between the kings of *France* and *Spain*, in which the *Pisans* were included, gave them a breathing time; the *Florentines*, who were included in it likewise, not daring to continue the war against them, while they were under so powerful a protection. They were however under prodigious apprehensions lest the *Pisans*, who were the only gainers by the truce, should keep possession of *Pisa*, and *Peter de Medici* should regain his authority in *Florence*. They were joined, for his own purposes, by *Sforza*, who wished rather to see *Pisa* in the hands of the *Florentines* than of the *Venetians*; and he represented, both to the pope and the *Spaniards*, who had now a great sway in the affairs of *Italy*, the bad policy of obliging the *Florentines* to depend on the *French* for the recovery of *Pisa*, which was detained from them by the *Venetians*. The *Venetians*, on the other hand, represented the *Florentines* as being naturally inclined to the *French*; and were so far from shewing any disposition to restore *Pisa* to them, that they insisted upon *Leghorn* being delivered up by the *Florentines* into the hands of the confederates; a demand which startled the pope and *Sforza* so much, that they dropt the affair of the restitution, and consulted how to break off the connections between the *Florentines* and the *French*, by restoring *Peter de Medici* to his authority in *Florence*, which was now split into factions: *Savonarola*'s enthusiasm in favour of the popular government, had gained him a great party; and many of the public offices were filled with his followers, who were generally men of low and illiberal education. Their misconduct, and a scarcity of corn which happened at that time, was favourable to the views of *Peter*, who was likewise backed by the *Venetians*, because

they thought their friendship would be so necessary to him, that he would give *Pisa* up for ever to their possession. Peter's chief dependence, however, lay upon *Bernardo del Nero*, a friend of his family, and a man of virtue, interest, and ability, and who was chosen gonfalonier; as were several of his other friends into the principal posts of the government. The

Attempt of Peter de Medici unsuccessful.

pope came into the scheme of restoring Peter; and *Sforza* seemed to be indifferent as to the matter. The cardinal *S. Severino*, and *Alviano*, an officer of some distinction, were Peter's friends. The *Venetians* furnished him with money; and *Sienna* not being included in the late truce, he obtained from the *Siennese* one thousand horse and foot; and he set out at their head in the afternoon, in hopes to surprise *Florence* by day-break. A storm, which arose in the night-time, disconcerted his measures; and it was late in the morning when he arrived before *Florence*. The *Florentine* magistrates, by this time, had taken the alarm: they gave *Paul Vitelli* the command of their troops in the city, they sent for their army in the *Pisan*, and imprisoned all whom they suspected to be Peter's friends. Thus, after waiting four hours within bow-shot of *Florence*, he was obliged to return to *Sienna*; while his friend *Alviano* plundered *Todi*, and put to death fifty-three of the *Gibelin* faction.

Its consequences.

THE attempt of *Peter de Medici* upon *Florence*, though disappointed, was attended with bloody effects. It is certain he had many friends there; and the whole of his correspondence being laid open, they were either committed to prison, or obliged to fly. Four citizens of great eminence, *Nicolo Ridolfi*, *Gianozzo Pucci*, *Giovanni Cambi*, and *Lorenzo Tornabuoni*, were capitally convicted, and put to death, for favouring him. *Bernardo del Nero*, the gonfalonier, was tried, and condemned to die, for being privy to the conspiracy, and not preventing it. This sentence, though legal, was held to be severe, and his friends appealed to a general assembly of the people. The magistrates, however, pronounced his case not to be appealable, and signed a sentence, which put him to death that very night. This strain of authority was undoubtedly a violation of the principles of popular government, which *Savonarola* and his faction espoused; but it suited their interest, and all other considerations were forgot.

Truce between France and Spain.

THE crowns of *France* and *Spain* had now entered into a truce for two months, without consulting any of the *Italian* powers, and loudly censured the *Venetians* for perpetuating discord in *Italy*, by keeping possession of *Pisa*. Incredible are the fluctuations which at this time happened in *Italy*, where the public jealousy of the *Venetians* disposed almost every

power in it to favour the *French*. The *Florentines* were perpetually soliciting *Charles* to hasten his expedition, and had made *d'Aubigny* the general of their army. The marquis of *Mantua*, who had been ungratefully dismissed by the *Venetians*, after doing them eminent services, entered likewise into the *Florentine* pay. The duke of *Savoy* was naturally attached to the *French*, and consequently to the *Florentines*. *Benivoglio* of *Bologna* promised to join the *French*; and even the pope himself engaged not to oppose them. The unaccountable trifling of *Charles* destroyed all those fair appearances. He had formed many engagements in *Italy*, particularly with the *Vitelli* and the *Orsini*; but had sent no money to fulfil them: so that, in some cases, the *Florentines* were obliged to make them good, and likewise to lend *Charles* money. In short, the *French* interest in *Italy*, about the beginning of the year 1498, was intirely destroyed.

THE *Florentines*, having thus no dependence on *France*, applied in great secrecy to the pope, and offered to come into *rentines* the *Italian* confederacy, provided they were put into pos- *apply to the* session of *Pisa*, which had been, in fact, all along, the great *pope*. bait for their attachment to *France*. The pope greedily embraced the proposal, and pressed the *Venetians* upon that head, as being the only means of consolidating all the *Italian* powers against the invasions of the *Ultramontanes*. The *Venetians* reprimanded; and, without pretending to any property in *Pisa*, upbraided their confederates for deviating from their promise to maintain the *Pisans* in their liberty, and for ungratefully rewarding the services that *Venice* had performed for the public good of *Italy*, though their situation was such, that they could not have partaken in the common calamity, had the *Ultramontanes* been successful. During those altercations, *Charles VIII.* of *France*, died suddenly at *Ambois*, and was succeeded by *Lewis* duke of *Orleans*, a prince who had been bred a soldier, of a good understanding, far advanced in life, and, in almost every respect, the reverse of *Charles*. His claim upon the kingdom of *Naples* was the same with that of *Charles*; and he had, besides, a private claim, in right of his own blood, upon the dutchy of *Milan*, as descending, by the female side, from the *Viscontis*, its lawful and original masters. As his title, in point of hereditary right, was unquestionable, that of the *Sforza* family being only by a natural daughter, *Lewis* resolved not to lose sight of it; and had, even while he was duke of *Orleans*, made some attempts to assert it. Add to this, that he had reasons for entertaining a personal hatred to *Sforza*; and, on his accession to the crown of *France*, he assumed the titles of king of the *Two Sicilies*

(which included Naples) and duke of *Milan*. He notified in form to the *Florentines*, and the other *Italian* states, his determined intention to make good those claims, and to begin with that of *Milan*. Almost all circumstances concurred in favouring his undertaking. He had all the advantages his predecessor was possessed of, and the *Italian* powers had an opinion of his steadiness. By a strange refinement in politics, the *Florentines* were the only people in *Italy* who disliked the accession of *Lewis* to the throne of *France*, and preferred *Sforza*'s friendship to his. The pope and the *Venetians* courted him; and *Sforza*, to divert the storm impending on his own dominions, persuaded the *Florentines* to make their court to him likewise. But *Sforza* never lost sight of *Pisa*, of which he wanted to dispossess the *Venetians*, and now in good earnest assisted the *Florentines* to recover it. The *Florentines* all this while were continuing the war in the *Pisan*; but were defeated at *S. Regulo*, in one of those skirmishes which their historians call a battle. The *Florentine* general was *Rinuccio*, who, on the loss of this battle, the particulars of which are not worth recounting, intirely lost his reputation. They gave *Paul Vitelli*, whom they had a high opinion of, the command of their forces, with the title of captain-general; and made application to the *French* king to interpose in their favour, but without any effect. They had much better success with *Sforza*, who grew more and more jealous of the *Venetians*, and therefore sent a trusty agent to *Florence*, to concert what was most proper for reinstating them in the possession of *Pisa*. All *Italy* was then in peace, but the *Florentines* and the *Pisans*. A few disputes had happened, indeed, in the *Romagna*; but they were of little consequence, and soon terminated.

SFORZA *breaks* *with the* *Venetians*. *SFORZA* became now so unmeasurably jealous of the *Venetians* as to proceed to an open breach with them. He began by denying their troops a passage through the *Parmesan* and *Pontremoli* to *Pisa*, which obliged the *Venetians* to take a large compass by the *Ferrarese*; and he sent a strong reinforcement to the *Florentines*, with an offer, which was accepted of, to pay his share towards a new levy of three hundred men at arms, part to be commanded by *Paul Baglione*, and part by the lord of *Piombino*. He likewise lent them three hundred thousand ducats; and so effectually represented the dangerous consequences, to *Italy*, of the *Venetians* keeping possession of *Pisa*, that the pope promised to assist him and the *Florentines* with one hundred men at arms, and three gallies, for intercepting the succours of the *Venetians* to *Pisa*. The mind of his holiness, however, was so intent upon aggrandizing his own

own family, whom he expected to put into possession of the kingdom of *Naples*, that he paid little or no regard to his engagements with the *Florentines*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the backwardness of his holiness, the *Florentines*, having a great opinion of their general *Paul Vitelli*, and trusting to the friendship of *Sforza*, once more took the field against the *Pisans*, who continued still to be vigorously supported by the *Venetians*. *Sforza* brought *Bentivoglio* intirely into his own interests; and, at this period, we are to consider the interests of the *Florentines* and *Sforza* as being the same. *Sforza* made large additions to his own troops, and lent others to the *Florentines*, to defend them from all attempts that might be made against them by the *Venetians*. The lord of *Faenza* was then the ally of *Venice*; and, to ballance his interest, the *Florentines* took into their pay *Ottaviano Riccio*, the lord of *Imola* and *Forli*. This *Ottaviano*, according to *Guicciardin*, was intirely directed by his mother *Caterina Sforza*, who had been privately married to the cardinal *Giovanni de Medici*, and therefore earnestly desired to see the authority of the *Medici* family restored in *Florence*.

THE recovery of *Pisa* to the *Florentines* was now the bone of contention in *Italy*. *Sforza*, by his authority with the *war con-Lucquese*, prevailed on them to withdraw great part of their *tissues*. succours from the *Pisans*; but the *Florentines* had the misfortune at this time to be engaged in a war, not only with the *Pisans*, but with the *Genoese*, on account of their affairs in the *Lunigiana*; and both states were the irreconcileable enemies of the *Florentines*. But the latter, now secure of *Sforza*, took the field against the *Pisans*, and obtained many advantages over them and their protectors the *Venetians*. The *Florentine* general, *Paul Vitelli*, might even have laid siege to *Pisa*; but he declined it, and, crossing the *Arno*, he invested and stormed *Buti*, by which he straitened *Pisa* itself. After this, *Vitelli* erected a fort on the hill of *S. Giovanni della Vena*, and made great progress towards besieging *Pisa* itself; for he even opened trenches before *Vico Pisano*, which was in a manner a suburb of *Pisa*, and which was obliged to surrender to him. He afterwards cut in pieces a body of *Venetian* troops, who came to assist in taking the fort of *Pietra Dolorosa*, which had been besieged by the *Pisans*.

THE *Venetians* now thought that they had proceeded in the *A negocia-* war as far as was consistent with their interest, which was *tion set on* intirely confined to *Pisa*. They therefore made some advances *foot*; towards an accommodation with the *Florentines*; and the latter yielded up a point, which had been long contested, that

of giving the *Venetian* republic the right hand in the negotiation. *Guido Antonio Vespucci*, and *Bernardo Rucellai*, two citizens of great authority, were sent to *Venice*, to negotiate on the part of the *Florentine* republic, which was at this time sincerely disposed for a peace. To give weight to their negotiations, they brought a powerful army into the field, and the duke of *Milan* declared openly in their favour. The ambassadors met with a polite reception at *Venice*; but insisted upon the right which their republic had to *Pisa*. The answer of the *Venetians* was civil, plausible, and dilatory. The *Spanish* ambassador was called in to mediate; and he proposed, that the possession of *Pisa* should revert to the *Florentines* as a confederate, but not a subject, state. The *Venetians* exposed the futility of that distinction; and not only continued to reinforce *Pisa*, but espoused the cause of *Peter de Medici*. They likewise endeavoured to gain over to their service *Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*, who had seized on some castles belonging to the *Milanese*; and the *Siennese* refused to make any peace with *Florence*, unless the *Florentines* would absolutely renounce all their right to *Monte Pulciano*. But *Pandolfo*, who then had the chief sway in *Sicenna*, being a friend to the *Florentines*, brought his countrymen to agree to a five years truce with them on such advantageous terms, as established his authority in that state; and the *Venetians*, under the duke of *Urbino*, were denied a passage through its territory.

The Venetians attack the Florentines.

THE *Venetians*, upon this, resolved to attack the *Florentines*, by the *Romagna*, in hopes of being able to master the towns at the foot of the *Appennines*, through the interest of *Peter de Medici*. In this design they partly succeeded, and would have gained a passage into the vale of *Mugelli*, had it not been for the resolution of the governor of *Castiglione*, who held that place out so long, that count *Rinuccio* and the lord of *Piombino*, marching to its relief, raised the siege. This irruption into the *Florentine* territories induced the duke of *Milan* to send to the *Florentines* a powerful reinforcement, while *Paul Vitelli*, in the *Pisan*, took *Vico Pisano* and *Librasatta*, after a siege of four days. The *Venetians*, alarmed with this success, practised on the marquis of *Mantua*, who had some differences with the duke of *Milan*, to leave his service, which he accordingly did, and the marquis was sent to *Pisa* with three hundred men at arms. Great things might have been expected from this defection of so powerful a prince, had the *Venetians* encouraged him. But they were induced by some of the friends of the *Medici* family to believe they could get possession of *Bibiena* in the *Casantin*, which would have given

iven so powerful a diversion to the *Florentines*, as to secure to the *Venetians* the possession of *Pisa* without expence. Thus the marquis, having only a bare title, was left without any support or following; and, out of resentment, he returned to the service of *Sforza*, with the title of captain-general of the imperial and *Milanese* troops.

IN the mean while, the *Florentines* had intelligence of the *and distrefs* design against *Bibienna*, and sent a commissary to prevent it. *them*; But though he imprisoned some of the suspected parties within the town, he behaved in all other respects with so little care and precaution, that *Bibienna* was taken by stratagem, without a blow being struck. *Alviano*, the friend of *Peter de Medici*, then besieged *Poppi*, the strongest fortress in the vale of *Bibienna*; but was baffled before it through the vigilance of the *Florentines*. The duke of *Urbino*, however, penetrated into the *Casantin*, which he subdued, all but the fortress of *Poppi*; but the *Florentines* had the good fortune to discover and suppress a plot formed by the *Venetians*, for becoming masters of *Arezzo*.

THE irruption of the *Venetians* into the *Casantin* obliged *but they are* the *Florentines* to recal their general *Paul Vitelli* from the *worsted*. *Pisan*, after he had in vain endeavoured to take *Pisa*. He marched directly into the *Casantin*, where the *Venetians* were encamped in the neighbourhood of *Prato Vecchio*, which he obliged them to abandon; and, being joined by *Fracassa* with one thousand *Milanese* troops, he drove the *Venetians* into prodigious difficulties; so that their wisest senators began to be tired of the war. At their persuasion, a fresh negotiation was set on foot at *Ferrara*, where the principal deliberation was how to get decently rid of *Pisa*, which had cost such immense sums to the *Venetian* republic. But a new scene now opened in *Italy*.

LEWIS XIII. king of *France*, was bent on the conquest *Views of* of *Milan*, and for that purpose entered into a strict confederacy with the *Venetians*. The pope, on the other hand, had powers, entirely devoted himself to the acquisition of the kingdom of *Naples* for his family, and to a match between *Charlotta*, the daughter of *Federigo* king of *Naples*, who had been brought up at the *French* court, and his son the cardinal of *Valenza*, afterwards the famous *Cæsar Borgia*, who, on that occasion, renounced the ecclesiastical life and habit. The *French* king and the pope mutually assisted each other. The king wanted to be divorced from his wife, and the pope to acquire one into his family. The sentence of divorce between the king and the queen was presented to the former by *Cæsar Borgia*, who, as a reward, was made duke of *Valentino* by

by the *French* king, with a revenue of twenty thousand livres, besides the possession of the city of *Valence*. *Lewis* then applied himself seriously to the conquest of the *Milonese*; and, for that purpose, made a peace with the emperor *Maximilian*, and the kings of *England* and *France*. *Sforza* was no stranger to his intention, and endeavoured all he could to counteract him, by gaining the *Florentines* and the *Venetians* to his interest. That he might induce the *Florentines* to be friend him, he pressed the *Venetians* to deposit *Pisa* in his hands, and promised to deliver it to the *Florentines* in a certain time. Other historians say, that the *Florentines* agreed to deposit *Pisa* in the hands of *Lewis*, or of *Paul Vitelli*, a the college of the cardinals. Be that as it will, it is certain that the *Florentines* were divided on this occasion. They had hitherto no reason for trusting the *French* king, and a great party in their state wanted to see the duke of *Milan* humbled. The *Venetians* strenuously opposed all the motion towards a deposit. The duke of *Milan* likewise counteracted it, lest it should be the means of uniting the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*. It was the interest of *France* to keep the *Italian* powers divided; and the pope, who had great sway in the negotiation, took part with *France* in the case of the deposit, which he thought would add to the dignity and importance of the holy see. To conquer the stubbornness of the *Venetians*, in the affair of the deposit, they were offered *Cremona* and the whole *Ghiradadda*; but this offer could not be accepted of, without aggrandizing the *French* too much in *Italy*. The affair was debated in the senate of *Venice*, where it was resolved, at all events, to declare against *Sforza*, and to join with *France*; but without concluding anything with regard to the deposit of *Pisa*. *Lewis*, whose great aim was to take possession of *Milan*, did not relish this conduct; because it tended to cement the interests of *Sforza* with those of the *Florentines*. He, therefore, negotiated a peace with *Maximilian*, who had many claims upon the *Venetians*, in order to keep them in awe; and openly declared to them, as well as the *Florentines*, that he was determined to come into no terms with the *Venetians*, unless *Pisa* was deposited as the *Florentines* had proposed.

Lewis THE inflexibility of *Lewis* on this head, created great uneasiness to his allies in *Italy*; and the pope himself was the *Venetians* amongst the first to counsel him to abandon the cause of the *Florentines*, rather than disoblige the *Venetians*, whose friendship was absolutely necessary for his conquering *Milan*. *Lewis* saw the cogency of those reasons, and yielded to them by concluding a treaty with the *Venetians*. This treaty obliged both

oth them and the French to invade the *Milanese* at one time. *Remona* and *Ghiradadda* were ceded to the *Venetians*; they were to be guarantied in the possession of their territory by *Lewis*; and they were, for a limited time, to keep on foot a body of troops for his service. *Lewis* was sensible that this treaty was inconsistent with his repeated professions, and he kept so secret, that it was long before either the pope or the Duke of *Milan* came to the knowledge of it. In the meantime, he talked to the *Florentine* deputies in a strain quite different from that which he had made use of before, which obliged them to enter into new connections with *Sforza*.

THE *Venetians* still kept possession of *Bibienna*, and had a *War in the booting* in the *Casantin*. *Paul Vitelli* was the *Florentine* general against them. The *Venetian* generals were *Carlo Orsino* and *Alviano*. But the *Florentines* were so powerfully supported by the duke of *Milan*, and the mountaineers of the *Casantin* had such an aversion to the *Venetians*, that *Vitelli* found means to straiten their quarters in such a manner as to put all their troops up in *Bibienna*, where they resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity. Had *Sforza*'s advice been taken, the *Venetian* army at this time must have been irrecoverably ruined; but the *Florentines* were disheartened by the growing expence of the war, and unable to continue it.

COUNT *Rinuccio*, their former general, was at the head *Conduct of* of a party against *Vitelli*, who behaved with great arrogance *Vitelli* in his command, and affected a kind of independency on *the Florentine* civil government of *Florence*. He had even granted a *rentine* pass, without consulting them, to the duke of *Urbino* and *general*. *Giulian de Medici*, who were shut up in *Bibienna*; and in every other respect he behaved in a manner that shewed he did not think it for his interest to put an end to the war. The *Venetians* had applied to count *Pitigliano*, who had assembled some troops at *Ravenna* for the relief of *Bibienna*; and, by the dilatory conduct of *Vitelli*, he had advanced as far as *Elci*, a castle belonging to the duke of *Urbino*, on the *Florentine* borders. *Vitelli*, leaving a body of troops to block up *Bibienna*, marched to oppose him; and *Pitigliano* encountered such difficulties, that he refused to advance. While matters were thus in suspense, both parties entertained thoughts of peace; and, by the unwearied application of *Sforza*, the matter was referred to his father-in-law *Ercole d'Este*, duke of *Ferrara*, who, for that purpose, repaired to *Venice*, to which city the *Venetians* sent, at the same time, *Giovanni Battista Ridolfo*, and *Pagola Antonio Soderini*, two persons of the first rank and character in their republic. At the opening of this congress, great debates happened whether *Ercole* was

was to act as an umpire or a mediator. The *Florentines* had many reasons to wish that he would act in the latter capacity. They knew that he was partial in favour of the *Venetians*, and that *Sforza* would sacrifice every thing in order to bring the *Venetians* into a peace. The *Venetians*, on the other hand, were so haughty as to declare, that they were for *Ercole* acting as an umpire, and pronouncing sentence; but that they would stand to no terms that should award the possession of *Pisa* to the *Florentines*; and many of the senators insisted upon their republic's being reimbursed in the expences of the war. The more judicious part, however, of the *Venetians* entertained very different sentiments. They knew, that the *Florentines* had still great resources. They saw the difficulty and expence of retaining *Pisa*, and despaired of being able to relieve *Bibienna*. They considered the assistance they were to receive from *France* as being uncertain and precarious; and above all, they were alarmed with the preparations making by the *Turks* against their dominions in the *Morea*. Upon the whole, therefore, they inclined to leave the matter entirely to *Ercole's* decision. *Sforza* seconded their opinion warmly, that he threatened to withdraw his troops from *Tuscany*, if the *Florentines* did not consent to leave every thing to his father-in-law's arbitration. The *Florentines* were obliged to submit, and the duke had eight days allowed him for drawing up his sentence. At last it was published, and importeth,

“ That in eight days next ensuing, all hostilities should cease between the *Florentines* and the *Venetians*: that on *St. Mark's* day next, at farthest, the allies of both the *Pisans* and the *Florentines* should withdraw their troops out of *Tuscany* into their own territories; and particularly, that the *Venetians* should recal all their forces from *Pisa* and its territory, and evacuate *Bibienna*, with all other places taken from the *Florentines*, who, on their part, were to grant a full amnesty to the inhabitants of *Bibienna* for all offences: that, in consideration of the charges incurred by the *Venetians*, which they estimated at no less than eight hundred thousand ducats, the *Florentines* should pay them fifteen thousand ducats yearly for the term of twelve years: that the *Pisans* should have full power and free liberty to exercise any trade or calling, both by land or sea: that they should continue in possession of the castles of *Pisa* and other places which they held at the time of passing this decision, and might garrison them with *Pisans* or foreigners, provided they were not of any state suspected by the *Florentines*: that their garrisons should be paid out of the taxes raised by the *Florentines* on the *Pisans*; but that no larger sums should be levied, nor more standing troops

The Florentines submit to the duke of Ferrara's arbitration.

troops maintained, than was practised before the rebellion : that the *Pisans* should be permitted to demolish all the castles and fortified places in their territory, which they had taken from the *Florentines*, while they were under the protection of the *Venetians* : that in *Pisa* the chief justice in civil cases should be a foreigner, elected by the *Pisans* themselves, out of a country not obnoxious to the *Florentines* ; and that a justice, commissioned by the *Florentines*, might have power to receive appeals, but not in criminal cases where death, banishment, or confiscation were concerned, without the presence of an assistant justice or assessor, commissioned by *Ercole*, or his successors, to be elected by him or them out of five civilians of the dutchy of *Ferrara*, nominated by the *Pisans* : that all goods moveable and immoveable should be restored on both sides, but without any allowance for interest. In all other cases the *Florentines* might assert their rights in the *Pisan* ; and the *Pisans* were to engage for the future not to take up arms against the *Florentines* on any account whatsoever."

THIS decision equally disgusted all parties, and the duke *His decision of Ferrara* was personally insulted by the *Venetians*. The *Pisans* were the loudest in their complaints that they had been *displeased* betrayed by the *Venetians* ; that they might have obtained *all parties* better terms of the *Florentines* themselves ; that the concessions in their favour were only in appearance ; and that they were now reduced to a state of greater slavery than ever to the *Florentines*. Those discontents arose to such a height as to oblige *Ercole*, who was apprehensive for the safety of his own person, to make an explanatory addition to his sentence in favour of the *Pisans* ; and the *Venetians* ratified the same, by immediately withdrawing all their troops from *Tuscany*. The *Florentines* were, if possible, more disgusted than either the *Pisans* or the *Venetians* were, at the duke's award. They complained of being obliged to reimburse the charges of the war, and, in fact, to forego all their rights of sovereignty over the *Pisans*. They, however, were quieted, by *Sforza's* threatening to ratify the duke's decree ; but it does not appear that they ever ratified the explanatory addition. The *Pisans*, for some time, debated whether they should accept or not accept of the award ; and such was their hatred of the *Florentines*, that rather than submit to them they offered to become subject to *Sforza* ; but he declined the tender. The *Pisans*, thus disappointed, resolved to stand all extremities, rather than again return to the *Florentine* yoke, which obliged the *Florentines* to order their general *Vitelli* to march

march with his army into the *Pisan*, and to endeavout to reduce that city by force.

Sforza's
distress:

THE duke of *Ferrara*'s decree, though effected by *Sforza* was so far from reconciling the *Venetians* to him, that they were more than ever determined on his ruin. *Sforza* had recourse to *Maximilian*, who was perpetually draining him of money, without doing him the smallest service, and who was himself at this time engaged in a war with the *Swiss*. *Lewis* the *French* king availed himself of this disposition of affairs and now prepared in earnest for his *Italian* expedition. He sent some money to the *Swiss*, to enable them to make head against *Maximilian*, who was the on'y support that *Sforza* could rely on. *Sforza*, upon this, sought to unite himself with the pope, the *Florentines*, and *Federigo* king of *Naples*. By all his proposals for that purpose proved in vain; and at last he was driven to apply for assistance to *Bajazet* the emperor of the *Turks*, as being the most likely power to give a diversion to the *Venetians*. This application not having the desired effect, he offered to assist the *Florentines* in the reduction of *Pisa*, on condition, when that was effected, of their assisting him with three hundred men at arms, and two thousand foot, for the defence of his dominions. *Lewis* the *French* king applied to the *Florentines* at the same time and to the same purpose: he required of their state a regiment of five hundred men at arms for a year; on which condition he promised to assist them with one thousand lances for the same time, and to make no peace with *Sforza* till they were put into possession of *Pisa*. The *Florentines* were puzzled how to act under such circumstances; but, after weighing all arguments, they determined to remain neutral, and to push the conquest of *Pisa* upon their own bottom. They had, however, reasons for keeping well with *Sforza*, and civilly declined entering into any treaty with him till they were in possession of *Pisa*, as it could be of service to neither party for *Florence* to draw upon herself the resentment of the *French*.

THUS *Sforza* was deserted on all hands. His usurpation and the injustice done to his nephew and family, together with his noted insincerity in all his actions, had rendered his name a public nuisance; and he was now abandoned even by his father-in law the duke of *Ferrara*, who pretended that he durst not disoblige the *Venetians*. *Sforza*, being thus driven to depend upon himself alone, fortified his frontier towns of *Anon*, *Novara*, and *Alessandria*. He ordered one part of his army, under *Galeazzo Sanseverino*, to oppose the *French*,

French, and another, under the marquis of *Mantua*, against the *Venetians*. The *Turks*, by this time, had declared war against that republic; and *Sforza*, depending on that diversion, was imprudent enough, not only to countermand the march of the marquis, but to give him some personal provocations, which obliged him to leave his service. The encroachment of the *Venetian* troops in the *Brescian*, soon rendered him sensible of his mistake, and he again applied to his father-in-law the duke of *Ferrara*, to make up matters between him and the marquis of *Mantua*; but it was out of the power of that marquis now to do him any service. The duke of *Savoy* had signed a treaty with the *French* king; and *French* troops were daily pouring into *Italy*. *Lewis*, understanding that *The war* there was still a tampering between *Sforza* and the *Floren-* continues in *ties*, talked in such high terms to the ambassadors of the *Lombard*, latter, that he obliged the republic to sign a treaty, by which dy, he engaged not to assist *Sforza*, who, at the same time, was disappointed by the king of *Naples*, whose interest it undoubtedly was to have assisted him. *Sforza* then endeavoured to make peace between *Maximilian* and the *Swiss*. They had promised to assist him with a large army; and, to gain time, he ordered *Galeazzo* to pass the *Po* with sixteen hundred lances, fifteen hundred horse, and ten thousand *Italian*, and five hundred *German* foot; but to keep upon the defensive. The *French* army rendezvoused at *Asti*, consisting of two thousand six hundred lances, five thousand *Swiss*, four thousand *Gascons*, and four thousand other *French*, commanded by *d'Aubigny*, *Trivulzi*, and *Ligni*. Their success was rapid. On the thirteenth of *August* they took *Arezzo*. *Anon* made but a feeble resistance. *Valenza* was betrayed to them; and *Galeazzo*, finding he could have no dependence upon his *Italian* infantry, shut himself up in *Alessandria*. *Basingano*, *Voghiera*, *Castelnuovo*, *Ponte Corono*, and at last the important town and citadel of *Tortona*, fell into the hands of the *French*. After that, they penetrated into the *Ghiradadda*. The condition of *Sforza* was now desperate. He had, in vain, endeavoured to retrieve his credit with the inhabitants of *Milan*; and he was betrayed by his general *Cajazzo*, who went over to the *French*. In like manner, *Galeazzo* his brother abandoned *Alessandria*, which the *French* took and plundered; and *Pavia* declared for them. *Sforza* then resolved to retire with his family to *Germany*, after leaving a garrison in the castle of *Milan*, which, with the city, opened its gates to the *French*; as did *Genoa*; whilst *Cremona* submitted to the *Venetians*; and *Lewis* himself took possession of *Milan*.

and in the PAUL VITELLI, during those successes of the French, Pisan. was making war in the *Pisan*, where he reduced *Cascina*, and at last shut the *Pisans* up within their city, which was besieged by *Vitelli*. *Pisa* was surrounded with a single but a strong wall, and was formidable by the number and courage of its inhabitants, whom practice had now rendered excellent soldiers. *Vitelli* played with his cannon upon *Stampace*, one of the outworks, which was defended by *Gurlino* the *Pisan* general, and shattered it so, that he took it by storm. Being at the head of ten thousand foot, and a proportionable number of horse, he might have taken the city at the same time with very little loss; but he unaccountably stopped the ardour of his troops, upon which the *Pisans* recovered from their consternation, and defended themselves more obstinately than ever. It was now the end of *August*, and the unwholesome situation of *Pisa* had filled the *Florentine* army with diseases, which cut so many of them off, that *Vitelli*, apprehensive of being himself attacked, abandoned the siege, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the *Florentine* officers and soldiers. This disappointment proved his ruin. In a few days after he was arrested at *Cascina*, from whence he was sent to *Florence* where he was put to the torture. The charges against him were various and complicated; but perhaps his want of success was his greatest crime. Amongst other things, he was accused of holding a correspondence with the *Pisans* and the *Medici* family, and of having privately engaged himself in the *Venetian* service. He confessed nothing upon the rack, and next day he was beheaded. The *Florentine* magistrates endeavoured to seize his brother *Vaduzzo*, who would have undergone the same fate, but by the fidelity of his attendants he escaped to *Pisa*, where he was joyfully received.

Treaty between Lewis and the Florentines.

AFTER the French king had triumphantly entered *Milan*, all the *Italian* states, excepting the king of *Naples*, made court to him, and he received the compliments of them all more favourably than he did those of *Florence*. *Lewis* thought that the conduct of the *Florentines* was timid and time-serving; and they scarcely ever made a poorer figure than they did at this period, being hated and despised by all their neighbours, for their temporizing. Their enemies the *Pisans*, on the other hand, were every where in the highest reputation, for the noble stand they had made in defence of their liberties; and the *Florentines* met with a severe enemy in the person of *Trivulzi*, who was in hopes of obtaining the sovereignty of *Pisa*, where the inhabitants were ready for any subjection but to the *Florentines*. The cruel death which *Vitelli*, whose reputa-

reputation as an officer was very high, had undergone; increased the public odium against the *Florentines*, and they were reviled at the *French* court, for having unjustly put to death a general, who was the friend and confederate of *France*. Reasons of state, however, favoured the *Florentines*; and *Lewis* consulting his interest more than he did the resentments of his courtiers, entered into a treaty with them, after they had previously made him a handsome present in money. The terms were, that the king should assist them against all invaders with six hundred lances and four thousand foot; that he should employ the lances, and a proportionable train of artillery, in the recovery of *Pisa*, and of the lands and territories that had been taken from them by the *Siennese* and the *Lucquese*. The *Florentines*, on the other hand, engaged to employ four hundred men at arms, and three thousand foot, in defence of his majesty's *Italian* dominions; and if *Pisa* was recovered, they were to join the royal army with five hundred men at arms, and advance ^b fifty thousand ducats towards the maintenance of five thousand *Swiss* for three months, besides repayment of thirty-six thousand ducats lent them by *Lodovico*, deducting from the said sum what *Trivulzi* should declare to have been paid or expended on his account. Lastly, that they should elect for their captain-general the *prefect* of *Rome*, who was brother to the cardinal of *S. Piero*, in *Vincola*, at whose instance this demand was made.

THIS treaty between the *French* king and the *Florentines* *Design of* had no immediate consequences, the *Italian* potentates *hav- the pope* ing almost all of them separate views. After the reduction of *Milan*, the pope prevailed with *Lewis* to lend him a body of ^{son.} troops, for the reduction, as he pretended, of the *Romagna* to the holy see; but, in fact, for erecting a powerful principality there in favour of his son *Cesar Borgia*, in which he partly succeeded. The *Venetians* were obliged to turn their attention against the *Turks*, who besieged their maritime towns in *Greece*, where it was thought they were betrayed by their admiral *Antonio Grimaldi*. As to the *French* king, he left the government of the *Milanese* under *Trivulzi*, and returned to *France*. *Sforza*, and his brother the cardinal *Af- canio*, were all this while at *Maximilian*'s court, and fed with magnificent promises of his employing a great army in their favour. It soon appeared, however, that all his intention was to get money from them; on which they resolved to apply to another quarter for relief. They happened to be favoured by the perpetual disagreement between the *Italian* and

^b *GUICCIARDINI*, book iv.

French manners. *Trivulzi* was unamiable in his character, and guilty of some cruelties, which rendered him unpopular in *Milan*. The insolence of the *French*, in a few weeks, became more odious to the *Milanese*, than all the crimes and oppressions of *Sforza* had ever been; and they every day made secret applications for his return. He accordingly, with the money that was left him, hired eight hundred *Swiss* and five hundred *Burgundian* men at arms; and returning to the *Milanese*, notwithstanding all the vigilance of *Trivulzi*, he and his brother made themselves masters of *Como*. All that *Trivulzi* could do, was to send expresses to *Venice* for assistance, and to recal the *French* troops that were serving in the *Romagna*.

Sforza recovers the *Milanese*. BUT the inhabitants of *Milan* had, by this time, heard of *Sforza*'s success at *Como*; which gave them such spirits, that they in a manner drove *Trivulzi* out of *Milan* to *Novara*, where he endeavoured to make a stand, till he could receive reinforcements out of *France*. Upon this, *Sforza* and his brother were joyfully received in *Milan*; and had it not been for the *Venetians*, all that duchy would have declared for him, as *Pisa* and *Parma* actually did. After *Sforza* became master of *Milan*, he left no measure untried for securing himself in the possession of it. He sent the bishop of *Cremona* to the *Venetians*, offering to agree to any terms they should prescribe for effecting a reconciliation: but all his endeavours were fruitless, they refusing to abandon their alliance with *France*. The *Genoese* were applied to in like manner; but could not be prevailed upon to return under *Sforza*'s government; and the *Florentines*, who certainly lay under great obligations to him, refused to pay him the money he had advanced them towards the recovery of *Pisa*. The marquis of *Mantua*, however, and the lords of *Mirandola*, *Carpi*, and *Correggio*, lent him some men, and the *Siennese* assisted him with a sum of money. He likewise received some aids from other *Italian* princes; so that at last he raised a considerable army of *Swiss*, *Burgundians*, and *Italians*, and leaving his brother, the cardinal, to besiege the castle of *Milan*, he himself laid siege to *Novara*; the *French* under *Trivulzi* having shut themselves up in *Mortara*, which began to be distressed for want of provisions. In the mean while *Ivo d' Allegri*, who commanded the *French* troops that were serving in the *Romagna*, returned to *Alessandria*; but the *French* king had taken so little care of his conquests and troops, that the *Swiss* under *Allegri*, daily deserted to *Sforza* for want of pay. This enabled him to take the town of *Novara*, tho' the citadel still held out; and it is thought that if *Sforza* had pursued his

his good fortune; the *French* must have been obliged to repaſe the *Po*.

LEWIS, the *French* king, ſtung with ſo many repeated ^{He is be-} disgraces, diſpatched *Tremouille* with ſix hundred lances for trayed and Italy. By the month of *April*, in the year 1500; he had in given up Italy fifteen hundred lances, ten thouſand *Swiſſ*, and ſix by *his* thouſand *French*. The *Swiſſ* in *Sforza*'s army now departed ^{Swiſſ} ſoldi- from that honest open character for which they had ever been ^{diers.} famouſ. The *French*, winking at their deſertion to *Sforza*, ^{A. D.} 1500. ſuffered many of their officers to go over, whom they knew to be attached to their ſervice. As thofe officers had no objeſt of duty but money, they caballed with their countrymen in *Sforza*'s army; and at laſt a plot was formed to make their peace with the *French* king; by deſerting *Sforza*. The latter had ſome intimation of the conſpiracy, and ordered four hundred horſe and eight hundred foot to march from *Milan* to *Novara*, as a reinforcement to his army. The conſpirators, underſtanding this, mutinied for want of pay; and *Sforza*, in order to appeaſe them; had recourse to the moſt abject ſubmiſſions, and made them a preſent of all his plate, till money could be brought from *Milan*. The *Swiſſ* officers, however, who were in the ſecret of the conſpiracy, pre-vailed with the *French* to preſent themſelves in array before *Novara*, and took meaſures for cutting off all communication between *Sforza* and *Milan*. He had great reaſon to think he was betrayed, and drew his army out to fight the *French*; but the *Swiſſ* flatly refuſed to engage; pretending they could not fight againſt their own countrymen. In ſhort, though *Sforza* deſcended to the moſt abject entreataies to prevail upon them to ſtand by him, they continued in their reſolution of tetuſning to their own country; and all he could obtain was a chance for his eſcaping out of the hands of the *French* in the diſguife of a common *Swiſſ* ſoldier. This was the miſerable expaſſient left to the moſt refined politician of his age for ſafety, and it even failed him. While the *Swiſſ* were paſſing through the *French* army, *Sforza* was known, probably being betrayed by the *Swiſſ* themſelves, and immeadiately put under arreſt, as were all his friends and relations, who attended him in the ſame diſguife. This humiliatiing reverse of fortune drew tears even from *Sforza*'s enemis. His brother *Aſcanio* was equally unforuinate: hearing of *Sforza*'s fate he abandoned *Milan*; but in endeavouring to make his eſcape, he was betrayed in the *Piacentine*, and ſent priſoner to *Venice*. The *French* king demanded him of the *Venetians*, who were mean enough to deliver him up, together with all the *Milan*ſe noblemen of *Sforza*'s party, who had put themſelves

selves under their protection, on a promise of not being delivered up. As to *Sforza*, he was conducted to *Lions*, and from thence sent prisoner to several places; but at last he was fixed at *Loches*, where, according to the French historian, he was treated with respect; and he there lived for ten years, during the last five of which he was allowed to walk abroad, within five miles of the castle. His brother, the cardinal, was confined at *Bourges*. The *Florentines* were but indirectly concerned in those great events. The emperor and the empire of *Germany*, conceived umbrage at the vast successes of the *French* king; for which reason he laid aside all thoughts of carrying his arms into *Naples*, and inclined to give the *Florentines* assistance towards recovering *Pisa* and *Pietra Santa*. The *Genoese*, *Siennese*, and *Lucquese*, out of hatred to the *Florentines*, tempted *Lewis* with great offers to lay aside his design; and being seconded by *Trivulzi*, and some of his generals, he was for some time in suspence. The cardinal of *Rouen* was then at *Milan*, and took the part of the *Florentines*, who had, with the utmost honour and punctuality, fulfilled all their engagements with the *French*. He therefore sent them a reinforcement of six hundred lances and five thousand *Swiss*, with some companies of *Gascous*, artillery, and ammunition, and a further supplement of two thousand *Swiss* followed them. But the licentiousness of the *French* mercenaries defeated all the intentions of the cardinal; they loitered their time away in *Lombardy*, and gave the *Pisans* leisure to prepare for their defence. The *Florentines* themselves were partly to blame for their misfortunes; for at their recommendation *Beaumont*, a *Frenchman* of no experience in military affairs, was made general of the *French* auxiliaries; and instead of proceeding to the siege of *Pisa*, he made war upon the marquis of *Mantua*, *Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*, and other petty lords and potentates who had favoured *Sforza*.

who pity the Pisans The *Pisans* had made *Vitellozzo*, brother to *Paul Vitelli*, their general, and he put their city in a respectable posture of defence. Such was the hatred of the inhabitants to the *Florentines*, that the women, equally as the men, laboured upon the fortifications. The inhabitants even passed a public decree, putting themselves under the *French* protection, and declaring themselves *French* subjects. This being intimated to *Beaumont*, he demanded possession of their city, which they would have granted him, had he been empowered to promise, that they should not again come under subjection to the *Florentines*. *Beaumont* having no instructions on that head, laid siege to *Pisa*; but it was so well prepared for a defence, and the *Pisans* expressed so much resolution, that

the besiegers despaired of success. The siege soon languished; and by an intercourse, not uncommon in those days, the French became acquainted with the *Pisans*, and pitied them, as suffering in the noblest of causes that of defending their liberty. This compassion went even to an extravagant length, for not only the French soldiers, but some of their officers of the highest rank, far from distressing the *Pisans*, suffered their auxiliaries to enter their city; and at last, under pretence of not receiving their pay, they mutinied against their officers, and broke up the siege, leaving the few *Florentines* who had joined them to continue it.

WHEN the French retired from the siege of *Pisa*, the *Pisans* who take
sans undertook the siege of *Librafatta*; which they soon re-
duced, as they did *Ventura*, and several other places, all of a
them serving to open a communication between them and
Lucca. The French generals, in the mean while, carefully
concealed from *Lewis* their own scandalous behaviour, and
that of their troops, but laid all the blame upon the *Floren-*
tines, who, they said, had made an improper choice of a gene-
ral, and had not supplied the French with provisions. *Lewis*,
however, endeavoured to encourage the *Florentines* to re-
assume the siege of *Pisa*; but they became now so diffident
of the French, that they refused to have any connections
with them, while the *Genoese*, the *Siennese*, and the *Lucquese*,
openly assisted the *Pisans* both with men and money.

NOTHING material happened, farther than what we have related, amongst the *Florentines*, during the year 1500. They were, through their connections with the French, very low reduced in the esteem of all the other Italian states; and *Lewis*, tho' himself well-intentioned, was, by his favourites and courtiers, prevailed on to abandon them to their fate, and to apply his chief efforts in favour of the pope, and his son, *Cesar Borgia*, who now made vast progress in the *Romagna*. To complete the misfortune of the *Florentines*, they had engaged to pay to *Lewis* the money that they had borrowed from *Sforza*. But the successes of *Borgia* encouraged him to turn his eyes towards the *Florentines*, who having now every thing to dread from his and his father's ambition, not only failed in paying *Sforza*'s debt to *Lewis*, but in discharging the arrears due to the *Swiss* who had been employed in the siege of *Pisa*, which *Lewis*, rather than disoblige the *Swiss*, had advanced out of his own coffers. All this gave *Lewis* a very indifferent opinion of the *Florentines*; so that he was, with some difficulty, prevailed upon to put off the term of payment for some time.

Factions among the Florentines, instead of thinking on the means of retrieving their affairs, split amongst themselves; and the more desperate their situation became, their divisions grew to the greater height. The popular form of government, which had taken place ever since the expulsion of *Peter de Medici*, became now a burden to them, and part of them were for restoring the *Medici* family; others inclined to a moderate aristocracy; the wiser part declined all concern in the state; and none were found who had interest enough either to reform, or to settle, the government. *Lewis*, the *French* king, came at last to hold the *Florentines* in great contempt. He insisted upon the payment of the money due to him, and the assistance they had stipulated to afford him in his *Neapolitan* expedition, and being disappointed in both, he gave his patronage to the family of *Medici*, and entered upon measures for restoring them to their influence in *Florence*. In this he was seconded by *Cesar Borgia*, who equally ungrateful as ambitious, had, during his progress in the *Romagna*, been greatly assisted by the *Florentines*; but *Borgia* being now prosperous in all his undertakings, had even thoughts of making himself master of *Florence*. The *French* king began to dislike his conduct, and had prohibited an attempt which he had formed against *Bologna*. *Borgia* knew that *Lewis* was immeasurably exasperated against the *Florentines*; and being secure of receiving no check from him on their account, he actually invaded their dominions with five or six thousand men, under pretence of demanding a passage through them. But without waiting for any answer to this demand, he proceeded in his march as far as *Barbarino*, a market town, and the original place of the *Barbarino* family; where, tho' he had no artillery with him, and though his army was in a miserable condition, he altered his strain, and in the stile of a sovereign prince, he demanded of the *Florentines* that they would enter into a treaty with him, and not only give him a subsidy according to his rank and dignity, but alter the form of their government to his liking. To give the greater weight to this demand, he had ordered *Peter de Medici*, *Titellozzo*, the *Orsini*, and other declared enemies of the *Florentines*, to lie on the borders of *Tuscany*.

Inflicted by Cesar Borgia. *BORGIA* had no serious intention of serving the *Medici* family; but according to *Guicciardini* ², he even indulged a private resentment he had for the *Florentines*, and advanced within six miles of their city with his army. Being doubtful of the *French*, he there stopped and re-

² *GUICCIARDINI*, book v.

newed his demands upon the *Florentines*, who were in no condition to dispute them. A convention was accordingly entered into between them and *Borgia*, by which he promised to give no assistance to the *Pisans*; and they agreed not to oppose his designs upon *Piombino*, or the other states he intended to subdue. The *Florentines* were likewise obliged to pay him a subsidy of thirty-six thousand ducats yearly, on condition of his keeping three hundred men at arms, always in readiness for their service. The more compliant the *Florentines* were, *Borgia* grew the more insolent: he treated their country as that of an enemy, and rose exorbitantly in his demands.

Few readers who are acquainted with history, are ignorant of the character of *Cesar Borgia*; and it seems not to have been unknown to the French of those days. Tho' Lewis Lewis, both hated and despised the *Florentines*, yet he was so far from approving of *Borgia*'s insolence towards them, that he sent orders to *D'Aubigny*, his general in *Lombardy*, to drive him out of *Tuscany*, if he did not retire of himself. *Borgia* was intimidated by this threat, and ordered the *Pisans* to abandon the siege of *Ripomaranci*, a place belonging to the *Florentines*, which he had encouraged them to undertake. But the system of power in *Italy* was at this time entirely overturned. *Ferdinand the Catholic*, king of *Spain*, the most politic prince of his age, had formed a treaty of partition of the kingdom of *Naples*, unknown to *Federigo*, who depended upon the assistance of *Gonsalvo*, the *Spanish* general, who in history is known by the name of the *Great Captain*. The *French* troops entered *Naples*, and then the *French* and *Spanish* ambassadors, by command of their masters, published at the court of *Rome* the treaty of partition which had been concluded, and obliged his holiness to give them investitures according to its articles, under pretence that, when the partition took place, they should be enabled to act with greater effect against the infidels. It is certain, that in this partition *Lewis* was outwitted by *Ferdinand*. *Federigo* had offered to put himself and his kingdom under the protection of *France*; but *Lewis* vainly imagined that he might, by his treaty with *Ferdinand*, become quiet possessor of half the kingdom of *Naples*. The infamy, however, fell most heavily upon *Ferdinand*. It is true that *Federigo* was descended of a bastard line; but *Ferdinand* had all along promised to support and assist him. *Ferdinand* had nothing to plead in his own behalf, but that *Federigo*, unknown to him, was negotiating an alliance with *France*, which, had it taken place, must have endangered his kingdom of *Sicily*; and that *Federigo*, being of an illegitimate family,

Affairs of Naples.

family, had, in fact, no right to the kingdom of *Naples*. It was some time before *Federigo* could be brought to believe he had been betrayed; but the march of *d'Aubigny* the French general, and his besieging *Capua*, which he took and sacked, soon undeceived him. It is well known, that the French and Spaniards succeeded in their designs against *Naples*. The *Florentines*, in a fit of despair, applied to the cardinal of *Rouen* for making the French king their friend; but, instead of that, he gave up to the *Lucquese*, for a sum of money, *Pietra Santa* and *Mutrone*. He likewise entered into a treaty with the *Siennese*, the *Lucquese*, and the *Pisans*, for restoring the family of *Medici* to their power in *Florence*. But money being his only object, the negociation came to nothing, as soon as he perceived those states were unable to advance it. This year neither the *Florentines* nor *Pisans* were able to bestir themselves, the great powers on which each depended being intent on other objects; but in the year 1502, hostilities were renewed between them. The *Florentines* had taken advantage of *Maximilian*'s jealousy of the French, to make some advances towards a treaty with him; and *Lewis* was so apprehensive of the consequences, that he began to talk in a very moderate strain to the *Florentines*, so that, at last, a treaty was concluded between them. The terms, according to *Guicciardini*^a, were,

Treaty between Lewis and the Florentines.

" That the king, on receiving them into his protection, should be bound, for three years next ensuing, to defend them with an armed force, at his own cost, against any power that should, either directly or indirectly, attack them in the dominions of which they were then in possession: that the *Florentines* should be obliged, in the said space of three years, to pay each year the third part of one hundred and twenty thousand ducats: that all other capitulations made between them, together with the obligations depending on them, should be null and void: that the *Florentines* should be at liberty to proceed by force of arms against the *Pisans*, and all other invaders of their state."

The Pisan war renewed.

THIS treaty gave fresh spirits to the *Florentines*, and they resumed their war against the *Pisans*. Experience, by this time, had taught them the inutility of endeavouring to reduce *Pisa* by force of arms; and they therefore made dispositions for taking *Vico Pisano*, and blockading *Pisa* itself, in such a manner as to compel it to surrender by famine. *Maximilian*, out of hatred and jealousy towards the French king, now took the part of the *Pisans*; and the faction of the *Medici* was so strong, that every day produced tumults in their favour. Gu-

^a *GUICCIARDINI*, book v.

Nelmo de' Pazzi was then the *Florentine* governor in *Arezzo*, where *Vitellozzo*, the implacable enemy of the *Florentines*, on account of his brother, had a strong party. The governor had an intimation of a conspiracy against him; but neglected it so much, that the *Arezzians*, who now hated the *Florentines*, broke out into open rebellion, imprisoned the governor, took possession of the city, and forced the *Florentines* to betake themselves to the citadel. All this was done with so much rapidity, that *Vitellozzo* had only leisure to throw a few troops into *Arezzo*, for blockading the citadel. The *Florentine* army, at this time, were besieging *Vico Pisano*; and the wisest citizens gave it as their opinion, that it ought to march to *Arezzo*, preferably to all other services; but the introduction of low-bred mechanics into the principal posts of the government, rendered the *Florentines* deaf to all public counsel; and *Vitellozzo*, marching with a fresh reinforcement to *Arezzo*, blocked up the citadel in such a manner, that the garrison *Arezzo* could receive no provisions, so that it was obliged to surrender *left* by capitulation. By the terms of it, the bishop of *Arezzo*, who had shut himself up in the citadel, and eight other *Florentines*, were to be detained prisoners, and exchanged for the *Arezzians* who had been imprisoned at *Florence*.

THE *Florentines* were under the greater consternation at the loss of *Arezzo*, as they imagined that it had been effected by the contrivance of the pope and his son *Cæsar Borgia*. They *Florentines* had no recourse, being now destitute both of men and money, but to the *French* king; to whom they represented the danger of the increase of the papal power in *Italy*, and the necessity he was under, both for his interest and honour, to take *Florence* into his protection. *Lewis*, who had long disliked the proceedings of the pope and his son, and who had now broken with the king of *Spain* about the partition of *Naples*, ordered his general *Chaumont* to march with a strong detachment to the assistance of the *Florentines*; and sent commands to *Vitellozzo*, the *Orfini*, *Borgia*, and other enemies of the *Florentines*, upon pain of his displeasure, to desist from all hostilities against them. This order was complied with; but *Borgia*, in the mean while, after a train of treacherous and inhuman measures, took possession of the duchy of *Urbino*; and then deliberated, as he was now very strong, upon attacking the *Florentines*, in defiance of the *French* king. Prudential considerations, however, restrained him from that; and he contented himself with amusing the *Florentines* by a negotiation, and suffering their enemy *Vitellozzo* to take the citadel of *Arezzo*, and many other places belonging to the *Florentines* in the neighbourhood. Even *Cortina* fell into his hands; for the

Florentines were now so weak, that they were unable to bring an army into the field; and the presence of *Peter de Medici* in his army, made the subjects of *Florence*, without its gates consider all who opposed him as so many rebels.

HAD Vitellozzo marched into the *Casantine*, after such *Their dan-* train of successes, he might have endangered *Florence* itself. Instead of that, he reduced *Angiari* and *Borgo S. Sepolcro*. From thence he marched into the *Casantine*: but by this time two hundred *French* lances, under *Imbault*, had arrived in the *Florentine* territory; the dread of whom obliged *Vitellozzo* to abandon his design upon the *Casantine*. A reinforcement of two hundred other *French* lances arriving, the *Florentines* resembled an army of three thousand foot, and forced *Vitellozzo* to retire under the walls of *Arezzo*. The face of affairs was now greatly altered in favour of the *Florentines*. Most of *Vitellozzo*'s confederates drew off, to secure their own country against *Borgia*, and the *French* king was now arrived at *Asti*, from whence he detached his general, *Louis de la Tremouille*, with a large body of troops, to assist the *Florentines* in recovering *Arezzo*, and in opposing the progress of the papal power; a service which he declared to be as meritorious as that of fighting against the infidels.

Views of the pope. *THE pope* and his son, knowing that they were no match for the *French* king, disclaimed having any hand in the recovery of *Arezzo*, and threatened *Vitellozzo* with their displeasure, he did not abandon it. He chose a middle course; and, to the great disappointment of the *Florentines*, he gave *Arezzo* and the other places he had taken from them, into the hands of *Imbault* the *French* general, who, by order of the *French* king, immediately restored them to the *Florentines*. Though this agreeable event cost the *Florentines* money, yet it gave them such a sense of their own importance, that they resolved to new-model the form of their government, that they might, if possible, revive a public spirit in their commonwealth. By the disadvantages they experienced from their popular method of government, and their prepossessions in its favour were equally ballanced, that they could agree only upon one alteration, which was, that of making the *gonfalonier* an officer during life. *Peter Soderini*, an unexceptionable person, was unanimously chosen to fill that high office. When the *French* king arrived at *Asti*, his minister, the cardinal of *Rouen*, conciliated the arts of the pope so effectually, that they were conciled together, to prevent the junction of his hostiles with *Maximilian*. This negotiation was kept so secret, that *Italy* was amazed at seeing *Borgia* received by the *French* king with open arms at *Milan*, and at his majesty's recalling his troops.

troops from Tuscany, in order to employ them in Naples, where he was every where victorious, and obliged the Spanish French general *Gonfalone* to shut himself up in *Bartella*. *Lewis* was again uneven so weak, that, by the advice of the cardinal of *Rouen*, *and Italy*, who aspired to the popedom, in case of a vacancy, he entered into closer connections than ever with the pope and *Borgia*, who persisted in disclaiming all the proceedings of *Vitellozzo* against the *Florentines*. This gave great umbrage to the *Florentines*, and all the other states of *Italy*; and they endeavoured to take the marquis of *Mantua* into their pay; but in this they were opposed by the French king, as well as by the pope and *Borgia*. The two latter became now so insolent, on the favour of *Lewis*, that they made no secret of their enmity to the *Florentines*, and even repented the disclaiming their having had any hand in the revolt of *Arezzo*. Their influence over *Lewis* was such, that he permitted them to make an attempt upon *Bologna*, though he had before declared that he would maintain the *Bentivoglio* family there. The *Florentines* were at this time so inconsiderable, as to despair of doing any service by their remonstrances. But the *Venetians* insisted, with great firmness, upon the mistaken policy of *Lewis* in aggrandizing the pope and his family.

THOSE representations gave courage to the lesser *Italian Confederates*. *Pagolo Orsini*, *Vitellozzo*, *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, *Liverotto da Fermo*, *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, and others, seeing their the Italian estates, which they had so long possessed as fiefs, ready to fall powers a sacrifice to the ambition of the pope and his son, withdrew against the themselves from their service, and entered into a confederacy *pope and Borgia*. for their mutual defence against *Borgia*; but they avoided, as much as possible, to give any umbrage to the French king. To bring the *Florentines* into their alliance, they offered, by means of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, to restore them to the possession of *Pisa*; but the *Florentines* declined the proposal, for fear of disobliging the French king, who still continued to be attached to the pope. This disconcerted all the measures of the confederates, and, one after another, they made their peace with his holiness and *Borgia*. But that monster, in defiance of the most solemn engagements, having decoyed four of the principal confederates, *Pagolo Orsini*, the duke of *Gravina*, *Vitellozzo*, and *Liverotto da Fermo*, into his power, he put *Vitellozzo* and *Liverotto da Fermo* to death, and made the others prisoners.

IN the beginning of the year 1503, his holiness and his son, in like manner, decoyed into their power cardinal *Orsino* and almost all his family, whom they either put to death or imprisoned; and in all their proceedings they continued to behave

behave with such insolence and cruelty, that the French king became once more jealous of them ; and a league of mutual offence and defence was formed amongst the *Florentines*, the *Siennese*, and the *Bolognese*, against the pope and his family. By this league, of which the French king was the guarantee, *Monte Pulciano* was to be restored to the *Florentines*; and *Pandolfo Petrucci* was restored to *Sienna*, from whence he had been expelled by *Borgia*. This return of the favour of *Louis* was the less useful to the *Florentines*, on account of the declining state of their affairs in *Naples*, where the war was carried on in a romantic manner ; and even the *Swiss* began to lose their respect for the French king, who now thought nothing but withdrawing, with honour from his *Neapolitan* expedition.

The Florentines join the French.

THE *Florentines*, all this while, were intent upon the recovery of *Pisa*, and had taken into their service the bailiff *Caen*, a French officer of reputation, who took *Vico Pisa* from the *Pisans*, and soon after *Verrucola*, a pass of great importance towards the conquest of *Pisa* itself. The loss of those two places were extremely mortifying to the *Pisans*, who were now abandoned by all their allies, and had nothing to support them but their irreconcileable aversion towards the *Florentines*. Jealousy, however, operated in their favour. The *Genoese* and *Lucquese*, conscious that they had no favour to expect from the *Florentines*, gave them assistance ; and *Borgia* himself, encouraged by the ruin of the French in *Naples*, privately assisted them, in hopes of becoming the sovereign. *Pandolfo Petrucci* likewise entered into intrigues against the *Florentines*, who insisted upon the restitution of *Monte Pulciano*, previous to all other considerations. *Louis* made a fresh irruption into *Italy*, in which he was assisted by the *Florentines*, and the other states of *Tuscany* ; and, by intercepting letters, it was discovered that *Borgia*, and *Gonsalvez*, the Spanish general in *Naples*, had entered into engagements for making the former sovereign of *Pisa*, and so defeating all the hopes of the French in *Italy*. The preparations of *Louis* were so formidable, that they durst not carry those engagements immediately into execution ; and, after various negociations, the pope agreed to remain neutral as to all disputes in *Tuscany* ; and at the same time *Borgia* consented to assist the French with a body of troops. But those engagements were all deceitful, on the part of his holiness and his son, whose real intention was to carry into execution their views upon *Tuscany*, as soon as the French army was engaged in *Naples*. Their treachery was dis-

appointed

appointed by the death of the pope, which, according to *Death of the authorities* of the best historians, was occasioned by pope Alexander VI. his casually drinking part of a poisoned bottle of wine he had prepared to be administered to some rich cardinals who were to sup with him (A). His son *Cæsar Borgia* drunk of the same bottle, and narrowly escaped with his life. The confusion that happened in *Rome* upon the death of pope *Alexander VI.* who, notwithstanding his crimes, was one of the greatest men that ever filled the papal throne, is inexpressible. At last, the cardinals fixed upon *Francisco Piccolomini*, cardinal of *Sienna*, to be pope. He lived but twenty-six days after his election, and was succeeded by the cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola*, the most turbulent spirit of his age, who assumed the name of *Julius II.* The ambition of the *Venetians* at this time, led them to attack *Faenza*; and the *Faventines* had recourse first to the pope, who refused to defend them, and then to the *Florentines*, who, at first, sent them some assistance, but soon after withdrew it, dreading the *Venetian* power, which was so great at this time, that they made flight both of the pope and the *French* king, who had charged them to desist from attacking *Faenza*, which belonged to *Cæsar Borgia*. Notwithstanding this, they not only took the place, but stripped him of most of his possessions in the *Romagna*. He was an eminent instance of the vanity of human politics. He used to boast, that he had omitted no precaution to secure himself in the possession of the estates he had acquired, only he had not foreseen that he might be taken ill at the time of his father's death, which was the case. As he was universally detested, the pope finished his ruin, which the *Venetians* had begun. All his estates reverted either to them or to the church; and the remains of his miserable army at last took refuge in the *Florentine* territory, where they were disarmed and stripped.

THE *French* army, at this time, were totally defeated in *The Naples* by *Gonsalvo*, who secured all that kingdom to the *French* king of *Spain*. *Peter de Medici*, who had followed the defeated in Naples.

(A) This is the account given by the best cotemporary historians, some of whom were upon the spot, and we can scarce believe them to have been mistaken or misinformed. *Voltaire* thinks it to be improbable; but notwithstanding the romantic circumstances attending it, it has all the marks of historical

credibility that can be required. To mention no other, the illness of *Cæsar Borgia* at the same time, and from the same cause, has never been disputed, and is allowed to have been the reason of the ruin that afterwards befel himself and his fortunes.

A. D.
1504.

tunes of France, was drowned in endeavouring to pass the *Garigliano* in a boat; and *Caesar Borgio*, after experiencing great vicissitudes of fortune, was arrested by *Gonsalvo*, and sent prisoner to Spain. In the year 1504, *Gonsalvo* having slackened the prosecution of his victories over the French, the *Florentines* obtained some little respite; but were soon after threatened with an invasion by the friends of the *Medici* family, who were still numerous and powerful. It appeared, however, that the Spaniards, who were every where victorious, intended to give them no disturbance; which encouraged them in the summer of that year to take into their pay *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, with some other Italian soldiers of fortune; and to renew the war with the *Pisans*. They accordingly entered that territory with a great army, and laid it waste; It was expected, that, being still in friendship with the French king, *Gonsalvo* would have given them some trouble; but both parties proved tractable on that head, and entered into a kind of a compromise, by which the *Florentines* engaged not to assist the French king if he should again attack *Naples*; while *Gonsalvo* was not to molest them in the country of *Pisa*, unless they undertook the siege of that city while they continued in friendship with France. The *Florentines* pursued their advantages, and took *Librafatta* after a short resistance, together with a great number of places in the neighbourhood of *Pisa* itself. Notwithstanding their compromise with *Gonsalvo*, they would have even taken that city, had it not been succoured by the *Genoese* and the *Lucquese*. *Giacomirri*, the *Florentine* general, upon this invaded the territory of *Lucca*, which he laid waste; and the *Lucquese* complained of him to the French king, who gave them no satisfaction; so that *Pisa* was still in imminent danger from the *Florentines*. *Gonsalvo* perceiving this, sent one of his officers, *Rimeri della Sassetta*, with two hundred horse, to *Pisa*, into which the *Genoese*, at the same time, threw one thousand foot. One *Bardella*, of *Porto Venere*, a famous corsair, entered likewise into the *Pisan* service; on assurance of being paid by the *Genoese* and their confederates; and supplied them with provisions, at a time when they were threatened with famine, by keeping a galloon and some brigantines for that purpose. The *Florentines*, whose great hopes of reducing *Pisa* depended on its want of provisions, upon this, hired three light gallies of *Federigo*; and these failing to *Leghorn*, obliged *Bardella* to keep to sea. Notwithstanding this, he still found means to supply the *Pisans* with provisions. The *Florentines*, on the other hand, omitted no expence for obtaining their darling end of retaking *Pisa*, and destroyed the harvest all round.

Pisa de-
fended
against the
Floren-
tines,

found that city with the most unrelenting fury. They, at the same time, entered upon a most expensive undertaking, that of diverting the course of the *Arno* five miles from *Pisa*, and carrying it by a new channel into the standing waters between that city and *Leghorn*. But this project, after vast sums of money had been expended upon it, proved impracticable, because the bed of the lake, into which the waters were to be discharged, was higher than the channel of the *Arno*.

THIS was not the only misfortune that beset the *Florentines* who are this year. They had ordered the gallies they had hired, unsuccess- to seize upon a ship laden for the *Pisans* with corn at *Villa-* ful. *franca*; but on their return they were wrecked off *Repalle*, and it was with difficulty the men were saved. The *Florentines*, being thus disappointed in all their attempts to recover *Pisa* by force, resolved to try what they could do by acts of humanity. A law passed in *Florence*, that every *Pisan* who should, in a certain time, live in his own house, and upon his own estate in that territory, should be forgiven all offences against the state. This expedient turned out to the disadvantage of the *Florentines*, because it relieved *Pisa* from a great many useless mouths, which had chiefly occasioned the scarcity of provisions in that city. The extreme poverty of the *Pisans*, however, was such, that their allies, especially the *Lucchesi* and *Petracci* of *Sienna*, tired of supporting them longer, persuaded them to offer the sovereignty of their city to the *Genoese*, and proposed to contribute towards the defence of it for three years. A great party in *Genoa* was against accepting this proposal; but a majority was for it, and application was made to the *French* king for leave to embrace it, *Genoa* being at that time in his subjection. But notwithstanding all the plausible arguments urged in favour of the proposal, *Lewis* expressly commanded the *Genoese* to reject the offer, but without enjoining them not to assist the *Pisans*.

THE death of *Federigo* king of *Naples*, and that of *Isabella* Alterations of *Castile*, the wife of *Ferdinand* king of *Spain*, created great in Italy. A. D. 1505. alterations in the system of power in *Italy*. There was, however, a total cessation of war there in the beginning of the year 1505, excepting between the *Pisans* and *Florentines*, which continued still to be carried on with the greatest acrimony on both parts, but with various fortune. *Luca Sanguino* was then the *Florentine*, as *Tarlatino* was the *Pisan*, general. *Sanguino*, who had his head-quarters at *Cascina*, thought himself superior to the *Pisans* in strength; and, in order to bring his enemies to an engagement, he marched across the *Serchio*,

The Florentines defeated,

Serchio, and carried some cattle belonging to the *Pisans* from the *Lucquese*. Returning slowly that he might encourage the *Pisans* to attack him, *Tarlatino* left *Pisa* with a small party and ordering the rest to follow him, he attacked the advance guards of the *Florentines* at *S. Jacopo*; but they retired to the bridge of *Cappelleso* on the *Osole*, where all their army was assembled within a few miles of *Pisa*. *Tarlatino*, advancing inadvertently, found he could not retreat without being cut off with his whole party. The ground, however, was favourable to him, it being so narrow that the *Florentines* could not avail themselves of their superior numbers, which, on account of the booty they had with them, incommoded them. *Tarlatino*, expecting every moment the arrival of the army from *Pisa*, attacked the bridge where the flower of the *Florentine* army was posted, with so much intrepidity, that, after being three times repulsed, he carried it; and the advanced parties from *Pisa* fording the river at the same time, the *Florentines* were pent up in a narrow spot of ground, when they fell into confusion, and behaved in so cowardly a manner that they were entirely defeated, many of them being killed, but more of them made prisoners, disarmed, and plundered by the peasants in the country. This defeat was attended with the worst of consequences to the *Florentines*. The *Pisans*, without opposition, ravaged their country; and their general, *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, at *Petrucci*'s instigation, refused to continue in their service, on pretence that his enemies in *Perugia*, to which city he had been restored by the interest of the *Florentines*, were becoming too powerful. To avoid, however, as much as he could, the charge of ingratitude, he promised never to carry arms against the *Florentines* and left his son *Malatesta*, a stripling, with fifteen men at arms, in their service. His professions, however, were insincere; for he, *Bartolomeo Alviano*, and *Petrucci*, were at that time negotiating with the cardinal de *Medici*, about restoring his family to its power in *Florence*. The *Florentines* were then very unable to keep the field, so greatly were they dispirited and weakened by their late defeat; so that it was thought, if a revolution could be effected in favour of the *Medici* family, they would have broken off all their connections with the *French*, and have reinstated that of *Sforza* in the government of *Milan*, where the *French* had now but a very small force. But cardinal *Ascanio Sforza*, who was the life of that project, dying in the mean time, it came to nothing. The other parties, however, who were in the interest of the *Medici* family, met at *Piegai*, a castle between the borders of *Perugia* and *Sienna*; where it was resolved, amongst

amongst themselves; that *Alviano*, who had in disgust left the Spanish service, should enter *Pisa*, and from thence harass the *Florentines* as he should see occasion.

THE *Florentines* were now reduced to a most deplorable *and are* situation; and not knowing how to oppose a general of such *reduced to* power and experience as *Alviano*, they once more applied for great *dis-* the assistance of the *French* king. But *Lewis*, who was now *sick* of *ill*ies; grown old and covetous, absolutely refused to grant them any, unless they paid him thirty thousand ducats in ready money, which they pleaded they were unable to do, on account of the vast expences they had incurred by the *Pisan* war, and the confederacy that had been formed against them. *Gonsalvo* the *Spanish* general had his reasons for patronizing the *Florentines* on this occasion. He interdicted *Alviano*, who had great estates in *Naples*, from assisting the enemies of *Florence*, and charged him to resume his command in the *Spanish* army. At the same time he signified to the *Pisans*, and to the lord of *Piombino*, that they could not consistently with their connections with *Spain*, which had them lately under her protection, receive *Alviano* into their pay. He even went so far, as to offer to the *Florentines* the service of his infantry, which was at *Piombino*, under their general *Marco Antonio Colonna*: he likewise admonished all the other petty *Italian* ^{but are fa-} tyrants, as they were called, not to give the least assistance ^{voured by} *the Spa-* to *Alviano* against the *Florentines*. Notwithstanding all this, *nish genera* *Alviano*, with about one thousand men, attempted to make *rat*. his way to *Pisa*; but when he came to *Scarlino*, a town under the jurisdiction of *Piombino*, he was overtaken by a messenger from *Gonsalvo*, who desired him not to proceed. His answer was full of spirit, that he was a free man, and not to be controuled in his conduct. He then marched to *Campiglia*, a town in the *Florentine* dominions, where some hostilities passed between him and the *Florentines*, whose headquarters were at *Bibienna*. From thence he marched to *Corma*; but he found his difficulties encrease every day. The lord of *Piombino*, the *Vitelli*, and the other potentates he had confided in, relaxed in their endeavours to support him. Even *Petrucci* grew cold in his interest; nor was he quite sure whether the *Pisans* would incur *Gonsalvo*'s resentment, by receiving him as their general. Under this uncertainty he retired to *Vignole*, in the territory of *Piombino*, under pretext of negotiating with *Gonsalvo*.

BUT so determined was the hatred of the *Pisans* towards *Alviano* the *Florentines*, that they now consented to receive him into *defeated*. their city; and on the fifteenth of *August* he made dispositions for fighting the *Florentine* army, which retired under the walls

of *Campiglia*, and prepared to intercept and fight *Alviano* in his march to *Pisa*, under their general *Ercole Bentivoglio*. The latter receiving reinforcements, *Alviano* could not proceed in his march without danger of being defeated, and *Ercole* came up with his rear at *St. Vicensa*, where, notwithstanding all the efforts of *Alviano*, *Ercole* got the victory by means of his artillery, so that *Alviano*, with difficulty, escaped into the *Siennese*. Above one thousand of his horses were taken, and so confident had he been of success, that he became now the ridicule of all *Italy*.

Operations of the Florentines against Pisa.

BENTIVOGLIO and *Antonio Giacolini* pressed the *Florentine* magistracy to pursue this signal success, by besieging *Pisa*, which they had great hopes of taking. But the council of ten in *Florence*, upon consulting their countrymen, found them entirely discouraged by their former bad successes from undertaking the siege, and determined to subdue the *Pisans* by famine, and carrying the war on in their open country, till they should be obliged to submit. This resolution was strengthened by their considering the advanced season of the year, and their being doubtful whether the government of *Spain* and *Gonsalvo* would approve of their undertaking. *Gonsalvo* continued still obstinate to oppose it, and threatened that if it was attempted, he would order the *Spanish* troops that were in *Piombino* to defend *Pisa*. The *Florentines*, therefore, resolved to turn their arms against *Pandolfo Petrucci* of *Sienna*, who had been the main spring of all their misfortunes for some years past. They were in hopes that they would easily over-run the open territory of *Sienna*, and even occasion an insurrection against *Petrucci* in that city, which might make them masters either of that or some place that would prove an equivalent for the loss of *Monte Pulciano*, and strike *Petrucci* himself with dread. They were even so sanguine as to hope that, after reducing the *Siennese*, they might be able to conquer *Luca*.

Divisions in Florence.

THE common people of *Florence* reasoned in a very different manner from their magistrates; and their gonfalonier *Soderini* was of their opinion. They thought, that as their republic had formerly taken *Pisa* by siege, they might do the same, and that such an event would put an end to an expensive disgraceful war. *Soderini* called an unusual meeting of the citizens on this occasion, and they were unanimous in their opinion, that the siege of *Pisa* should be instantly undertaken, whatever opposition it might meet with from *Gonsalvo*, or the *Italian* powers.

Pisa besieged. ON the sixth of September the *Florentines* formed the siege with six hundred men at arms, seven thousand foot, and sixteen

teen pieces of battering cannon, besides other artillery, which were planted to great advantage, and played most furiously upon the city; but the courage of the *Pisans* repaired the breaches faster than their enemy's artillery could open them. *Ercole* the *Florentine* general wanted to storm the place; but his men, being raw and new-raised, through mere cowardice refused the service. Some authors say, that they made two ineffectual attempts; but that they were repulsed in both; and that their general in vain endeavoured to lead them up a third time. In short, the *Florentines* now lost the reputation they had acquired by defeating *Alviano*; and, regardless of all discipline, they broke up the siege on hearing that *Gonfalvo* had reinforced the garrison with six hundred *Spanish* foot from *Piombino*. Next day the *Florentines* ingloriously retired to *Cascina*; and a few days after fifteen hundred more *Spanish* foot entered *Pisa*; but a peace being now concluded between *France* and *Spain*, they went from thence to *Spain* by sea.

THE affairs of the *Florentines* during 1506, though a busy year with the other *Italian* potentates, is little worth mentioning. They assisted pope *Julius II.* in making himself master of *Bologna*; but the *Pisan* war now entirely languished. *Petrucci* had formed a confederacy with the *Genoese* and the *Lucquese*, for the defence of that city, which totally discouraged the *Florentines*, even from any attempts upon the *Pisan* territory. Soon after the *Genoese* shook off the yoke of the *French*, and the *Pisans* found themselves in so good a condition, that they were able to send their general *Tarlatino* to their assistance with some troops; but they were soon reduced to their former subjection. This forwardness of the *Pisans* to assist the *Genoese*, disengaged the *French* king so greatly, that he promised to assist the *Florentines* to recover *Pisa*. *Ferdinand* king of *Spain* altered this resolution of *Lewis*, by promising to dispose the *Pisans* to return under the government of the *Florentines*, who offered him one hundred and twenty thousand ducats in case he succeeded, and to enter into a confederacy with him. But *Ferdinand* undertook more *Obstinacy* than he could perform; for though the *Pisans* offered to submit to him, he could not prevail on them to re-assume the *Florentine* yoke. To secure, however, the money that was stipulated, he plainly told the *Florentines* that if they offered, by the assistance of the *French* king, or by any other means, to render themselves masters of *Pisa*, he would oppose them by force. He found reason to alter his conduct, and made a compromise with the *French* king at *Savona*, by which both of them were to contribute their endeavours for recover-

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ing *Pisa* to the *Florentines*, and to share the money. The ardour of the *Pisans* against the *Florentines* was now greatly abated. The *Pisans* in the open country were more numerous than the citizens and the garrison, and perceiving that it was always in the power of the *Florentines* to destroy their harvest, and ruin their properties, they were for listening to an accommodation. The citizens, on the other hand, resolved to bury themselves in the ruins of their houses, rather than become again subject to the *Florentines*; but their prospect was now changed much for the worse. The *Genoese* durst no longer assist them, being themselves subject to *France*. The *Lucquese*, who had generously aided them far beyond their ability, could do it no longer; and *Petrucci* refused to incur either expence or danger on their account. In the year 1508, *Italy* obtained some respite from the wars that had been carried on by the *French*, *Germans*, and *Venetians*. The *French* king imagined, from the conduct of the *Florentines*, that they favoured the emperor. He sent to *Florence* an ambassador, *Michele Riccio*, to complain of this partiality, and of their having refused to assist him against his enemies; but offering to overlook all that was past, provided they would promise not to molest the *Pisans* without his consent. The meaning of this message was, in fact, no other than to secure to himself the whole of the money which, before his late rupture with *Maximilian*, he was to have divided with the late king of *Spain*. The *Florentines* took his message in that light. They pleaded the necessity they were under not to disoblige *Maximilian*; they put the king in mind of his engagements with regard to *Pisa*, and seemed to be surprised that he should so warmly interest himself for a people who had assisted the *Genoese* against him; and at the same time they insisted upon the right they had to effect the reduction of *Pisa*.

Conduct of Ferdinand, the most politic prince of his age, had intelligence of *Riccio's* negociation, and sent an ambassador to animate the *Pisans* against the *Florentines*. In short, the whole of the management of both kings was scandalous. Neither of them had the smallest regard for the *Pisans*; and all their dispute was, who should get the greatest sum from the *Florentines*. Thus the restitution of *Pisa* to the latter was delayed from the mercenary motives of two great monarchs.

Affairs of Italy. THE state of *Florence*, at this time, cannot be known but by representing that of *Italy*. Pope *Julius II.* was by birth a *Genoese*; and wanting to deliver his country from the yoke of the *French*, he made some overtures for that purpose to

the *Venetians*. The latter was possessed of *Rimini*, *Faenza*, *Ferrara*, and several other states that had belonged to *Borgia*, all of which were claimed by the holy see; and the pope, perceiving that the *Venetians* would not easily give them up, formed a confederacy against them, which consisted of almost all the powers in *Europe*, each of them, not excepting the *Florentines*, having pretensions on the *Venetian* territories, and their confederacy is known by the name of the *League of Cambray*. The *Venetians* were then in what may be called the zenith of their power; and the *Turks*, from whom they had most to dread, not being parties in the league against them, they resolved to brave all their enemies. Their riches, which were immense, contributed equally to their danger and their safety, because, while they maintained their armies, they rendered the confederacy against them more strong and compact. The pope began by ecclesiastical fulminations, which the *Venetians* despised. He then, once more, offered to be the friend of the *Venetians*, in which case the confederacy against them must dissolve of itself, if they would give him up *Rimini* and *Faenza*; but they rejected the proposal; so that, notwithstanding all their jarring interests, his holiness, the king of *Spain*, the *French* king, the emperor, and many other states, took the field against that republic.

SUCH was the state of *Italy* in the beginning of the year A. D. 1509. The *Florentines* thought the opportunity favourable 1509. Operations for their recovering *Pisa*. They had renewed their ravages in that territory, and had taken into their pay the son of *Bar-against Pisa.* *della*, of *Porto Venere*, with some vessels which blocked up the *Pisans* by sea. This reduced them to such distress, that the *Genoese* and *Lucquese*, compassionating their misery, equipped a small squadron, and loaded it with provisions for their relief. The *Florentines*, on the other hand, reinforced their fleet with an *English* ship which they hired in the port of *Leghorn*; and at the same time they lined all the banks of the *Arno* leading to *Pisa*, on both sides, with land forces and cannon. Those precautions defeated the generous intentions of the *Genoese* and *Lucquese*. The *Florentines*, to oblige the latter to a neutrality, sent a party from *Cascina* to plunder the port of *Viareggio*, which was then the magazine of the *Lucquese* merchandizes. The dread of this brought on a negotiation on the part of the *Lucquese*, who agreed upon a defensive league for three years, in which the *Lucquese*^a were expressly excluded from the liberty of giving any manner of assistance to the *Pisans*. This confederacy, if the *Florentines*

^a *GUICCIARDINI*, book viii.

should recover *Pisa* in the space of one year, was declared to be prolonged for other twelve years : and that, during this confederacy, the *Florentines* should not, without prejudice however to their rights, molest the *Lucquese* in the possession of *Pietra Santa* and *Mutrone*.

A neutrality concluded.

BUT the necessities of the kings of *France* and *Spain* proved the best friends of the *Florentines* on this occasion. They wanted money, and the *Florentines* wisely declined to advance them any, or to enter into the league of *Cambray*, unless the two kings should withdraw all their assistance from the *Pisans*. It must be acknowledged that both potentates acted in a shameful manner, the one towards the *Pisans*, and the other towards the *Florentines*. His Catholic majesty had taken the *Pisans* under his protection ; but offered to abandon them for a sum of money. The French king, on the other hand, had again and again promised to assist the *Florentines* in the recovery of *Pisa* ; but was so far from performing his engagements, that he sent a body of troops to defend the *Pisans*, lest they should be obliged to surrender without his receiving the money. After various difficulties had been started and conquered, a treaty was at last concluded on. The terms were, that neither of the monarchs, or their confederates, were directly or indirectly to assist the *Pisans* : that the *Florentines*^b, in case they should recover *Pisa* within the year next ensuing, should pay, at certain times, to each of the two kings fifty thousand ducats ; and, in that case, a league was declared to subsist between the parties for three years, to commence from the day of the recovery, by which the *Florentines* should be obliged to furnish three hundred men at arms, for the defence of the states of the two kings in *Italy* ; and, on the other hand, each of those monarchs, on demand, should supply them with at least three hundred men at arms, for their own defence.

Distress of the Venetians. BESIDES those stipulations, the avarice of *Lewis* obliged the *Florentines* to agree to a secret article for paying him fifty thousand ducats more ; and the cardinal of *Rouen* was likewise to have the disposal of twenty-five thousand for negotiating the agreement. Those points being adjusted, the parties in the league of *Cambray* prepared to attack the *Venetians*, who finding all their endeavours in vain to prevent the storm from falling on them, made dispositions for defending themselves. The history of that war which stripped the *Venetians* of almost all their acquisitions in *Europe*, is foreign to this work. It is sufficient to say, that the league of *Cambray* was of the

^b GUICCIARD. book viii.

greatest

greatest service to the *Florentines*, by diverting the attention of all the *Italian* states from *Pisa*, where they still found great difficulties to surmount. The *Lucquese* took every occasion of breaking, or at least evading, their lately concluded neutrality; and the citizens of *Pisa*, the youthful part of them especially, continued obstinate against the *Florentines*, while the situation of their city was such, as rendered it next to impossible for their enemies to exclude all provisions from entering it.

NOTWITHSTANDING those difficulties, the supplies sent to *Pisa* ^{pres-} the *Pisans* were in no degree proportioned to their necessities; ^{sed by the} and their garrison shewed such reluctance towards continuing Floren- the defence of the city, that the inhabitants were obliged times. to propose an accommodation under the mediation of the lord of *Piombino*. The *Florentines* accepted of this proposal, and the famous *Nicholas Machiavel*, who was then their secretary, was appointed to be their plenipotentiary at *Piombino*. This negotiation, however, was far from relaxing the operations of the *Florentines* against *Pisa*. They divided their army into three parts, by which they blocked up that city more effectually than ever. This obliged the *Pisans* to have recourse to a stratagem. One of them, *Alfonso del Mutolo*, a young man, having been taken prisoner by the *Florentines*, had received many civilities from his captors, and was therefore thought a proper hand for deceiving them. He secretly proposed, that one of the *Florentine* divisions that lay at *S. Jacopo*, should advance by night to one of the gates of *Pisa*, which he was to put into their hands. The true intention of the *Pisans*, had their design succeeded, was to have admitted into their city as many of the *Florentines* as they thought proper, and, after putting them to the sword, to have marched out and attacked another division of their army. But the caution of the *Florentines* rendered the plot abortive: instead of marching tumultuously as the *Pisans* expected, their troops approached the gate with circumspection and regularity; so that when the *Pisans* came to execute the design, they could kill but very few of the *Florentines*, who immediately retreated to their station.

THE distresses of the *Pisans* increased through this disappointment. Multitudes of them perished in their streets for want of food. The misery of such spectacles seemed to increase the abhorrence of the *Pisan* magistrates for the *Florentines*. They endeavoured to send out of their city all useless mouths, but they were put to death, or driven back by the *Florentines*. They then pretended that *Maximilian* was on his march to succour them, and that the treaty of *Piombino* was

was in great forwardness. There was some grounds for expecting that *Maximilian* would have relieved them. He had been excluded from the negociation between the kings of *France* and *Spain*; and the acquisition of *Pisa* would have been of vast service to his affairs. His poverty, however, and inability, prevented him from making his advantage of the juncture; and the *Pisan* peasants, seeing all their hopes of relief at an end, ran to arms, and obliged their magistrates, in good earnest, to enter into a fresh negociation with the *Florentines*. *Alamanno Salviati*, one of the *Florentine* commissaries, negotiated this treaty, which notwithstanding all the opposition made to it from the *Pisan* magistrates, was at last concluded, and was highly to the advantage of the *Pisans*. They not only received a full remission of all their offences against the *Florentines*, but obtained many concessions and privileges, which they had not before, and the *Florentines* gave up all their claims of restitution of their goods, which the *Pisans* had seized in the beginning of the war. Thus the war between the *Florentines* and the *Pisans* ended not without great honour to the *Florentines*, on account of their wisdom in concluding the treaty, but more so because of the good faith with which they observed its articles.

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THE emperor *Maximilian*; however, was now with his army in the bowels of *Italy*, and pretending to be intitled to all the rights of the *Roman* emperors there, he renewed his claims upon *Florence*, as being a fief of the empire, and objected to the *Pisans* returning under its dominion. The *French* king, apprehensive of losing the residue of the money stipulated to be paid him by the *Florentines*, earnestly pressed them to an accommodation with *Maximilian*; and they accordingly sent deputies to him while he was at *Verona*, amongst whom was *Peter Guicciardini*, father of the historian, at that time, one of the first men of the *Florentine* republic. As *Maximilian* was continually in want of money, a treaty was soon concluded, by which they obtained of him, in most ample form and manner, the privileges of a confirmation of the liberties as well of the city of *Florence*, as of the dominion and jurisdiction of the towns and states in their possession, with release from all debts due in times past. But all this was on condition that the *Florentine* deputies should engage, in the name of their republic, to pay *Maximilian* forty thousand ducats.

Scheme of
the pope.

By this time, the contracting parties in the league of *Cambrai* had split amongst themselves; and pope *Julius II.* took

? GUICCIARDINI, book viii.

advan-

advantage of their disunion to pursue his first scheme, that of driving the *French* out of *Italy*. This brought on various negociations foreign to our subject. The *Florentines* continued to be strictly attached to *France*. The emperor and the *French* king, in a short time, became as jealous of his holiness as they had been before of the *Venetians*, and they renewed their convention upon the principles of the league of *Cambray*. The more to intimidate the pope, the king convened an assembly of bishops at *Tours*, where it was decreed, that it was lawful to make war with the pope as a temporal prince, and that no more money should be sent to *Rome*. The *Florentines* had the courage to continue in the *French* interest, and even lent the king two hundred men at arms, to protect his duchy of *Milan*, in consequence of their convention with him; but he made this demand not so much because he really wanted such an assistance, but that he might widen the breach between the pope and the *Florentines*. *Peter Soderini* remained still gonfalonier, and was thought to be the great prop of the *French* interest in *Florence*; for which reason he was assassinated, as is said, with the privity of the pope, and at the direction of the cardinal *de Medici*. After this, the pope did all he could to court the *Florentines* into his alliance; but far from succeeding, they gave the *Siennese* warning that they were resolved to break the truce with them, because they were in the pope's interest, and enemies to the *French* king.

His holiness, on the other hand, acted a vigorous part, *Divisions* both in politics and in war. By an ill-timed frugality of the *in Italy*. *French* king, the *Swiss*, who had served them so effectually in the affair of *Sforza*, abandoned his alliance upon his refusing to augment their pay. The *Venetians* had joined with the holy see, and had, by this time, recovered great part of their territory. *Ferdinand the Catholic*, as he is called, king of *Spain*, had abandoned the league of *Cambray*, for the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples*, which he had obtained from the pope, and was a firm friend to the holy see; and even the king of *England*, young *Henry VIII.* the richest and most powerful prince then in *Europe*, took part with his holiness. The conduct of *Lewis* at this juncture, was certainly impolitic. Tho' the emperor *Maximilian* was his ally, yet the whole burden and expence of the war lay on *France*. *Lewis* was obliged to give the emperor an hundred thousand crowns before he could put his troops in motion, and he gave him six thousand more for the useless investiture of *Milan*. In short, this successor of the *Roman Cæsars*, as *Maximilian* designed himself, served in the capacity of a mercenary

cenary officer, and took pay from every power that was able to give it him. *Lewis*, encouraged by his alliance with the *Florentines*, undertook the defence of the duchy of *Ferrara*, which the pope said belonged to the holy see; and he was so impolitic, if not unjust, as to promise to put *Maximilian* in possession of *Rome*, and the ecclesiastical state, and of all *Italy*, except *Milan* and *Genoa*, the dominions of the *Florentines*, and the *Ferrarese*.

Venality of Maximilian. *MAXIMILIAN*, who lett his titles as well as troops out for hire, on his part, gave *Lewis* the sanction of his name, for convening a general council that was to humble the pope's spiritual authority, at the same time that his temporal was to be annihilated. In this they were encouraged by the promises of many disengaged cardinals and clergy, to serve them in the council. It soon appeared that *Lewis* had mistaken his measures: while he was asking the opinions of the clergy, and stating cases of conscience upon the legality of his undertakings, the pope was raising armies and hiring soldiers. About the end of September, 1510, he entered the *Ferrarese* at the head of an army which had laid waste all the open country, while the fleet of his allies, the *Venetians*, ravaged the sea coasts, and blocked up the mouths of the *Po*. The *Venetians*, and the court of *Naples*, at the same time promised to assist him with land troops. The *French* had then an army in or near the city of *Ferrara*; but his holiness did not think proper, not yet being joined by the *Venetians* and *Neapolitans*, to attack that city. Political considerations, on the one hand, retarded their junction with him, and on the other, the animosities that prevailed amongst the *French* generals, and the poverty of *Maximilian*, which made his *German* troops mutiny, were favourable to pope *Julius*, whose conduct on this occasion was wonderful.

Spirited conduct of the pope. Tho' he was now past seventy, and had many bodily infirmities, besides that of age, upon him, and though his allies had disappointed him, he undauntedly pursued his scheme of subduing *Ferrara*, as he had done *Modena* some time before. His general was the duke of *Urbino*, but his troops were raw, ill-armed, ill paid, and not so numerous as the *French* under the duke of *Ferrara*, who retook the *Polesine* of *Rovigo*, *Final*, and other places; and, by the help of flat-bottomed vessels, he defeated the *Venetian* fleet, and prevented their army from joining that of the pope. All those unpromising circumstances were so far from disconcerting his holiness, that they confirmed him in his darling purpose of driving all foreigners, or barbarians, as he called them, out of *Italy*, by his own arms only. By this time the *French* king had pro-

proclaimed a general council to be held at *Lions* against the pope; and his and the imperial interest was so strong at *Rome*, that the cardinals of *Santa Croce*, *Cosenza*, *Bayeux*, *St. Malo*, and *San Severino*, abruptly left his holiness, and put themselves under the protection of the *Florentines*.

THE latter by this time began to stagger in their alliance ^{The} with the *French*, when they saw them disunited amongst them. ^{Floren-} selves, and that *Lewis* had not, as he had promised, come in ^{tines} ^{ager in their} person to their assistance. They however received the dis- ^{alliance} ^{with the} contented cardinals with great civility, and granted them the protection of the senate, but without limiting it to any time, ^{French.} that they might be at liberty to withdraw it at their discretion.

The pope insisted upon the cardinals, three of whom he threatened with excommunication, repairing to him at *Bologna*; and the *Florentines* durst not exasperate him. It was in vain for the cardinals to implore the farther protection of the senate, who gave them warning to leave their territory, and they went by the *Lunigiana* to *Milan*.

CHAUMONT D'AMBOISE was the *French* general ^{Distresses} in the *Ferrarese*, where he and the duke of *Ferrara* continued ^{of the pope} to gain great advantages; and by the advice of *Bentivoglio*, whom his holiness had driven out of *Bologna*, he of a sudden entered the *Bolognese*, and presented himself before that city, which was instantly filled with terror and consternation. The pope at this time certainly did not consider the *Florentines* as his enemies; for he sent the most precious of his jewels to the monastery of *Murate*, in *Florence*, to preserve them from the *French*. He bitterly upbraided the *Venetian* ambassadors with the inactivity of their army; and being every moment plied by all the foreign ambassadors at his court, and the best of his friends, to enter into a treaty with *Chaumont*, he was so agitated between pride and necessity, that he fell into a slow fever, and at last solemnly consented to send *Pico*, count of *Mirandola* to treat with *Chaumont*. That general was secretly as much disposed as his holiness was towards an accommodation, and sent by the count the terms on which he was willing to conclude it. The pope thought them hard, and suffered the time to expire that was fixed for his answer, without returning any. Towards the evening his fever left him, upon his receiving intelligence that the *Venetians* and *Spaniards* were on their march to his relief. He then gave full scope to his indignation against the *French*, and threatened to excommunicate their whole nation, if they did not immediately withdraw all assistance from the duke of *Ferrara*. This menace would have had little effect upon *Chaumont*, had not the *English* ambassador, then at *Bologna*, interposed, and plainly

plainly told the *French* generals, who were now within three miles of that city, that if they did advance farther, his master would consider it as a declaration of war between *France* and *England*. This was the true reason that had made *Chaumont* desirous of peace: he knew how unequal the match must then be between *England* and *France*; and that very night, upon the menace of the *English* ambassador, he broke up his camp and returned to *Rubiera*.

who retrieves them.

THE pope now raised his voice, and declared to the ambassadors, and those who made application to him on the head of peace, that he would listen to none till he was put in possession of the *Ferrarese*. To give weight to his words, though he was still in a languishing state of health, he applied himself to all the duties of a general officer, and he underwent more fatigue than any subaltern in his service. As to the *Florentines*, he altered his tone towards them likewise, and treated them with far less complaisance than he had done in his distress. His army was commanded by *Marc Antonio Colonna*, who took *Concordia* by storm, and at the end of December besieged *Mirandola*. This siege at first was carried on under great difficulties; and in the beginning of the year 1511, notwithstanding the bitterness of the season, his holiness, impatient at the slowness of the operations, left *Bologna*, and, attended by three cardinals, he went in person to his army before *Mirandola*, and took upon himself the command of it. He fixed his head-quarters at a little church exposed to all the fire of the garrison, and he was all day long on horseback, or in the trenches, animating or punishing his men, and forwarding their operations. The garrison, which was commanded by *Trivulzi*, made a noble resistance; but the town was defended by the widow of *Lodovico*, count of *Mirandola*, who had been dead but about eight months, and of the house of *Trivulzi*. The *French* king had given orders to risque every thing for the relief of *Mirandola*; but *Chaumont* having a difference with the *Trivulzi* family, instead of succouring the besieged, retired to *Milan*, and a severe frost coming on, both the citadel and town were surrendered by capitulation to his holiness. This event sunk the credit of the *French* arms in *Italy*, and drew such reproaches from all quarters upon *Chaumont*, that he fell into a fever and died. A secret treaty, all this while, was going on between the pope and the emperor. The latter found he was to have no more money from *France*, and that he might obtain a great deal from *England*, and therefore he resolved to detach himself from *Lewis*. He demanded, as the price of his new alliance with the pope, to be put into possession of *Modena*, which

the pope, who was afraid it would be taken by the *French*, agreed to, that he might have the more leisure to prosecute his war in the *Ferrarese*. But the *French* had now sent *Progress of* fresh troops into *Italy*, under the command of the famous *the French* *Gaston de Foix*, the *Trivulzes*, and other able generals, who, *in Italy*. for some time, carried every thing before them like a torrent. Their success produced a peace between the emperor and the *Venetians*, and the ambassadors of both strongly sollicited the pope to relax in the affair of *Ferrara*; but his holiness refused to give them the hearing if they even mentioned it; upon which the bishop of *Goritz* abruptly left his court. Four days after his departure, the pope perceiving his danger from the conquests of the *French* in *Italy*, which increased every day, employed the bishop of *Murray*, who was ambassador from *James IV. of Scotland*, to treat with the *French* generals about an accommodation; but this was so far from being effected, that the *French* obliged his holiness himself to abandon *Bologna*, and, after driving the ecclesiastic and *Venetian* armies out of that city, they took and demolished the citadel. This, together with some untowardly accidents which happened about the same time, greatly mortified his holiness, who was obliged to return to *Rome*; and now saw himself in danger of losing both his conquests and reputation. His distress was increased upon hearing that a general council had been indicted, and that he himself was summoned to appear before it. The bishop of *Murray* continued still to act as mediator between all parties; and the bishop of *Goritz* had ^{A negocia-} returned by him a plan of an accommodation, upon the foot-^{tion.} ing that had been proposed by the pope himself; but the bishop of *Murray's* endeavours were ineffectual. When he returned to the pope, he found him so much embarrassed, that he could bring *Goritz* no satisfactory answer. Upon this *Maximilian* and *Lewis* resolved immediately to assemble the general council.

THE *Florentines* were at this juncture neither feared, trusted, nor hated, by any power; but, by means of their neutrality, they had repaired their finances. They had no reason ^{proposed,} to be pleased with the pope, and vast difficulties occurred about the place where the council was to be held. The *French* king named *Pisa*, because it was subject to the *Florentines*; a people whom, he said, he could trust. This was a tender point for the *Florentines*. They durst not, on the one hand, disoblige his most Christian majesty; and, on the other, they were under some difficulties as to the legality of any council

that was held without the pope's consent, and against his will. The question was proposed in a council of one hundred and fifty citizens, where the matter was debated, and the French king's request agreed to; but with so much caution and secrecy, that neither the pope nor the cardinals knew of their resolution.

Inconstancy of the French king. AFTER the French had taken Bologna, it was plain, that, had they pleased, they might have made themselves masters of Rome and the Ecclesiastical State. The pope had now no dependence but upon the mediation of the king of Scotland, and the dread which the French king was under from England. Every one knows the vanity and ambition of Henry VIII. who at this time merited the epithet which he and his successors have ever after used, that "of Defender of the Faith," or, more properly, the papal power, by renewing his instances with the French king not to pursue his conquests in Italy. Perhaps Lewis, at the same time, had some religious panics on his mind; but, be that as it will, it is certain that all Europe was amazed at the sudden turn of his sentiments in favour of the pope. He prohibited all rejoicings for taking Bologna, and the other rapid successes of his army. He exhorted Bentivoglio, whom he had restored to the government of Bologna, to behave dutifully towards his holiness; and he even offered to ask pardon, if he had offended the head of the church. Those submissions, instead of mollifying the pope, served but to revive his haughtiness and stubbornness. Lewis had gone so far as to draw his army off towards Tuscany and the Milanese; and had declared to the Scotch ambassador, that there was scarce any thing he would not do, that he might be reconciled to the holy father. The pope took him at his word; and, amongst other very hard terms required of the duke of Ferrara, he demanded that he should deliver up all the towns he held in the Romagna. Lewis agreed to all; but his compliance served only to make his holiness rise in his demands, till the patience of Lewis was worn out; so that he declared Bentivoglio and the Bolognese to be under his own protection, and sent a strong body of troops to their defence. The irresolution of Lewis, with the poverty and ambition of Maximilian, and the reduced power of the Venetians, again disconcerted the affairs of Italy; so that there was not a potentate there who could trust another; but the pope was the only gainer. Despising the small number of cardinals who had set their names to the induction of the general council at Pisa, he indicted another at the city of Rome, which was to sit the first of May, 1512. But though, as we have seen, he was perpetually rising in his demands, he still employed the Scotch am-

ambassador in the negociation he had begun with *Lewis*; and at the same time he endeavoured to strengthen himself by an alliance with the *Venetians* and *Spaniards*; but, above all, he sought to recover the friendship of the *Florentines*.

BEING conscious of the causes of offence he had given *The French* them, he was afraid they might call in the *French* to their assistance against the *Siennese*, for the recovery of *Monte Pulciano*, which lay near the frontier of the ecclesiastical state. *Monte Pulciano*. Instead therefore of garrisoning that place, both he and *Petracci*, who was under the same apprehensions, but was obliged to proceed with more caution, joined in a negociation for forming a defensive league between the *Florentines* and the *Siennese*, and for restoring *Monte Pulciano* to the former. At last, after conquering many difficulties, *Simonetta*, who acted on this occasion as agent from the pope, succeeded in bringing about a league for twenty-five years between the two states: upon which *Monte Pulciano*, being previously confirmed in all its ancient privileges, returned to the subjection of the *Florentines*. This accommodation was of great service to the pope. The *Venetians*, this summer, had defeated the *French* and *Germans*, and recovered great part of their territory. *Lewis* ascribed their success to the poverty and backwardness of *Maximilian*; and the latter first grew cold in the affair of the council of *Pisa*, and afterwards required that it should be moved to some other place. Difficulties multiplying upon *Lewis*, and being on the eve of a war with *England*, he likewise was disposed towards an accommodation; but his holiness refused to give ear to any proposal of that kind, unless he disowned the schismatical council, as he called it, convoked at *Pisa*, and restored *Bologna* to the holy see. *Lewis* would have been tractable on the first head; but declared that he would defend *Bologna* as strenuously as he would do *Paris*. The pope's obstinacy was prompted by *Ferdinand the Catholic*, whose double dealing and mysterious politics were now become proverbial in *Europe*, and who dreaded an union between the pope and *Lewis*.

ON the first of *September*, the general council was opened *The council opens at Pisa*, where the mutinous cardinals, who all of them lay *cil* under the pope's censures, performed several consistorial acts. *Pisa*. This drew the indignation of his holiness upon the *Florentines*, who had been so lately obliged to him; and he laid them under an interdict, as being favourers of the schismatical conventicle at *Pisa*. To terrify them the more, he made the cardinal *de Medici*, legate of *Petugia*, legate of *Bologna* likewise. Those proceedings of the pope, with the visible coldness of the *French* king in supporting the council of *Pisa*, gave

so great concern to the *Florentines*, that they opposed the farther proceedings of the council and the schismatical cardinals. But the intrigues of the *Medici* family and its friends in *Florence*, began now to appear by their effects. *Soderini* the gonfalonier, and his brother the cardinal of *Volterra*, acted as arbitrarily in the government as the *Medici* had ever done. The public council of the people was, indeed, the supreme authority; but it was under his direction or influence: and the *Florentines* were too quick-sighted a people not to perceive, that, though the forms of a popular constitution were preserved, the spirit of it might be extinguished. The gonfalonier and his brother continued to be avowed friends to the French king; and many of the *Florentines*, though otherwise averse to the *Medici* family, began, on that account, to talk less disrespectfully of it than they had done before. The cardinal

Conduct of the cardinal de Medici was young, active, polite, generous, and politic, beyond most men of his age. He had exact intelligence of all that passed in *Florence*, and was well acquainted with the dispositions of the public. Instead of attaching himself, as a man of genius inferior to his would have done, to the old approved friends of his family, he extended his benevolence, purse, and patronage, to all the *Florentines*, and equally caressed the enemies, as the friends, of his family. His credit at the court of *Rome* gave him many opportunities of serving them; and in a short time the minds of the *Florentines* became wonderfully disposed in his favour. His party was increased by the necessities of many noblemen, who, after ruining themselves by extravagance, had recourse to his finances; and the papal interdict, under which the city lay, disposed all who were religiously, or rather superstitiously, inclined, to favour him, that the interdict might be taken off through his interest. Those who were averse to him, were over-awed by his power as legate of *Bologna*; so that, upon the whole, the partizans of the *Medici* family now appeared in *Florence* as openly as ever.

Appeal of the Florentines, upon being interdicted. NOTWITHSTANDING all this, the republic still maintained its own dignity, even in opposition to the pope, and appealed from his interdict to a holy council of the universal church. In consequence of this appeal, they acted as if they had been under no interdict, and obliged the priests to perform divine services in the churches. While matters were in this situation, the pope, *Ferdinand the Catholic*, and the *Venetians*, entered into a league for securing *Italy* against all foreigners, by which the insolence of pope *Julius* grew greater than ever. In a public consistory, where he appeared in great form and splendour, he degraded the contumacious cardinals who had opened

opened the council of *Pisa*. After this, he solicited *Ferdinand* to hasten the march of the troops stipulated by the late treaty, and by their assistance he proposed, if all other means should fail, to restore the *Medici* family to its power in *Florence*.

THE impetuosity of the pope injured the family he wanted to serve. Its moderate friends could not bear the thoughts of being under a papal government; and the republic not only made preparations for defending itself, but raised a bank or fund out of the incomes of the ecclesiastics, which was not to be expended, but restored to the original proprietors, unless they were attacked by the pope. This, however, met with great opposition; but when the grand council assembled, the gonfalonier made a long speech, inveighing against the pope and the *Medici* family; which had such weight, that the law at last passed.

THE flames of war must now have broken out in *Tuscany*, *Ill success* had it not been for the prudence of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who of ^{the} remonstrated to his holiness, that the *Florentines* could only be *Pisan* driven into connections with *France*, that they might defend ^{the} council. themselves, in case of an attack, in their own country; that they were by no means disposed in favour of the *French* king; that they had been forced, contrary to their own sentiments, to serve him in a few immaterial points; and that the pope would much better come to his end by treating them with forbearance, and by endeavouring to recover *Bologna*, where he would meet with little resistance. *Petrucci's* advice, tho' known to proceed from interested motives, was followed; and it soon appeared, that the disposition of the *Florentines* did not by any means lead them to provoke his holiness. The schismatical cardinals, who had only sent their proxies to the council of *Pisa*, hearing of their being degraded and excommunicated by the pope, stopt at *S. Domino*, from whence the two *Spanish* cardinals repaired to *Lucca*; but the three *French* cardinals, together with the bishops of that nation, proceeded to *Pisa* under the guard of three hundred *French* lances, commanded by *Foix*, who were to reside at *Pisa* during the session of the council. The *Florentines* had not been informed of the destination of those troops till they were upon their march; and, partly from resentment, partly through prudential considerations, they resolved to prohibit their admission into *Pisa*. They respectfully gave their reasons for this prohibition to the *French* king, as well as his cardinals; but the cardinal of *St. Malo*, who was at their head, presuming on the great power of *Lewis*, secretly ordered the troops to proceed. *Lewis*, on the other hand, had promised to the *Florentines* that they should not proceed; upon which the republic sent *Francesco*

Vettori to certify to the cardinal of *St. Malo*, that they would oppose, with force of arms, the entrance of any troops into the *Pisan*. At the same time they ordered the chief *Pisans*, who were suspected of favouring the *French*, to be sent to *Florence*, and quartered a body of troops in the neighbourhood of *Pisa*. This alienation of the *Florentines* from the *French* interest, and the cardinal's being obliged to countermand the march of the troops, gave such pleasure to the pope, that he for some time suspended the interdict that he had laid upon *Pisa* and *Florence*. But the *Florentines* gave him still more substantial proofs how much they disliked the council of *Pisa*, by laying the members of it, who repaired to that city, under every possible mortification. They were not even treated in the streets with common decency ; and the higher and more disinterested their pretexts of meeting were, the more they were ridiculed and blamed for prostituting the names of religion and virtue to the purposes of interest and ambition. Even the clergy of the church of *Pisa* locked up the doors of their cathedral, and refused to give the members entrance into it, or to lend their assistance towards the ceremonies required for opening the session. The members complained to the *Florentine* magistracy, who ordered that they should be admitted into the church, and have the use of its furniture ; but refused to oblige the clergy to assist at any religious worship. Those resolutions, as *Guicciardin*^a rightly observes, were inconsistent with each other ; but were owing to the divisions that prevailed amongst the *Florentines* themselves ; for parties were so equally ballanced, that no question could be carried clearly either for the *French* or the papal interest, by which both were disengaged. An accident freed the *Pisans* from the council ; for a quarrel happening between a few *French* soldiers and the townsmen, in which some were wounded on both sides, the members of the council adjourned it to *Milan*, where they were received, if possible, with more detestation than they had been at *Pisa*.

Mercenary disposition of the Swiss.

THE parsimony of *Lewis*, and the poverty of *Maximilian*, still continued to divide *Italy*. The pope and the king of *Spain* endeavoured to effect an alliance between *Maximilian* and the *Venetians* ; but *Lewis*, after various deliberations, fixed *Maximilian* in his interest with money, and promised to take into his service a body of *Swiss*. This people began now to lose their esteem in *Europe*, through their mercenary disposition. They openly offered themselves for sale to the best bidder ; and, the liberality of the pontiff prevailing over the

^a *GUICCIARDINI*, book ix.

parlancy of *Lewis*, they resolved to invade the *Milanese*. The wiser part of the *French* council advised *Lewis* by all means to make the *Swiss* his friends, which he might have done at the expence of ten thousand ducats ; but he neglected it. The *Swiss*, before they began their expedition, sent a message to *Venice*, informing the senate, that they intended to drive the *French* out of *Italy*, and assist that republic, demanding a supply of provisions, a train of artillery, and five hundred horse, of all which they were destitute in their own country ; and the *Venetian* senate readily granted their request. *Lewis* had not foreseen this. He had depended upon the advanced season of the year, the inability of the *Swiss* by themselves to invade any country, the good state of the *Milanese* fortifications, and the bravery of his troops. *Varese* was the place of the *Swiss* rendezvous ; and from thence they sent a defiance to *Gaston de Foix*, the *French* governor of *Milan*, who, being weak in infantry, was obliged to keep on the defensive, and posted himself at *Lignago*. The *Swiss* advanced to *Galera*, where *de Foix* offered them battle. The *Swiss*, expecting reinforcements, declined it ; but soon after, their army amounting to sixteen thousand men, they obliged the *French* to retire to the city of *Milan*.

LEWIS, being now sensible of his error in not retaining *Divisions* the *Swiss* in his pay, ordered *de Foix* to offer them whatever money they required, if they would discontinue the invasion ; but, though mercenary, they were just to their engagements. The pope, however, and the *Venetians*, neglected to support them, either by sending them money, or making a diversion in their favour. This breach of contract made the *Swiss* offer, after they came within two miles of *Milan*, to return to their own country, if *de Foix* would advance them the money of which they had been disappointed by their allies, which was refused them. *Lewis*, perceiving the imminent danger of *Milan*, now made his utmost efforts for preserving that city, as well as *Bologna*. His chief dependence in *Italy* lay on the *Florentines*, whose country was situated between *Milan* and the *Romagna*. *Lewis*, therefore, insisted upon their employing the whole of their force in his favour, without stipulating any certain number, and for their securing all the avenues in their country by which the enemy could penetrate into the *Romagna*. The *Florentines* were divided on this occasion. A great party amongst them was against extending their engagements with so faithless and ungrateful a people, as the *French* had always proved themselves to be towards *Florence*. They represented, that they had fulfilled all their stipulations with *France* ; and that the only way to make themselves

selves respectable in *Italy* was to maintain a neutrality, which would acquire to them the good-will of the *Venetians*, the pope, and the catholic king, besides saving themselves vast sums of money.

The gonfalonier fides with the French.

SODE RINI, the gonfalonier for life, whose power in the state fell little short of that of a perpetual dictator, had no other dependence, for defending himself against his enemies, who were powerful and numerous, but the friendship of *Lewis*, for whom he always was a strenuous advocate. On this occasion, he represented the cause of *France* as being that of the *Florentines*; and that, if the pope, the *Venetians*, and the catholic king should prevail, they would turn their arms against their republic, and subvert its independency. He likewise insisted upon the services the *French* had in past times performed for the *Florentines*. All his arguments, however, were ineffectual, because of his notorious attachment to *France*, for bringing his countrymen to any decisive resolution; and *Guicciardin* the historian, who was then doctor of laws, tho' no more than twenty-nine years of age, was by them sent ambassador to the catholic king, or, as he is called, the king of *Arragon*; but, by his own account, with no very healing overtures.

IN the mean while, the French, who knew the necessities of the Swiss in the neighbourhood of Milan, refused to come to any accommodation with them; and, notwithstanding all their menaces, of which they were very liberal, they broke the Swiss up their camp, and set out for their own country, without from Italy. regard to the remonstrances of the pope and the Venetians. Upon their departure, the pope's troops and those of *Spain* entered the *Romagna*, where all the places belonging to the duke of *Ferrara*, excepting the fort of *Genivolo*, surrendered to them without resistance; but that fort was likewise taken, after a brave defence, by assault, in which the garrison was cut in pieces. A few hours after, the duke of *Ferrara* retook it, and, in revenge, put all the *Spaniards* within it to the sword.

THE city of Imola was the rendezvous for the armies of Spain and the holy see, which were now very strong. Fabricio Colonna commanded the Spaniards, under the viceroy of Naples; as did the cardinal de Medici the pope's forces, though without any military designation. Their great object was to retake Bologna, which they accordingly invested, so as to prevent the French from throwing any succours into it. Fabricio Colonna had the command of the siege; but it was carried on in a most awkward dilatory manner, the besiegers being every hour under apprehensions of an attack from the French. Cardinal

War in Italy continues.

dal de Medici was keen for forwarding the operations against the city, and was distrustful of the *Spaniards*, on account of their king's known infidelity. He was farther stimulated by the daily reproaches and messages he received from the pope, whose sanguine temper rendered him impatient. The vice-roy of *Naples* took it amiss, that an ecclesiastic, as the cardinal was, should presume to dictate in military operations; but *Navarra*, a *Spanish* general, to whom he paid great deference, represented to him so effectually the shame of a longer inactivity, that at last the siege was pushed with tolerable vigour. Upon this, the besieged demanded assistance from *Foix*, who accordingly came to their relief, and raised the siege on the nineteenth day after it was undertaken; but *Brescia* and *Bergamo*, in the mean time, were taken by the *Venetians*. *De Foix*, however, after providing for the security of *Bologna*, marched with incredible expedition against the *Venetians*, and defeating their army, he besieged and retook *Brescia*, where he put about eight thousand *Venetians* to the sword, amongst whom were many officers and persons of great distinction. The other towns, which had been retaken by the *Venetians* in *Lombardy*, followed the fate of *Brescia*. *De Foix* then marched against the confederate army, which remained still in the *Bolognese*. But the *French* king at this time was under great perplexities, arising from his uncertainty as to the disposition of *Maximilian*, and the war that had just broken out between him and the king of *England*. After various negotiations, he had reason to suspect that *Maximilian* was resolved to detach himself from his alliance, and he endeavoured to replace the *German* troops in his pay by an equal number of *Swiss*. At the same time he applied to the pope for a peace; but was answered, that he was to expect none, unless he gave up *Bologna* and *Ferrara* to the holy see.

UNDER those difficulties, *Lewis* applied to the *Florentines*. *Coldness* He endeavoured to persuade them to join in an expedition between against the *Romagna*; but so great was the public hatred the *Florentines* and towards the gonfalonier, that a *Neapolitan* ambassador was publicly carelessly at *Florence*, and all the answers *Lewis* received French, to his applications were general and dilatory. The term of his engagements with the *Florentines* was now almost expired, and he pressed for a renewal of them. He even offered to be at all the expence of the war; but the *Florentines* not only continued to temporize, but publicly sent a minister to the court of *Spain*. The pope did not fail to encourage this coldness in the *Florentines* towards the *French*. He took off his interdicts from their city; and sent *Giovanni Gozzadini*, a *Bolognese*, and one of the clerks of the apostolic chamber, as

his nuncio, to *Florence*. *Lewis*, upon this, thought he could have no dependence in *Italy* but upon the strength of his own arms, and ordered *de Foix* to give the enemy battle in the *Bolognese*, and, if he should succeed, to march against *Rome* itself. To palliate so irreligious a war, he pretended to have on his side the council of *Pisa*, to whose deputies the towns taken from the pope were to be surrendered. To give weight to his orders, *de Foix* received from *France* a great reinforcement of troops, consisting of five thousand *German* foot, five thousand *Gascons*, eight thousand *Italians* and *French*, and sixteen hundred lances, including two hundred *Milanese* gentlemen. This army was to be joined by one hundred men at arms, one hundred light horse, and a numerous train of artillery, under the duke of *Ferrara*.

Siege and battle of Ravenna.

DE FOIX, though a young man, and naturally impetuous, had great experience, and acted with vast caution. He advanced to the *Bolognese*, where the confederate army was encamped. It was inferior to his in numbers; but they every day expected a reinforcement of six thousand *Swiss*, which would render them superior. Being upon the defensive, they made so good a choice of their ground, that the *French* could not attack them without vast disadvantage; and the catholic king advised his generals, and those of the pope, by all means to avoid a battle, because he every day expected that the *French* king would recal his army out of *Italy* to defend himself against the *English*. After various motions on both sides, the confederates retired under the walls of *Imola*, where the *French* durst not attack them. *De Foix*, that he might throw his enemies off their guard, affected to lead a life of pleasure and gallantry; but at last, after obtaining some slight advantages, the two armies encamped within cannon-shot of each other, without either daring to begin an attack. In the mean while, *Maximilian* concluded a truce with the *Venetians*, which made *Lewis* reiterate his orders to *de Foix* for giving the enemy battle. *De Foix* found that to be impracticable, and therefore he undertook the siege of *Ravenna*, in hopes of drawing the confederates from their advantageous situation to the relief of that city. The place was strong, both by art and nature, and defended by *Antonio Colonna*, who solemnly engaged the confederated generals to attempt to raise the siege. *De Foix* found himself under great difficulties. His army was straitened for provisions, the *Venetian* fleet having blocked up the mouth of the *Po*, so that he could receive no supplies from the *Ferrarese*. Those disadvantages occasioned his making a vigorous, though inconfidante, attack upon the place, in which he was repulsed with great

great loss. The inhabitants, however, were so much daunted, that they entered into a secret negociation with him about a surrender; but, while it was in dependence, the confederated generals, that they might keep their faith with *Colonna*, advanced to raise the siege. Upon this, *de Foix*, without hesitation, drew off his artillery, and resolved to give the enemy battle. *Guicciardin* has given us the speech said to have been made by *de Foix*, on this occasion; but with small appearance of its being genuine, the whole of it consisting of passages from the ancients on the like occasions. The numbers of both armies were nearly equal, by the reinforcements the confederates had received; and the battle was the most considerable of any that had been fought in *Italy* for some hundreds of years: but the *French* artillery was much better supplied than that of the confederates, who, after an obstinate dispute, were defeated. The *Spanish* infantry, however, having performed amazing acts of valour, prepared to retire in good order, and with the countenance of conquerors. This provoked *de Foix*, and he attacked them with a body of cavalry, but was himself killed; so that the *Spaniards* marched off in *Foix* kill-a kind of triumph, while most of their confederates were either killed or taken prisoners. It is thought that about sixteen thousand men, four thousand of whom were *French*, perished in this battle, which is called that of *Ravenna*.

THE *Florentines*, all this while, affected an exact neutrality, and protected such of the fugitives as took flight through French ^{territory} in their dominions. After the battle, the *French*, enraged by the loss of their general, took *Ravenna* by storm, and treated ^{cities in} it in a most barbarous manner. After that, most of the cities ^{Italy.} of the *Romagna* surrendered to them; but the citadels of *Forti* and *Imola* held out. Notwithstanding this shew of success, the *French* army was ruined by the loss of their general, who was succeeded in his command by *Palisse*; but, though an officer of great merit, he was both ignorant of, and unable to execute, the schemes of *de Foix*. When the news of the defeat of *Ravenna* came to *Rome*, many of the cardinals, and the other ecclesiastics, earnestly applied to the pope, to incline him to peace, as they thought it certain that the victorious army would march directly to *Rome*, and be joined by most of the great lords of the *Romagna*. But *Julio de Medici*, a ^{spurious} branch of the *Medici* family, was sent by his brother the cardinal, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of *Ravenna*, to inform the pope of the true situation of affairs. By his report, as well as by the representations of the *Spanish* and *Venetian* ambassadors, it appeared, that the loss of the confederates, however considerable, was easily reparable;

that the *Swiss* were on the point of declaring for the confederacy ; and that, in any event, the pope, in case *Rome* was attacked, or even taken, might retire to *Venice*, or to *Naples*.

Negotiations for peace.

JULIUS continued, as usual, long doubtful as to the course he should hold ; but at last he told the cardinals that he inclined to peace, and desired them to employ the mediation of the *Florentines* for that purpose. His holiness, however, refused to acquaint them with the particular terms he was willing to accept of ; and though he had ordered his gallies at *Civita Vecchia* to attend him at *Rome*, that he might make his escape from thence, yet he secretly made dispositions for continuing the war. Every day convinced him of the weakness of the *French*, whose generals were divided amongst themselves, and whose king was undetermined and irresolute. The duke of *Urbino*, nephew to the pope, tho' he had till then favoured the *French*, was so sensible of their weakness, that he now offered to join his uncle with two hundred men at arms, and four thousand foot ; and the *Swiss* were so exasperated against the *French* king, that they refused to suffer his minister to be present at their deliberations. The consideration of all this disposed *Lewis* to treat with the pontiff, and privately to offer, as preliminaries to the treaty, to agree that *Bologna* should be restored to the holy see ; and that *Alfonso d'Este*, duke of *Ferrara*, should resign to his holiness the towns he held in the *Romagna*, and pay him the accustomed tribute, and that he would abolish the council that had been summoned at *Pisa*. All he demanded in return was a peace ; that the duke of *Ferrara* should be absolved from his ecclesiastical censures, and restored to his ancient rights and privileges, and the *Bentivoglio* family to their private estates ; and that the cardinals who had adhered to the *Pisan* council, should be reinstated in their dignities.

Infidelity of the pope. THOUGH those terms were much better than the pope could have expected from a victorious enemy, yet he knew the condition of the *French* so well, that he secretly resolved to pay no regard to them. The state of his affairs, however, led him to temporize, and he signed the articles that had been offered him on the part of *Lewis*. Immediately after this he sent for the *Spanish* and *Venetian* ambassadors, and desired them to acquaint their masters, that he had no manner of intention to pay any regard to what he had signed, and that all he designed was to lull the *French* king asleep. It soon appeared how justly his holiness had taken his measures. The *Swiss* were again in motion, and *Lewis* was obliged to recal *Palisse* from the *Romagna*. This delivered the pope from his fears, and he soon got the better of all his opponents.

ments in the *Romagna* and the ecclesiastical state, where the friends of *France* deserted her, after receiving from her vast sums of money.

ON the third of *May* 1512, his holiness in person opened the *Lateran* council, which was declared to be holy and law-
ful, and was called in opposition to that of *Pisa*. So gross *The Late-
ran* affront offered to *Lewis* put him in a rage, and he again ran coun-
ordered *Palisse* to point his march towards *Rome*. He soon *til opened*,
perceived that this proceeding would only serve to make all
the rest of *Europe* his enemies; and *Palisse* was ordered to
stop in the *Romagna*, till the event of a negociation for a
definitive treaty, that had been opened at *Florence* upon the
footing of the preliminaries, should be known. Thither
Lewis sent the president of *Grenoble*, with full powers to put
the finishing hand to such a treaty; but that was not now
in his option. The cardinal of *York*, ambassador from *Eng-
land*, had, by his master's order, declared for the pope and his
allies. *Maximilian* had ratified the truce with the *Venetians*;
and the Catholic king was preparing to send *Gonsalvo* with
an army against the *French*, for the security of *Naples*. The
pope, moved by those and other encouraging appearances,
rejected the form of the treaty that was presented to him on
the part of *France*, though agreeable to the preliminaries he
himself had signed; but he pretended to do it by the advice
of the college of cardinals, and particularly the ministers of
England and *Spain*, and after a solemn debate in the con-
fistory.

THE cardinal *de Medici* was all this while prisoner at *Milan*. The card-
inal, where he was treated with the highest honours and re-
spect, as if he had been a conqueror instead of a captive; but dici a pri-
the pope, to shew how little he valued the *French* king, pub. *surer at*
lished a monitory, requiring him, under ecclesiastical penal-
ties, to release the cardinal. He proceeded farther. He sent
de Medici a power to absolve from censures, all soldiers who
would promise no longer to bear arms against the church,
and to grant Christian burial to all the dead. The effect
which those indulgencies had was incredible, and the *French*
troops flocked in such numbers to the cardinal for absolutions,
that clerks were wanting for expediting the patents of abso-
lution. This daring insult on a crowned head left the mem-
bers of the council of *Pisa* nothing to expect but contempt
and danger to their own persons. They were every where
treated as members of a schismatical conventicle, and the
French subjects and soldiers expressed the highest veneration
for cardinal *de Medici*, as being the true apostolical legate.
Lewis was obliged to put up with all those affronts, being
forced

forced to recall part of his troops from *Italy* to defend himself against the *English*. At the time the battle of *Ravenna* was fought, the term of his league with the *Florentines* was almost expired; but the reputation his arms acquired by that battle, prevailed with the *Florentines* to renew it for five years, he obliging himself to employ six hundred lances in their defence, if attacked; while the *Florentines* engaged to defend his *Italian* dominions, in the like case, with four hundred men at arms. The *Florentines*, however, were so cautious as to except out of this treaty the town of *Cotignola*, upon which the holy see had some claims.

Inruption of the Swiss into Italy.

BUT the peace of *Italy* was now more than ever in danger. The *Swiss* had conceived such a hatred towards the *French* king, that they enlisted under the pope's banners, for a *Rhenish* florin a man¹, in such numbers, that his treasury was insufficient to supply the enlisting money, inconsiderable as it was. About twenty thousand of them assembled at *Coria*, and the emperor granted them a free passage through his dominions. The *French* under *Palisse* were in no condition to resist them. Being furnished with a good train of artillery by the *Venetians*, whose army they joined, they fell directly into the *Milanese*, *Palisse* retiring every where before them, and losing post after post. The *French* had now no hopes but in being able to defend some of their capital towns and cities, and in the *Swiss* disbanding themselves for want of pay, in which the pope was very backward. The *Florentines*, on the requisition of *Lewis*, had sent three hundred men at arms to *Lombardy*, of whom one hundred were put into garrison at *Brescia*; and another hundred at *Bergamo*, and the rest in the different towns in the *Milanese*; in which the *French*, amounting not to above ten thousand men, their German mercenaries included, shut themselves up; but all of a sudden *Maximilian* ordered his subjects, who most of them were *Tirolese*, to leave the *French* service, which they did. *Palisse* then despaired of being able any longer to defend the *Milanese*. *Cremona* and *Bergamo* revolted from the *French*, and were received in the name of *Maximilian Sforza*, the son of *Lewis the Moor*. *Palisse* was not able, for want of money, to pay his troops, even to guard the passage of the *Adda*; so that in a few days all the open country of the duchy of *Milan* was evacuated by the *French*, who now shut themselves up in the castles and fortified places.

DURING the tumult of this retreat, the cardinal *de Medicis* was put under a guard, which was to carry him into

* About Two Shillings.

France;

France ; but happily for him, he was rescued on the road by *Escape of a Venetian nobleman*, while the French were beat out of *Pa-* the carda-
via with loss. The fame of the conquest of *Milan* reaching *dal de* Swiss-
erland, the Swiss poured into *Lombardy* in greater num- Medici.
bers than ever to fight in the cause of the holy league, as the
pope's confederacy was called. The cities of *Parma* and *Pia-*
anca voluntarily submitted to the pope. The Swiss took
possession of *Locarno* ; the Grisons laid hold of the *Valteline* and
Chiavenna, as the *Venetians* did of such places as lay most
convenient for them. *Fregoso*, one of the exiled *Genoese*,
but then in the *Venetian* service, with a body of horse and
foot, expelled all the *French* out of *Genoa*, of which he was
chosen doge. All the *Romagna* declared for the holy league ;
and the duke of *Urbino*, at the head of the pope's troops,
expelled *Bentivoglio* and his party out of *Bologna*, while his
holiness prosecuted them with ecclesiastical censures, and
threatened to lay under an interdict any place that should
receive them. As to the citizens, who had always expressed
an implacable hatred to the papal government, he fleeced
and treated them with the utmost severity ; and it was thought
that, had not death prevented him, he intended to have de-
molished their city. Thus the papal power, by the obstinacy,
the policy, the courage, the dissimulation, and the abilities
of one old man, was raised from a low state to the highest
pitch of power it had ever known.

THE pope had now only *Alfonso d'Este* duke of *Ferrara*, *The pope* to reduce ; and towards him he behaved with his usual mix- recovers
ture of obstinacy and dissimulation. The duke was beloved *Bologna*.
for his many noble qualities. He was a near relation
to the Catholic king, who began with some jealousy to bew-
hold the aggrandizement of the church ; and he was highly
befriended by the *Colonna*. His holiness durst not refuse
such powerful suitors in the duke's favour. He granted
him a safeguard to and from *Rome*, and behaved to him with
civility ; but after various conferences, he pressed the duke to
exchange *Ferrara* for *Asti*. The duke obstinately rejecting
this proposal, his holiness would have put him under arrest,
had he not been favoured by the *Colonna* family, who lay
under the highest obligations to him, and who forced his
way through the pope's guards, by which he reached his own
dominions by sea.

BUT the *Florentines* were the greatest eye-sores to his ho- *He deceives*
lines. He could not bear the haughty independency they *the Flo-*
maintained ; and the assistance they had lately given to *France*, *rentines*,
marked them out as objects of his vengeance. His minister,
the cardinal of *Sion*, and the *Venetian* general *Baglioni*, had
solemnly

solemnly engaged for the safe return of one hundred and twenty Florentine men at arms, and sixty light horse, who served in the French army, to Tuscany. These were commanded by *Luca Savelli*, while the remainder, under *Francesco Torello*, were in garrison at *Brescia*; but in defiance of all faith and honour, while those few *Florentines* were lying near *Cremona*; they were surrounded by two thousand of the pope's and the *Venetian* infantry, who plundered and disarmed them; and though *Nicolo Capponi*, the *Florentine* ambassador, had obtained a pass from the same cardinal, and had retired to *Castel Cervaglio*, yet he insisted upon the marquis of *Montferrat* delivering him up as a prisoner. The French, however, were still in possession of *Brescia*, *Crema*, *Lignago*, the castles of *Milan*, *Genoa*, and *Cremona*, and some other fortresses in the *Milanese*, all which they were enabled to keep, not so much by their own strength, as through the jealousies which began now to prevail amongst the parties of the holy league, and which were assisted by the insolence and avarice of the *Swiss* favoured by the pope.

The Florentines, at this time, were in a disagreeable situation. Their neutrality had left them no friends, and the bad management of the French exposed them to the resentment of the pope. They had, therefore, nothing to trust to but the moderation with which they had acted during the late war, by which they had withdrawn their countenance from the council of *Pisa*, harboured the *Spaniards* and *Neapolitans* after the battle of *Ravenna*, and performed other good offices to his Catholic majesty, who had, in person, thanked their ambassador, and offered them his friendship, provided they would withdraw their assistance from *Bentivoglio*, and formally disavow the *Pisan* conventicle. The dissensions that prevailed in *Florence*, prevented the government from coming to any resolution; and thus, in fact, they gratuitously observed a neutrality, for which they might have been paid by his Catholic majesty.

Congress at Mantua. *SODERINI*, the gonfalonier, still maintained his power in *Florence*; and it was the interest of the pope to divest him of it, and to substitute the *Medici* family in his room. A congress was appointed at *Mantua*, by the members of the holy league, at which the bishop of *Goritz* was to assist on the part of the emperor. The pope sent his datary, *Lorenzo Pucci*, a *Florentine*, to *Florence*, on pretence of inviting that state to join in the league, and in the expences of the war against *France*; but his real design was to form intrigues in favour of the *Medici* family. The *Florentines* would have furnished money to the league, but declined to enter into a war against

against the French king ; and when they called upon Maximilian to fulfil his engagements with them, he in a manner laughed at them ; but offered, if they would advance him forty thousand ducats, to take their part against the pope, if he should attack them. The Florentines would have advanced the money, had there been the least appearance of their being benefited by it ; and their divisions made them neglect to take any means for their safety, either by disciplining their own troops, or by hiring others. In the mean while, the Spanish army in the Bolognese mutinying for want of pay, part of them fell into Tuscany, which gave a fresh alarm to the Florentines, who were in no condition to resist them.

THE sum of the conferences, at the congress of Mantua, *The return of Milan*, and forming a confederacy of all the Italian states *to clear Italy of foreigners*. This naturally brought under to Flo-
the deliberation of the congress the state of Florence, which re-
was governed by an avowed friend and partisan of the French. *solved on.*
Julian de Medici, as agent for his own family, and *Bernardo de Bibenna*, on the part of the pope, remonstrated upon the practicability of restoring the *Medici* to *Florence*, whose best soldiers were either dispersed in *Lombardy*, or shut up in *Brescia*. This design was communicated to *Vittorio Soderini*, brother to the gonfalonier, whom the Florentines had sent to take care of their interest at the congress, and who informed his principals of their danger. *Goritz*, at the same time, acquainted *Soderini* that the viceroy of *Naples* was to march at the head of his troops, to oblige the Florentines to readmit the *Medici* ; but that they might still avert the danger, by gratifying the emperor, and making a handsome present to the viceroy. *Soderini* had no commission to treat on those matters ; and no application of any kind being made to the viceroy, the congress broke up, after resolving that the expedition against *Florence* should take place.

FOR this purpose, cardinal *de Medici* was declared legate of *The state of Tuscany*, and was empowered by the pope, to order all the soldiers of the ecclesiastical state to attend and assist him, *while the viceroy, who had appeased the mutiny of his army, *vaded*.* returned to the *Bolognese*, and put it in motion against *Florence*. This expedition was by no means agreeable to some of the neighbouring powers, and particularly the duke of *Urbino*, who in defiance of the pope's orders, and the most earnest representations of the *Medici*, refused to suffer the troops under his command to march, or to lend the *Spaniards* any assistance. The viceroy however proceeded ; but after he had entered the *Florentine* territories, he was met by ambassadors

from that state, who represented to him the moderate and friendly behaviour of the *Florentines* towards the catholic king during the late war, and desired to know what his demands were.

Imprudence of the Florentines.

THE viceroy frankly answered, that the confederated states of *Italy* could not be easy, while they saw at the head of the *Florentine* government a man intirely in the interest of the *French*, who had not yet given over thoughts of subduing all *Italy*; and that his master, and his allies, expected they would restore the cardinal *de Medici*, who by his brother's death was now become the head of that family, and *Julian*, to their birthrights in *Florence*. Notwithstanding this answer, the viceroy continued his march, without waiting for a reply from *Florence*, where every thing was in confusion. The magistrates had neither generals nor troops on whom they could depend; and all they could do was to order their ambassadors to throw themselves at the feet of the pope, and to endeavour to amuse the viceroy by making him magnificent offers. The pope proved inexorable as usual, and the viceroy, without discontinuing his march, came within fifteen miles of *Florence*. He then sent a message to the *Florentines*, demanding that the gonfalonier should be dismissed from his office; and "that the *Medici* should enjoy their country, not as heads of the government, but as private persons, living under subjection to the laws and to the magistracy in all things, conformably to the other citizens." In all other respects, the government was to revert to its former order. *Buonaccorsi*, an *Italian* author, says, that the viceroy likewise required the *Florentines* to lend him one hundred thousand ducats, which they obstinately refused to do.

*Irreflu-
tion of the
Spaniards.* THE seeming moderation of the viceroy with regard to the *Medici* and the gonfalonier, divided the *Florentines*. Some were for submitting to the terms; while others suggested, that the real design of the viceroy was to gain admittance into *Florence*, at the head of his army, to abolish the constitution, and to re-establish the tyranny of the *Medici*. They observed at the same time, that a little firmness would disconcert the viceroy so much, that he would be obliged, for want of money, to withdraw his troops from *Tuscany*. The latter counsel therefore took place; and it was resolved to send a strong garrison, under *Luca Vitelli*, to *Prato*, to stop the viceroy's progress. This shew of resolution startled him. He was at the head of that body of *Spanish* foot, which, to their immortal honour, had retired unbroken from the battle of *Ravenna*; but he was destitute both of money

* *GUICCIARDINI*, book ii.

and

and provisions for their subsistence, and had with him only two pieces of ordnance. Upon the whole, therefore, he stopped short, and desired the *Florentines* to consider better of his proposals.

THE gonfalonier convoked the great council, and before them offered immediately to resign his office; but at the same time described, in the most earnest terms, the improbability of their preserving their liberties, if the *Medici*, upon any pretext whatsoever, were suffered to return to *Florence*. Notwithstanding his remonstrances, the council came to a resolution to re-admit the *Medici* into their city as private subjects, but to suffer the last extremity, rather than remove the gonfalonier from his office. This resolution laid the viceroy under vast difficulties; and, at last, he proposed to leave *Tuscany* without insisting on the deposition of the gonfalonier, if the *Florentines* would re-admit the *Medici* as private citizens, and pay him thirty thousand ducats, and suffer him to draw provisions for his army from *Prato*. The *Florentine* magistrates in general were for accepting those terms, and ambassadors were named for signing the treaty; but the gonfalonier, who privately opposed all accommodation, withheld their dispatches so long, that the viceroy's army was, in the mean time, reduced to the alternative either of starving or taking *Prato*. They brought the two pieces of ordnance before its walls; but one of them burst on the first discharge. The *Spaniards*, however, ran to the assault with such intrepidity, that, mounting the walls, the garrison, which had been levied in haste, and was equally cowardly as undisciplined, betook themselves to flight. Their behaviour gave the *Spaniards* a right to treat the place as taken by storm; and most horrible scenes of lust, cruelty, and sacrilege ensued. The *Florentine* garrison threw down their arms; and some writers make the number of defenceless people that perished on this occasion, to amount to five thousand men. Those who survived the sword were made prisoners; but the cardinal *de Medici* saved from violation the women, who took refuge in the great church, by placing a guard over them. After *Prato* was taken, the *Pistoians*, without withdrawing from the subjection of the *Florentines*, made their peace with the viceroy, upon engaging to supply his army with provisions.

THE loss of *Prato*, which happened on the last of *August*, 1512, created prodigious commotions in *Florence*. The gonfalonier, who was known to be the occasion of this disaster, lost all his credit, and with that all his courage. Two young noblemen, *Paul Vettori* and *Antonfrancesco Albizi*, friends to *Medici*, stored to the *Florence*.

A. D.

1512.

the *Medici*, held a consultation with *Julian de Medici*; and others of that party, at a country seat, where they were joined by another young nobleman, *Bartolomeo Valori*, and they resolved to enter the palace of the gonfalonier with an armed band, and force him to resign his post. This design they easily executed; meeting with no resistance, they seized the gonfalonier in his apartment; threatened to kill him if he did not leave the palace, which he immediately did, on the conspirators promising that his life should be safe. The magistrates immediately were assembled, and required to deprive the gonfalonier of his office; to which they submitted with great reluctance. Leaving *Florence*, the gonfalonier intended to go to *Rome*; but receiving intelligence from his brother, the cardinal of *Volterra*, that the pope, hearing he was loaded with treasure, intended to seize him, he escaped by sea to *Ragusa*.

The government
new modelled.

THE settlement of the state of *Florence* became now the great object of consideration with that people. But they were no longer masters of their own affairs; tho' the cardinal *de Medici* for some time acted with so much seeming moderation, that the less considerate amongst them still thought themselves free. The first step the magistracy made, was to send ambassadors to the viceroy, who were introduced to him by the interest of the cardinal *de Medici*. They agreed to enter as parties into the holy league, and to pay to *Maximilian* the forty thousand ducats that had been demanded from them by the bishop of *Goritz*, and which the *Medici* family had promised should be paid upon their being restored to their country. The viceroy was to receive for his own use twenty thousand ducats, and for the use of his army eighty thousand, of which one moiety was to be paid immediately, and the other in two months, he engaging, on the first payment being made, to evacuate the dominions of *Florence*, and to restore all the places he had taken from that republic. Matters were next compromised with the catholic king upon easy terms. A mutual agreement was entered into between them, for the defence of each others dominions in *Italy*; and the *Florentines* agreed to take into their pay two hundred of his men at arms, to be commanded by the marquis *della Palude*, to whom the cardinal *de Medici* had privately promised the command of the *Florentine* forces. As to the affairs of the *Medici* family, that cardinal continued to affect great moderation. He accepted of the restitution of himself, his family, and friends, as private citizens; but reserving to themselves a power of redeeming their estates that had been confiscated, by repaying the money that had been expended in purchasing or improving them.

S. E. C. T. IX.

Containing the History of Florence, after Restoration of the House of Medici, and the different Revolutions of its Government, till it fell to the House of Lorrain.

THE Florentines obtained those terms through the policy *Views of* of the Catholic king, who disapproved of the inordinate *the Spa-* ambition and violence of the pope, and whose real intention *niards.* was to preserve the liberties of the *Florentines.* His viceroy had orders for that purpose; but the cardinal *de Medici* and his family had far different views: they knew that they could not, as private citizens, be safe in their own country, after introducing into it an army of *Spaniards*, which had shed so much of their blood, and done them so much damage. They saw that a spirit of independency still prevailed in *Florence*, where a majority was for continuing a popular government.

THE *Florentines* had even gone so far as to enact by a new *The office* law, that the perpetuity of the office of gonfalonier should *of gon-* be abolished, and that that office should be held only for *a* *made an-* year: that all those citizens who had gone through the great offices of state, either at home or abroad, should be added to the council of eighteen, by whom the most weighty affairs of the republic were determined. Thus, all who had borne the office of gonfalonier, who had been of the *balia*, or employed in embassies, or as commissioners of the war, were added to that council, which consequently now consisted of men of the greatest experience and abilities in the state. Those points being settled, *Baptista Ridolfi*, a citizen of an unexceptionable character, was chosen gonfalonier for the ensuing year.

THOSE proceedings by no means suited the views of the *Medici* family. The cardinal attached himself to the young, turbulent, and indigent nobility, who were at that time very numerous in *Florence*; and not only the divisions, but the necessities of the state were so great, that money could not be raised for the first payment of the viceroy, who, in daily expectation of it, still continued with his army in *Prato*. The cardinal, who had brought over to his interest some of the *Spanish* general officers, represented to the viceroy, that the delay of the first payment was owing to the *French* interest, which was still powerful in the republic, and that there was a design to recal and reinstate in his office the late gonfalonier. His arguments had such weight, that he prevailed with the viceroy to remain neuter, while he attempted to execute a scheme for overthrowing the newly modelled form of the *Florentine* government. All of a sudden he entered *Florence* at the head of a large body of *Italian* offi-

cers and soldiers, and repaired directly to the houses of his friends, the magistrates being over-awed by the neighbourhood of the Spanish army from making any resistance. Next day his party, with *Julian de Medici* at its head, forced their way into the town-house, and the palace of the magistrates, where they seized upon all the public plate, without regard to the gonfalonier or the magistrates, who were obliged to submit. The people were then summoned by the sound of the great bell to the square of the palace, where they were no sooner assembled, than they were surrounded by an armed force, under the direction of the *Medici* and their friends.

New alter-
ations of
govern-
ment take
place.

THO' both *Guicciardini*, and *Paul Giovio*, called by the *Italians Giovio*, wrote at the time, and tho' the former was present on the spot, and one of the chief magistrates of *Florence*, yet they differ as to the particulars of the alteration of the *Florentine* government that now took place. *Guicciardini* says, that the supreme power (which was the same with that of the *balia*) was lodged in fifty citizens, who were to be nominated or recommended by the cardinal or his friends. *Giovio* says, that fifteen persons were created with a power to elect sixty other citizens, the most distinguished for their attachment to the *Medici* family, who with their electors were to form a standing council for the government of the state. Upon the whole, it is plain that the *Florentines* owed the loss of their liberties to their own divisions. By a decree of their supreme assembly, their government was reduced to the form it had when the *Medici* were expelled in 1494: but that family now assumed more power than ever; a military guard was placed at their palace, and they disdained all the modest appearances of their forefathers.

The Spa-
nish vice-
roy with-
draws.

THE viceroy, receiving his first payment, marched to *Brescia*, which was then besieged by the *Venetians*; but *D'Aubigny*, the French governor, chose to surrender it to the Spanish general. The negotiations, heart-burnings, and differences, that afterwards broke out amongst the members of the holy league, are foreign to this part of our history, which concerns *Tuscany* alone. The pope's vast projects seemed to grow with his years. He resumed his designs against *Ferrara*: he gave *Maximilian* thirty thousand ducats for his interest in *Sienna*, which he bestowed upon his nephew, the duke of *Urbino*: he demanded *Carfagnana*, which, during his contests with the duke of *Ferrara*, had been seized by the *Lucquese*; and took measures for becoming master of *Modena* and *Perugia*. In short, he acted up to the character he affected, that of being the deliverer of *Italy* from all foreigners; and towards the latter part of his life, he disposed the

Swiss

desirous to assist him in driving the Spaniards out of Naples. He *Death of* was, however, greatly chagrined at seeing the independent pope Julian-power which the cardinal *de Medici* had assumed in Florence. us, But he died while meditating the above, and other great designs, on the twenty-first of February, 1513.

UPON the entrance of the cardinals, who were in number ~~two~~ ^{is suc-} twenty-five, into the conclave, for the election of a new *ceeded by* pope, it was thought that they would have imposed some re-^{the cardi-} strictions on the pontifical power; but though they began *nal de Me-* such a work, the design was soon dropped; and the cardinal *dici, Leo* ^{X.} *de Medici*, who was afterwards so well known by the name of *Leo the Tenth*, which he assumed, was unanimously chosen pope. He entered upon his pontificate with vast advantages. He was but thirty-seven years of age, a circumstance hardly ever known before: he had borne his misfortunes with wonderful moderation, and had surmounted them with equal address: he equalled, if not surpassed, the greatest of his forefathers in munificence; in the love of the fine arts, and in liberality towards men of genius in all professions; and his mildness and good-nature were as conspicuous as his other great qualities. Notwithstanding all that has been said, he was at the bottom void of all religion and honour, and privately addicted to the practice of almost every vice that enters into the human composition. After his election, which had been irreproachably regular, and free from all simoniacal practices, he was crowned with a splendour and magnificence to which *Rome* had been for many years a stranger, the expenses of his coronation-day amounting to one hundred thousand ducats.

LEO was inclined to his predecessor's plan of driving all *His cha-* foreigners out of *Italy*; and for many reasons, that may be *rather, and* seen in the course of this history, he was far from being a *policy*. *favourer of the French king*, who was making new dispositions for invading *Milan*. *Leo*, after his accession to the pontificate, continued to govern *Florence* as a temporal prince, and kept up a close correspondence with the famous *Machiavell*, the *Florentine* secretary, for the better management and regulation of that state. Under so powerful a patronage, it was no wonder if the *Florentines* renewed their claims upon *Pietra Santa* and *Mutrone*, which was still detained from them by the *Lucquese*. The latter, at first, threw themselves for protection upon the catholick king; but they soon found themselves obliged to submit to the intercession of the pope, who ordered them to restore the places in question to the *Florentines*; and that the two states should enter into a perpetual peace and confederacy with each other. By the va-
rious

rious revolutions of affairs in *Italy*, *Leo* was obliged to change his party as suited his interest; but he never lost sight of the aggrandizement of his own family. He raised *Lorenzo*, his elder brother's son, who was but a very young man, to the government of *Florence*, which the *French* king offered to guarantee to the house of *Medici*, provided his holiness would forego his engagements with the emperor and the king of *Spain*. The designs that *Leo* had in view for his brother *Julian*, were equally great. He paid the emperor forty thousand ducats for the mortgage of *Modena*, which, together with *Reggio*, *Parma*, *Piacenza*, and the *Ferrarese*, when an opportunity should offer, he designed to make *Julian* sovereign of. At the same time his holiness procured a marriage between *Julian* and *Philiberta*, sister to the duke of *Savoy*, and to the *French* king by the mother's side, and enabled the bridegroom to settle upon his bride, as a dowry, one hundred thousand ducats. The *French* king was in hopes, that the conclusion of this match would be favourable to his designs upon the *Milanese*; but while *Leo* flattered him in that opinion, he was concerting measures for defeating them,

A. D. 1515. by entering into secret engagements with the emperor, the king of *Spain*, and other states. *Francis I.* who was not above twenty-two years of age, and possessed of great vivacity and courage, was now upon the throne of *France*, and preparing to march to *Italy*; which, notwithstanding all the opposition of the *Swiss*, he effected to the amazement of all *Europe*. The pope, by this time, had ordered his nephew *Lorenzo*, at the head of the *Florentine* army, to take the field and march into *Lombardy*, for the defence of *Milan*, his brother *Julian* then lying ill of a fever at *Florence*. But *Leo* had no apprehension of the *French* being able to pass the *Alps*, with so little loss as they had sustained: and *Palisse*, who commanded their van, had been so wonderfully rapid in his motions, as to surprise and take prisoner *Prospero Colonna*, the ablest and most experienced general in *Italy*, and the person on whom *Leo* depended the most for opposing the *French*. His capture threw *Leo* into a kind of despondency; and he sent orders to *Lorenzo*, who was advanced with his army as far as *Modena*, to slacken his march against the *French*. *Lorenzo* took that opportunity of retaking the castle of *Rubiera*, and loitered for some time in the territories of *Modena* and *Reggio*; while the pope sent a trusty agent to make his peace with the *French* king, whom he endeavoured to amuse at the same time by entering into a treaty with him, under the mediation of the duke of *Savoy*. *Giulian de Medici* had been raised to the purple

The pope under despondency.

by *Léo*, though his birth was illegitimate, and was on this occasion an useful counsellor to him, by preventing him from returning *Modena* and *Reggio* to the duke of *Ferrara*, and *Bologna* to *Bentivoglio*; all which he was inclined to do to please the *French*. Instead of that, *Giulian* persuaded him absolutely to declare against the *French* king, though he had now advanced as far as *Vercelli*, and had taken *Alessandria*, the key of the duchy of *Milan*. The *Swiss* were all this while in *Italy*, and offered themselves to the best bidders; but indiscriminately plundered friends and foes when money could be had. They were in the pay of the holy league; but without waiting to receive it regularly, they generally broke open the coffers of their paymasters: and this disorderly behaviour encouraged the *French* king to endeavour to bring them over from the interest of the pope and the king of *Spain*. Some difficulties intervening in this negociation, *Francis* proceeded to the conquest of *Milan*, which he easily effected; and thereby brought the *Swiss* into his terms. But this treaty, by the arrival of a fresh body of rapacious *Swiss*, was broken almost as soon as made; and *Lorenzo de Medici*, whose army consisted of seven hundred men at arms, eight hundred light horse, and four thousand foot, all of them *Florentines*, to keep the *Swiss* in humour with the pope, had assisted them in getting provisions.

THE state of *Lombardy* was at this time very precarious ^{State of} and unsettled. The *French* king was with a powerful army at *Lombardy*, the gates of *Milan*: the viceroy of *Naples* lay near *Piacenza*, with another army: *Lorenzo de Medici* was within *Piacenza*, at the head of the ecclesiastical and *Florentine* troops: *Alviano*, the *Venetian* general, and his army, were in the *Cremonese* to assist the *French* king; and an army of thirty-five thousand *Swiss* were encamped near *Milan*, undetermined what part to take, but filled with rage for pay and plunder. Upon the whole, however, the *French* were in the fairest road of success; and the politic pope began to renew his correspondence for an accommodation with that king. His nephew *Lorenzo de Medici*, if possible, even out-did his holiness in dissimulation. He applied secretly, by agents, to *Francis*, and apologized for being obliged, in compliance with his uncle the pope, to appear in the field against him at the head of the *Florentine* army. All those secret correspondences were discovered by the viceroy of *Naples*, who considered himself and his master as being little better than betrayed by the pope and *Lorenzo*. He pressed *Lorenzo* to pass the *Po*, and join him; but each being now distrustful of the other, both armies returned to their former quarters.

The Swiss beat at the battle of Marignano. It is certain, that the *Swiss* army, which was forty thousand strong, might at that time have given laws to all *Italy*; but their mercenary disposition, and their divisions, rendered them hated and suspected by all parties. The *French* army lay between them and that of the *Spaniards* and *Florentines*; and, in general, they were not ill-disposed towards an accommodation with *Francis*. To prevent this, their leader and countryman, the cardinal of *Sion*, harangued them in so animating a manner, that they appeared to be, as it were, possessed of a frenzy for fighting the *French*; and, marching out of *Milan*, they attacked them, though it was almost dark, at *Marignano*. Night alone, and the valour of the *French* cavalry, prevented their army from being totally routed. The battle was renewed by day-break; but *Francis*, during the night, had made so good a disposition of his artillery, that the *Swiss* were terribly galled in their approach; and *Alviano*, the brave *Venetian* general, coming up with his army, attacked them in the rear; so that, after performing prodigies of valour, the *Swiss* were obliged to return, but in good order, to *Milan*. This battle, the bloodiest that had been fought for many years in *Italy*, was perhaps the most glorious the *French* ever obtained, as the *Swiss* nation, till that day, had been deemed invincible. *Trivulzi*, the *Italian* general in the *French* pay, who said he had been in eighteen battles, observed, that all of them were like children's play, compared to that of *Marignano*. Though the *Swiss* left about ten thousand men dead on the field, and the *French* lost about six thousand, yet the latter did not venture to pursue their enemies to *Milan*; from whence the *Swiss* returned to their own country. Thus, all the *Milanese*, by degrees, again fell under the power of the *French*.

Distress of the pope: THE pope and the *Florentines* were conscious to themselves how ill they had deserved, by their temporizing, of all parties, but of the *French* especially. The viceroy of *Naples*, who had sufficiently discovered the double dealing of his holiness and his nephew, after borrowing six thousand ducats of the latter, prepared to return with his army to his government; so that *Leo* had now very little dependence on any thing but the *French* king's reverence for his character, and his own arts of negociation. Seeing that *Francis* was making dispositions for recovering *Parma* and *Piacenza*, as belonging to the duchy of *Milan*, and for attacking the state of *Florence*, which he thought himself as much interested to defend as if it had belonged to the church, he employed the duke of *Savoy*, and his nuncio, the bishop of *Tricarico*, to negociate with the *French* king.

It must be acknowledged, that, on this occasion, *Leo* ^{be his address} had with wonderful address. Though naturally cautious ^{relieves} and timid, he affected the courage and resolution of his predecessor *Julius*; and imposed so far upon *Francis*, who dreaded the papal thunder, that he entered into an alliance with *Leo*. They mutually stipulated to defend the states of *Italy*; and *Francis* agreed to become the defender and protector of the pope and his dominions, the house of *Medici*, and the state of *Florence*, and to give pensions and preferments in *France* to cardinal *Giulian* and *Lorenzo*. The pope, however, was obliged to recall his troops from *Verona*; and, upon the valuable compensation of *Cervio* supplying *Milan* with salt, to yield to the *French* king *Parma* and *Piacenza*. As to the *Florentines*, *Francis* insisted upon a point of honour; and it was left to the duke of *Savoy* to decide, whether, by their behaviour, they had not violated their engagements with his predecessor.

ALL this while, the viceroy of *Naples* found pretexts for continuing with his army in *Lombardy*, which put the pope and *Lorenzo* under dreadful apprehensions; so that the latter made his court in the most abject manner to *Francis*, by the pope's direction. *Francis*, however, was a prince of too much penetration to be imposed upon by his holiness, who made great difficulties of ratifying the late peace, though strongly importuned to it by the bishop of *Tricarico*. *Leo* could not, without sensible mortification, part with *Parma* and *Piacenza*; and he was not without hopes, that the *Swiss* would again declare against the *French*. *Francis* saw into the reasons of his management, and made dispositions for entering *Tuscany*, which frightened *Leo* so much, that he ratified the treaty, with some modifications; one of which was, that the *Florentines* should be absolved from all imputation of having contravened their engagements with *Lewis*. *Francis* was, at this time, fully bent upon the conquest of *Naples*, and proposed a personal interview, which afterwards took place, with the pope, for granting his army a passage through the ecclesiastical dominions. *Leo* durst not directly refuse him any thing; but with great difficulty persuaded him to delay his expedition during the life of *Ferdinand* the catholic king, who was now very aged and infirm.

ON the 8th of *December*, 1515, the pope and *Francis*, ^{His inter-} who was attended by a small retinue, ^{view with} met together at *Bologna*. ^{Francis at} The duke of *Ferrara* had great reasons to be dissatisfied with the pope and the *Medici* family, who coveted his possessions, *Bologna*. and pretended that all his estates belonged to the church. The duke, sensible of their intentions, had entered into secret

connections with the king of *France*, who, in the interview he had with the pope, pressed him to return *Modena* and *Reggio* to the duke. His holiness, against his will, was obliged to comply with this request, on condition of his being reimbursed the forty thousand ducats that had been paid to *Maximilian* for *Modena*. *Francis*, at the same time, pressed him to an accommodation with the duke of *Urbino*, whose estate his holiness had likewise marked out for his own family, and who had refused to serve under *Lorenzo*. It required all the art of his holiness, though one of the most artful men alive, to avoid complying with this request; but, at last, by his wonderful address, the affair was compromised, and he persuaded the king shamefully to abandon the interest of the duke, who had fully informed him of the pope's double dealing. The pontiff granting to the king certain ecclesiastical revenues and privileges in *France* to a vast amount, the king, at the same time, at *Leo*'s request, withdrew his protection from all the states of *Tuscany*, where the *Medici* family was now in a manner absolute, though the *Lucquese* offered him twenty-five thousand ducats for his friendship. All those and various other matters being settled, *Francis* left *Bologna*, highly pleased with the thoughts that, by his power and policy, he had brought his holiness to comply with all his demands.

Infidelity of the pope. *LEO*, however, was determined, if possible, to elude them. From *Bologna* he repaired to *Florence*, where he had the ablest heads in *Europe* to consult with. Here he found pretexts for eluding the restitution of *Modena* and *Reggio*; while *Francis*, after disbanding the greatest part of his army, and leaving the duke of *Bourbon* his lieutenant in the *Milanese*, returned to *France* in the beginning of the year 1516. His departure was highly agreeable to the pope; and the states of *Tuscany* being now without any protector, his holiness formed a design, by the help of the *Florentines*, to render the bishop of *Petrucci*, who was his creature, master of *Sienna*, which he effected, in hopes of afterwards subjecting it to the *Medici* family. In the mean while, *Ferdinand* the catholic king died, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, at *Madrid*. He was a prince of vast penetration, perseverance, and address, and may justly be considered as the founder of the *Spanish* monarchy, which he reared with so much pains and difficulty, that, notwithstanding his uninterrupted prosperity, the discovery of *America* in his reign, and his sitting forty years on the throne of *Spain*, he left no money behind him.

Death of Ferdinand after the affairs of Italy.

THE death of *Ferdinand* freed the *French* king from his obligation not to attack *Naples* during his life-time; but, while he was meditating that conquest, his own dutchy of

Milan was attacked by *Maximilian*, who obliged the *French* troops there, under *Lautrec*, to retire under the canon of *Milan*. *Francis* had, by this time, come to an accommodation with the *Swiss*, and had taken ten thousand of them into his pay; but, the like number being in the service of *Maximilian*, they were all of them unwilling to come to action; and the cantons deliberated upon recalling all their subjects from both services, to prevent their being under the necessity of butchering one another. *Maximilian's* usual indigence and irresolution delivered *Milan* from her danger, and he ingloriously returned to *Germany*. The *French* king strongly suspected that *Maximilian's* attempt upon the *Milanese* had been favoured by the pope, and called upon him for the performance of his late engagements, by sending to his assistance five hundred men at arms, and paying three thousand *Swiss* for the defence of the *Milanese*, according to compact. The truth is, the pope equally hated *Francis* and *Maximilian*, and, by daring to disoblige neither, he was suspected by both. At first, he declined giving any positive answer, as to the pay of the *Swiss*; and offered to send *Florentines* into *Lombardy*, instead of his own troops. Upon the return of *Maximilian* to *Germany*, he ordered *Lorenzo*, who commanded the *Florentines*, to present *Francis* with a sum of money, and to renew his professions of attachment to the *French* interest. All this was done to amuse *Francis*, while his holiness was attempting to make himself master of the duchy of *Urbino* by force of arms. The name of that celebrated duke was *Francesco Maria della Rovere*. He was nephew to the late pope *Julius*, but personally obnoxious to *Leo*. He had, in a fit of passion, murdered the cardinal of *Pavia*, whom he accused of the loss of *Bologna* to the holy see; and he was impeached with having always favoured the *French*. But *Giulian de Medici*, the pope's brother, who had been kindly protected and entertained at the court of *Urbino*, had hitherto prevented the pope from stripping the duke of his dominions. The death of *Giulian* happening about this time at *Florence*, *Leo*, by the instigation of *Lorenzo* and his mother *Alfonsoña*, drew up a charge of murder, rebellion, and other crimes, against the duke; and *Lorenzo*, at the head of an army, composed of *Florentines* and the subjects of the holy see, took possession of *Urbino*, and *Urbino* afterwards of *Pesaro*; and, in four days time, of the whole *attacked by* duchy of *Urbino*, a few castles excepted, which were likewise *the pope's* soon after taken, the duke retiring to *Mantua*. *Lorenzo*, after this, returned to *Florence*; and the pope, by a bull, to which he obliged the cardinals to set their hands, conferred upon him the duchy of *Urbino*. The *French* king thought this to be an

an insult upon himself; but, partly by the necessity of his affairs, and partly out of reverence to the pontificate, he put up with that and many other affronts offered him by the pope, whose disregard for him grew as the power and interest of his holiness with the European states increased.

Beginning and progress of the war of Urbino. The duke of Urbino remained all this time in Mantua, and solicited the Spaniards to assist him in recovering his duchy. In this he was befriended by *Frederic Gonzaga* lord of *Bozzolo*, a man of high quality and reputation in military affairs,

but a declared enemy to the house of *Medici*, on account of a personal affront he had suffered from *Lorenzo*. As Italy was then full of soldiers and officers of fortune, without employment, the duke was soon at the head of five thousand Spanish foot, the chief of whom was one *Maldonato*, a Spaniard, an officer of reputation. He likewise raised eight hundred light horse, commanded by officers of experience; but he was without money, artillery, or ammunition. He depended, however, greatly on the affections of his subjects, and set out on his march for *Urbino*. The pope was alarmed at the prospect of encountering a desperate army that had nothing to lose; and, having treated the *French* king in a most infamous manner by deceiving him in all the agreements he had made with him, he concluded that *Francis* supported the duke. In this he was confirmed, by the duke's army being raised in the neighbourhood of that of *France*, under *Lautrec*; and he had reason likewise to believe, that the duke was favoured by the *Venetians*, jealous of the greatness of a pope, who was, in effect, the sovereign of *Florence*. He, however, filled the *Romagna* with troops, under his nephew *Lorenzo*, part of them *Florentines*, and part belonging to the church, commanded by *Renzo da Celi* and *Vitello*, who had orders to dispute the passage of the *Po* with the duke. They were, however, prevented by the rapidity of the enemy's march, who entered the *Emilia*, and appeared before *Faenza*, in hopes of raising some disturbances there in favour of young *Manfredi*, the representative of its late lords, who was in his army. In this the duke was disappointed, and he found the pope and *Lorenzo* so strong in the *Romagna*, that he could make no impression there. He therefore on a sudden marched towards his own capital of *Urbino*, in which were two thousand *Florentine* foot, under *Giacomo Rossetto*, who being dissatisfied with the service, and finding the people all inclined to the duke, surrendered the place by capitulation. The example of *Urbino* was followed by all the rest of the duchy, excepting the strong fortification of *San Leo*. The duke then attempted to take *Fano*, but miscarried;

Lorenzo and the Florentine army assembled at Rimini, and from thence moved to Pesaro, near which Lorenzo encamped, in a situation that faced the duke's army. The pope, however, ordered Lorenzo not to hazard a pitched battle if it could be avoided, for fear of endangering the Florentine state, and because it was probable that the enemy, for want of money and provisions, would be obliged to retire. His holiness, at the same time, filled all Europe with his briefs, complaining of the duke of Urbino's rebellion, as he called it, and demanding assistance against him. Maximilian, and his grandson the king of Spain, afterwards the famous emperor Charles V. in order to improve the misunderstanding between the pontiff and the French king, sent him a body of auxiliaries; and even Francis, that he might not throw himself entirely into their arms, ordered Lautrec to march from Milan to his aid; but obliged his holiness to enter with him into a new treaty, and to do justice to the duke of Ferrara.

THE ecclesiastical and Florentine army was now very formidable, amounting in the whole to near twenty thousand; management and Lorenzo, who was personally brave, but had little experience in war, continued to face the duke's army, and sent ^{Mismanagement} _{of the pope's} generals. Seven hundred light horse to scour the country of Vicariata, from whence the duke's troops drew their subsistence. While this was doing, one of the duke's officers, called Suarez, demanded from Lorenzo a pass for himself, and another officer, whose name was to be inserted in it. The pass was accordingly granted, and the inserted name was that of *Oratio da Fermo*, the duke of Urbino's secretary. The two messengers being admitted into Lorenzo's presence, where Suarez produced a formal challenge from the duke to Lorenzo, offering Lorenzo to put an end to the calamities of the war, which fell so heavy ^{challenged} upon innocent subjects, either by fighting him hand to hand, _{by the duke} or with an equal number on each side. Lorenzo seemed to _{of Urbino.} make no difficulty to accept of the challenge, provided the duke would give up all that he had taken. In the mean while he ordered both the officers to be put under arrest. His generals exclaimed against this breach of faith, and obliged him to release Suarez; but he put *Oratio*, on pretence of his being a native of the ecclesiastical state, to the rack, where he discovered the particulars of the correspondence carried on between the duke and the French king.

THIS challenge was ineffectual, but it carried with it an air of romantic bravery, and did vast service to the duke with Lorenzo's officers of every nation. The truth is, though those officers were the best in Italy, yet his army was poorly com-

commanded ; and tho' weak, was vastly superior in numbers to the other, though composed of the best troops in *Europe*. The reasons were, because the pope was hated by all his auxiliaries for his dissimulation, and breaches of faith ; and his officers served him for pay, and not out of affection. Every day produced some new demands, from the *French* especially, which the pope and *Lorenzo* were forced to comply with ; and the different nations under them hated each other so much, that their orders were either disobeyed, or imperfectly executed. The duke of *Urbino* still maintained his post, and drew his subsistence from the *Vicariato*, one of the most fertile spots in *Italy*. This obliged *Lorenzo* to march towards *Sorbolungo*, which is five miles distant from *Fossonbrone*. The dispositions for this march were so judicious, but so ill executed, that young *Giovanni de Medici* complained to *Lorenzo* of treachery amongst the officers. *Lorenzo* durst punish none, and resigned himself entirely to the counsels of *Renzo* and *Vitello*. The *Florentine* troops had been driven from *Sorbolungo* ; and a resolution was taken to retire, under pretence of taking possession of *Monte Baroccio*. This motion had all the air of a flight, and the duke's troops harrassed those of the pope in their retreat. *Lorenzo* made no use of his superiority ; and instead of forcing, as he might have done, his enemies to a battle, he kept upon the defensive, and suffered them to seize on all the strong passes, and particularly on *Monte Baroccio*, while the *Florentine* and papal army began to be straitened for provisions, having none but what they drew from *Pefaro*.

Infidelity of the French troops at last quite exhausted the patience of his holiness, and he desired *Lorenzo* to do his utmost to prevail with the *French* to quit his service. The letters of his holiness for this purpose were intercepted by the duke of *Urbino*, who immediately sent them to the *French* quarters ; and a dangerous mutiny must have ensued, had not *Lorenzo*, and *Carbon* the *French* general, pretended that they had been counterfeited by the enemy. *Lorenzo* then marched towards *Fossonbrone* ; but his troops exclaimed so much against *Renzo* and *Vitello*, that he at last opened his eyes, and reproached them for having prevailed on him to protract the war for their own profit. He was now advancing to the *Vicariato*, where he took the castle of *Mondolfo* *San Gostanzo*, and laid siege to *Mondolfo*, the strongest fortification in that district. But *Lorenzo*'s artillery was so injudiciously disposed by *Renzo*, that they were soon dismounted, and a great number of the workmen and cannoneers killed. *Lorenzo* went in person to remedy this loss, but was dangerously wounded. The place, however, was so much shaken by

by springing a mine, that the garrison, disengaged at receiving no relief from the duke of Urbino, made terms for themselves, and marched out of the town, which surrendered to the pope's army.

WHILE Lorenzo lay ill of his wound, the pope sent the cardinal *Santa Maria* to take charge of the army. Upon his arrival, the small degree of discipline which still remained, vanished. The *German* and the *Italian* infantry quarrelled with each other, and many were killed on both sides, while the *French* seized that opportunity of plundering the tents and baggage of both. This tumult was with great difficulty suppressed; but it obliged the pope's generals to send the troops of different nations into different quarters, and *Pesaro* was assigned to the *Florentines*; while the *French* foot encamped half a mile's distance from the same city. A total but shameful inactivity for twenty days succeeded, which, together with a secret intelligence carried on by the duke with the pope's army, encouraged him to quit his strong encampment at *Monte Baroccio*, and to beat up his quarters. Upon his arrival, he was joined by all the *Spanish* foot except eight hundred, who retired to *Pesaro*; and attacking the *German*s, he killed and wounded above six hundred of them, and forced the remainder to retire to the same city. As to the *French*, they got under arms, but remained quiet spectators of the whole.

THE duke then encamped between *Urbino* and *Pesaro*. *The French* While he lay there, he entered into correspondence with one *Ambra*, a *Gascon* officer, who hated *Lautrec*, and formed a party amongst the *French* and *German* foot for deserting to *Urbino*. *and Spa- niards de- fect to the duke of Urbino.* him, upon the pope's ministry refusing to comply with their exorbitant demands. Being at little pains to disguise their intention, *Carbon* and other general officers did all they could to prevail with them to return to their duty; but in vain; for no sooner did the duke's army appear, than *Ambra* put himself at the head of the mutineers, and, in order of battle, with six field-pieces in his front, joined the duke, no more than thirteen hundred foot and seven officers remaining with *Carbon*. Next day, the *Italian* foot mutinied in like manner; and, lest they too should desert, it was found necessary to gratify their demands, which were as extravagant from the officers as the soldiers.

IT is observed by an excellent historian*, that there was something very surprising in the state of the two armies on this occasion. The pope's soldiers had no other object but

money, with which they were supplied to profusion; and yet they deserted to the duke of Urbino, who had no means to give them. Under the pope's generals they had been mutinous and disobedient; but under the duke they lived in the greatest harmony, and submitted to the strictest discipline. All this, according to the same historian, proceeded chiefly from the ardour and obstinacy of the troops. The papal legate and his generals were overwhelmed with consternation at so many repeated disgraces and losses; and, after many ineffectual consultations, they signed a paper, which they sent to the pope, advising him to restore the Bentivoglio family to Bologna. His holiness not only rejected this counsel, but bitterly bewailed his own misfortune in having trusted to those who had given it.

The duke of Urbino, at the same time, was hot without his difficulties. His troops had received no pay for three months; and his duchy, as well as the Vicariata, were now exhausted of provisions and every thing else. He, therefore, with the approbation of his army, which chose plunder rather than pay, all of a sudden, pointed his march to the rich and fertile country of Tuscany.

A plot against him was discovered to deliver the duke up. This incident, seemingly slight as it was, being reported to the duke, gave him a deep suspicion of Maldonato; and it soon appeared, by intercepted letters, that he, Suarez, and two other Spanish officers, had entered into a conspiracy against him; and that, the better to manage it, Suarez had suffered himself to be taken prisoner by Lorenzo. The duke disguised his knowledge of the affair, till he was possessed of proofs that made it unquestionable; but he had no sooner entered the plains of Gubbio, in his march to Tuscany, than he drew up his army, and after haranguing it in a most pathetic manner, and producing the evidences of the conspirators guilt, they were all four immediately put to death, with the approbation of all the troops.

He invades Tuscany; was defended by Baglioni and Camillo Orfini, who commanded a party of Florentine men at arms, and two hundred and fifty light horse. Upon the whole, therefore, the garrison was thought sufficient for the defence of the place. Lorenzo de' Medici was now recovered of his wound; and after ordering Vitello to garrison Citta di Castello, he himself went to Florence, to put that capital, and the other towns of that state, in a proper condition for receiving the enemy. When the duke appeared before Perugia, being destitute of battering cannon,

He found himself unable to make any attempt upon it; but all of a sudden, *Baglioni* pretending that the *Perugians* could not bear to see their country destroyed, entered into a compromise with the duke; and upon the latter promising to quit the *Perugian*, paid him ten thousand ducats, and engaged not to carry arms against him during that war.

IN the mean while the pope's legate, that he might oblige the duke to evacuate *Tuscany*, fell into the duchy of *Urbino*, ^{but returns} *Fosson* ^{to defend} *Urbino*. *broke*^a, and laid siege to *Pergola*. Here he was joined by a fresh body of *Spaniards*, and he took the place by storm. The duke of *Urbino*, by this time, marched to *Borgo San Sepolcro*; but understanding what danger his own state was in, he marched against the legate, and in a few hours drove him out of his duchy.

A PLOT was, at this time, discovered at *Rome*, formed by *Alfonso* cardinal of *Sienna*, son of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, against ^{against the} *pope*. His holiness lay under the greatest obligations to the *Petrucci* family; but he had repaid it, by driving them out of *Sienna*. The cardinal being young and hot, at first had resolved to have killed the pope with his own hand; but he afterwards contracted with *Vercelli*, a *Florentine* surgeon, to poison him. Before *Vercelli* could be introduced about the pope's person, *Alfonso*'s impatience publicly hurried him into such invectives against the pope, that he was obliged to withdraw from *Rome*; but he left behind him his secretary, with whom he held a correspondence, which, being secretly intercepted by the pope, gave him the first suspicion of the plot. Upon this he sent, by the Spanish ambassador, a pals, and his word of honour, for *Alfonso*'s safety, if he would return to *Rome*, where the pope said he would give him satisfaction with regard to his affairs. *Alfonso* was incautious enough to trust to his holiness; but he no sooner appeared in the pope's presence, than he and his friend, cardinal *Bandinello*, were put under arrest, and sent prisoners to the castle of *St. Angelo*. *Vercelli*, at the same time, was sent prisoner from *Florence*; and after confessing all he knew, he was, with another accomplice, executed. The more the matter was enquired into, the greater appearances there were of others being concerned. The cardinal of *San Giorgio*, the chief of the college, was sent prisoner to the same castle, for not revealing the invectives which he had heard *Alfonso* throw out against the pope; and *Leo* called a consistory, in which the cardinals of *Corneto* and *Volterra*, on their knees,

Punish-
ment of the
conspira-
tors.

^a The ancient *Forum Sempronii*.

confessed their being guilty of the same crime. Soon after *Alfonso* was strangled in prison; but *Bandinello* was delivered from it on paying a large sum of money, though it was strongly suspected that a slow poison had been administered to him by the pope's orders. The other cardinals were treated with milder censures.

Ancona THE success of the duke of *Urbino* in his own duchy, had invaded by brought such numbers to join him, that his army was now the duke of formidable. Instead of resuming his *Tuscan* expedition, he *Urbino*, entered the marquisate of *Ancona*, where he laid *Fabriano*, and several other towns, under contribution, and took and plundered others, particularly *Jesi*^b. He then proceeded against *Ancona* itself, and obliged the inhabitants to pay him eight thousand ducats. After that, he besieged *Osimo*^c and *Corinaldo*; but miscarried before both, for want, not only of cannon, but ammunition. His bad success in not being able to take any one place that refused to pay him contribution-money, greatly diminished the reputation of his arms, and his loss of time was irretrievable. The ecclesiastical army, at this time, was commanded by the count of *Potenza*^d, who took several places in *Urbino*; but was obliged to act on the defensive, till the arrival of six thousand *Swiss*, which his holiness had taken into his pay. The count lay at *Pesaro*, which the duke endeavoured, but in vain, to take, and made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise the *Swiss* auxiliaries, who were now advanced as far as *Rimini*.

*who re-
turns to
Tuscany.* THE duke had now no other course left but to resume his *Tuscan* expedition; and he accordingly entered that country, where, after resting some days, he besieged *Anghiara*, a town belonging to the *Florentines*, where, as usual, he was repulsed for want of artillery. At last, he received four pieces of cannon; but, by this time, all the *Tuscan* cities and forts were filled with soldiers, and *Lorenzo de Medici* came from *Florence* to *Borga*, near which city the duke and his army were encamped. The country was unable to furnish the duke's troops with any more provisions; nor had they any prospect of plunder; nor could he advance them any pay; so that his situation began to be very dangerous and uncomfortable, through the murmurs of his soldiers. Happily for him that of the pope was not much better. He had administered fresh cause of disobligation to the *French* king, and he had treated the *Spanish* ambassador very ill in the affair of the cardinal of *Sienna*. The duke of *Urbino* was a favourite with both those

^b The ancient *Aes*.

^c The ancient *Auximum*.

^d An-

ciently *Potentia*.

princes;

princes'; and, by their orders, *Moncada* the viceroy of *Sicily*, and *L'Escut* the *French* general, had several times proposed terms of accommodation between him and the pope. The conditions required by the duke appeared so unreasonable, that the viceroy, by his master's orders, came to the duke's camp, and persuaded his *Spanish* foot to insist with the duke upon a peace, which they were easily brought to do; so that an accommodation was at last concluded on the following *He is* terms: that the pope should pay the *Spanish* infantry forty-*forced to* five thousand ducats, due, as they said, for four months ar-*make peace*, rears; and to the *Gascons*, and the *Germans* united with them, sixty thousand ducats: that they should evacuate the state of the church, of the *Florentines*, and of *Urbino*, within eight days: that the duke should, within the said term, abandon all that he possessed, and be permitted to pass in safety to *Mantua* with all his artillery and effects. The pope, on his part, promised to absolve the duke from his censures, with all who had been engaged against him in the war of *Urbino*, natives and others.

As this treaty had been negotiated and concluded only by *and deserted* commissioners, the duke refused to ratify it, when presented *ed by his* to him, unless a clause was inserted, importing, that the *Spaniards* *troops* had engaged to deliver to the pope the duchy of *Urbino*. The *Spaniards* thought that such a clause would be derogatory to their honour, and refused to admit the insertion, which produced high words between them and the duke. The duke perceiving that he was sold, to prevent his falling into the pope's hands, withdrew to the *Piviero de Sestina* with all the troops who were willing to follow him; while the *Spaniards*, receiving their money, marched back to *Naples*, as the other foot did to their several countries; so that the *Italian* foot, who had been omitted in the late bargain, alone remained with the duke, who, seeing himself now abandoned, was obliged to ratify the treaty that had been made in his name, and marched to *Mantua*, attended by no more than one hundred horse and six hundred foot. His retreat put an end to the war of *Urbino*, which cost the pope, during the eight months it lasted, eight hundred thousand ducats, the greatest part of which he had levied from the *Florentines*, over whom his power was, in a manner, despotic.

THE finishing the war of *Urbino* restored peace to *Italy*. *Leo* *de* *It is certain, that no bad man ever had so many amiable qua-*scribed*.* *lities to recommend him as Leo had. No sooner had he the* *smallest respite from toil and danger, than he returned to the* *encouragement of literature and the fine arts, and he patronized them while involved in both. Florence now vied with*

Rome in all that was great, magnificent, and elegant. This seems to have diverted the *Florentines* from all thoughts of re-asserting their liberties, and because they might be commanded by the dregs of the people. *Machiavel* their secretary, however, advised *Leo* still to keep up the forms of the constitution, so as that the people might be the less sensible that they had lost their freedom, and the government in general was mild and equitable. But many amongst the *Florentines* were too quick-sighted to be deceived with appearances, and all of them bewailed the vast expences into which they were brought by their dependence upon his holiness.

A crusade. DURING this state of tranquillity in *Italy*, the *Turks*, under their emperor *Selim*, were making a progress in the east that alarmed all the christian powers. Nothing could have happened more fortunate than this did for the views of *Leo*. The revenues of *Florence*, and the ecclesiastical state, went but a short way towards supplying his vast expences. By virtue of his pontifical authority, he made all *Europe* contribute towards them; but the most successful means he employed were his preaching up crusades against the *Turks*. The dispositions of many *European* powers, at this time, were uncommonly unanimous, and favourable for his designs, and vast sums of money had been collected in *France*, the disposal of which was in the breast of his holiness. *Francis* knew this, and omitted nothing that could flatter either

Marriage of Lorenزو. the pope's pride or his ambition. A match was proposed between *Magdalena* of the house of *Brion*, and consequently of the blood-royal of *France*, and *Lorenzo de Medici*; and the proposal was highly encouraged by the *French* king, the apprehensions from the *Turks* being now blown over by the revolutions that had happened in their government. The lady's fortune was ten thousand crowns a year, the greatest part of which was settled upon her by *Francis*; and all preliminaries being adjusted, *Lorenzo* repaired to the court of *France*, where *Francis* received him with open arms, and gave him his kinswoman in marriage.

Friendship between Leo and Francisco. *Lorenzo* overflowed in his expressions of gratitude for this signal honour, and devoted himself for ever to the king's service. But something more than words passed between them on this occasion. *Lorenzo* presented *Francis* with a bull from his holiness, empowering him to apply to his own use the money that had been raised for the crusades; out of which *Lorenzo* himself received a present of fifty thousand crowns. The king, farther to testify his acknowledgment to the pope, put into *Lorenzo*'s hands the brief of promise his holiness had made

made for the restitution of *Modena* and *Reggio* to the duke of *Ferrara*, within seven months, which were now expired. This interview was followed by negotiations for peace all over *Europe*, for which the pontiff was extremely solicitous, nor did any thing extraordinary happen in *Florence* during the years 1517 and 1518, further than what we have related.

THE tranquillity of *Europe*, in the beginning of the year 1519, was broke by the death of the emperor *Maximilian*, a prince of a mixed character. He was inconstant, extravagant, and though proud, contemptible for his perpetual indigence, that often run him into injustice and inconsistencies. Notwithstanding all this, he had great talents for government, was brave in his own person, and naturally humane. He had, before his death, laboured incessantly to procure for his grandson *Charles*, king of *Spain*, the succession to the *German* empire; and vast sums had, for that purpose, been remitted out of *Spain* by *Charles* to his grandfather. Upon the death of *Maximilian*, the contest became more declared and serious, and nothing was wanting to decide it, but the pope declaring himself for one of the candidates. *Leo* was averse to both, and dreaded the neighbourhood of both in *Italy*, where they were able, by their vast power, to make good all the imperial claims upon *Rome*, and the estates of the church. He was, however, obliged to temporize; but he could not long maintain his neutrality. By an excessive refinement in politics, he declared for *Francis*, whom he knew to be the weakest candidate; in hopes of finding an opportunity, before the election came on, to make him sensible of its being impossible he should succeed, and of persuading him to throw his interest into the scale of a third candidate, who might be less formidable in *Italy*. In short, *Leo* sent *Francis Orsino* as his legate into *Germany*, to do *Francis* all the service he could; but with secret orders to sound the dispositions, and examine the interests of the electors. *Leo* followed out this scheme of conduct with infinite address; but being afraid of an attack from *Charles*, who was equipping a fleet at *Naples*, *Francis* ordered his gallies, with four thousand land-troops on board, to be in readiness to defend the sea-coasts belonging to the church, and to the *Florentines*.

WHILE the election of an emperor was depending, *Lorenzo de Medici* died. He left by his wife, who died a few days before in child-birth, an only daughter, *Catherine*, who was afterwards so infamous for her cruelty and dissimulation, married to *Henry II. of France*, and mother to three succeeding kings of that country. Upon the death of *Lorenzo*,

some of *Leo*'s counsellors were generous enough to suggest to his holiness, that he would give a noble proof of patriotism, now that all the male lawful descendants of the great *Cosmo* were dead, but himself, if he would restore the *Florentines* to their liberties. His holiness rejected this advice, swayed partly by partiality to his own family, though an illegitimate line, and partly by his hatred to a republic, from which he had been banished. He therefore committed of the pope. the government of *Florence* to the cardinal *De Medici*; but restored the duchy of *Urbino*, and the cities of *Pesaro* and *Senigaglia*, which had been granted to *Lorenzo*, to the holy see, though *Lorenzo*'s daughter was in the investiture. He likewise demolished the walls of the city of *Urbino*, because of the attachment the inhabitants professed for their duke *Francisco*, and rendered *Gubbio* the capital of the duchy. As he owed immense sums to the *Florentines*, in order to preserve a shew of equity, he assigned them for payment the fortress of *San Leo*, and the district of *Montefeltro*, with the *Pieve* of *Sestina*, which had before belonged to the *Cesentines*. The *Florentines*, who hated the apostolic chamber, were far from being pleased with this manner of repaying their money, which threw upon them the trouble and expence of garrisoning and maintaining places that were entirely in the interest of duke *Francisco*.

Charles chosen emperor of Germany. THE competition between *Charles* and *Francis* for the empire still continued; but the two rivals proceeded in very different manners. *Francis*, sensible that the natural interest of *Charles* in *Germany* was superior to his, endeavoured to supply that disadvantage, by sending immense sums from *France* to bribe the electors and their friends, so that he carried on an open traffic of corruption, which gave vast disgust to all the princes who had any sentiments of honour, virtue, or regard to the independency of their country. On the other hand, the *Germans*, in general, declared against placing any foreigner on the imperial throne; and even the *Swiss* supplicated the pope to favour the election of *Charles*. The contest turned out entirely in favour of the latter, who, under pretence of maintaining the liberties of the *Germanic* body, instead of squandering his money amongst the electors, employed it in raising an army, which advanced to the neighbourhood of *Francfort*, the place of the election. Notwithstanding all this, *Leo* certainly would have carried his point, and both candidates must have been disappointed, had not the reformation every day gained ground in *Germany*, under *Luther*, who was patronized and protected by *Frederic the Wise*, elector of *Saxony*. It was to this prince that the electoral

electoral college, foreseeing the calamities to which *Germany* must be exposed, offered the imperial crown, which he had many reasons for refusing; and he gave his vote for *Charles*, who was accordingly declared emperor. This preference shewn to *Charles*, exasperated *Francis*, who now pretended that he had received many grievances from the empire, and the house of *Austria*, and demanded redress of them. The pope thought this an excellent opportunity for attempting to make himself master of *Ferrara*, which had been long a favourite object with him. He committed the execution of the design to the warlike bishop of *Ventimiglia*, whom, without appearing to have any concern in the affair, he put at the head of two thousand troops; and had he been able to have passed the *Po*, he probably would have surprised the city. Though the pope, with the most solemn asseverations, disclaimed all knowledge of this attempt, yet he was not believed by the duke of *Ferrara*, or any of the *Italian* princes.

IN the same year 1520, his holiness, by his prothonotary, tampered with one *Rodolfo*, a captain in the duke's guards, 1520. *The pope* to give admittance to his troops, which were to be commanded by *Guido Rangone*, into one of the gates of *Ferrara*, *endeavours to* that lay at the end of a wooden bridge over the *Po*. *Ran-* *become-* *gone* privately discovered this design, with all its circumstan- *master of* ces, to the duke, who soon defeated it, and punished *Ro-* *Ferrara*. *dolfo* for his treachery, but durst push the discovery no far- *His fail-* *ings.*

THOUGH there was scarcely a crime or vice, either personal or political, that *Leo* had not been guilty of, and tho' all *Europe* was sensible of the same; yet it is amazing how powerfully his pontifical dignity, joined to a certain complacency of manners, operated towards his preserving the respect and esteem of the christian princes. But *Leo*, notwithstanding all his policy, was the dupe of his own good nature, and by his boundless expences he had run himself into the most shameful necessities, which he was obliged to supply by the most infamous means. He sent all over *Eu-* *rope*, armies of dominicans, and other monks and friars, at- tended by collectors, who kept open shop for the sale of indulgences. But tho' prodigious sums were levied by this scandalous traffic, the least share of the profit came to the pope, the rest being consumed amongst the collectors, or la- vished upon his sister *Madalena* and her favourites. Every one knows in what manner those practices brought on the reformation; and how, in a few years, almost one-half of *Eu-* *rope* was lost to the see of *Rome*, while the other half was

staggered in its obedience. It is certain the pope gave himself very little trouble about affairs of religion, farther than as they served to replenish his coffers. All his cares tended to preserve the ballance of power in *Italy*, that he might maintain himself in the possession of *Florence*, and the other *Tuscan* states, and the patrimony of the holy see, with the vast and unjust acquisitions that had been made to it by himself and his predecessor *Julius*. *Italy* had now enjoyed peace for three years, and the balance of power there, between the emperor and the *French* king, was in the hand of the pope; so that being courted by all parties, his dominions, *Florence* especially, enjoyed happiness and wealth in the highest degree, while he indulged himself in every gratification, both of sensual and intellectual pleasure; to both which he was exquisitely formed by nature. He became at last satiated with those enjoyments, and once more turned his attention towards war. He could not bear the thoughts of having lost *Parma* and *Piacenza* to the church, and of his having been so often disappointed in his attempts upon *Ferrara*. He was likewise afraid, that the emperor and the *French* king might accommodate matters between themselves, so as to depress his power and that of the church in *Italy*: he therefore resolved to make a league with one of those princes, and render him subservient in driving the other out of *Italy*; in which case he thought it would be easy to drive the conqueror out likewise. Before he determined which party to chuse, he dispatched into *Switzerland*, *Antonia Pucci*, bishop of *Pistoia*, to hire six thousand *Swiss*, which the cantons readily consented to; and a free passage having been granted them through the state of *Milan*, they arrived in the *Romagna*, and the marquisate of *Ancona*, where they were quartered.

Makes preparations for war.

THE public were amazed at the hiring and march of those troops in a time of profound tranquillity; and the pope at first pretended he had called them in to guard his own person. The truth was, that he had set on foot a secret treaty with the *French* king; by which the kingdom of *Naples* was to be attacked by their joint forces. *Gacta*, and all the country between the *Garigliano* and the borders of the ecclesiastical state, when conquered, were to belong to the church; as the rest of the kingdom was to go to the *French* king's second son, but under the tuition of an apostolical legate, residing at *Naples*, till the young prince should be of age. The king, on the other hand, engaged to assist the pontiff against the subjects and feudatories of the apostolical see, in which *Ferrara* was thought to be included. Separately from this

con-

convention, it was agreed between his holiness and the French king, that the latter should take the advantage of a rebellion which had just broke out in Spain, to seize upon the kingdom of Navarre, which he did. After that, the French invaded Spain itself; but this invasion turned to the disadvantage of Francis, because it reunited the Spaniards amongst themselves. The Swiss, however, now preferred the friendship of Francis to that of Charles.

WHEN the late concluded treaty between the pope and *Disap-*
Francis was examined in the council of *France*, the best *pointed by*
heads there disapproved of it, as being too advantageous to *Francis*.
France, and, therefore, containing some mystery to her pre-
judice; because the pope never could be supposed to see the
duchy of *Milan*, and the kingdom of *Naples*, under the
same head. Those, and many other reasons, most of which
turned upon the pope's known dissimulation and double deal-
ing, prevailed on *Francis* not to ratify the treaty. This ir-
ritated the pontiff, and the more, as *Lautrec* the *French* go-
vernour of the *Milanese* refused to admit any of his bulls or
monitories into that duchy. The pope, therefore, for self-
defence, offered his friendship and alliance to *Charles*, who
readily accepted of both, as the friendship of his holiness
was then of the utmost consequence to his affairs. A league
was concluded between them for their mutual defence; and
in it was comprehended the house of *Medici*, and the state
of *Florence*⁸. In the same league there was an offensive ar- *His leagues*
ticle, by which the *Milanese* was to be attacked, and *Parma* with the
and *Piacenza* restored to the church; but, that the *Milanese* emperor,
should return to *Francisco Sforza*; to whom it was to be
guarantied by both contracting parties. *Charles* was like-
wise to assist his holiness in the conquest of *Ferrara*; to
pay an additional tribute for the kingdom of *Naples*, and
to give the cardinal *De Medici* a pension of ten thousand
ducats. *Alexander de Medici*, a natural son of the deceased
Lorenzo, was likewise to receive an estate of ten thousand
ducats a year in the kingdom of *Naples*. As to the *Milanese*,
it was to be deemed a fief of the empire.

BEFORE the main purposes of this league was to be *The Mi-*
carried into execution, the contracting parties determined *lanese is*
to make an attempt on *Milan* and *Genoa*, both of them now *vaded*.
belonging to *France*, by the exiles of those two states. For
this purpose, the historian *Guicciardini*, who was governor of
Modena and *Reggio* for the pope, received ten thousand crowns
from his holiness, which he paid to *Morone*, one of the *Mi-*

⁸ *GUICCIARDINI*, book xiv.

lanese exiles. Both those attempts, however, failed through causes that are foreign to this history; as did several other attempts of the same nature, which had been formed underhand by his holiness. He was now obliged to throw off the mask; and he appointed *Frederic*, marquis of *Mantua*, general of the ecclesiastical and *Florentine* armies, who were to march directly into *Lombardy*, and to attack the *Milanese*. The army under the marquis, was to be joined by all the men at arms which *Charles* had in *Naples*; by six thousand *Italian* foot, two thousand *Spanish* foot, and two thousand others, under the marquis of *Pescara*; four thousand *German* foot, and two thousand *Griffins*, were likewise to be taken into the pay of the confederates. As to the *Swiss* that were in the pope's pay, four thousand out of the six had returned into their own country, on account of their harvest, after costing his holiness one hundred and fifty thousand crowns to no purpose. The other two thousand were continued in the pay of the confederacy, or, as it was called, the holy league; and his holiness applied to the cantons for leave to raise six thousand more. Upon the whole, therefore, the preparations for the invasion of the *Milanese* were very formidable, and it was resolved to attack that duchy on the side towards *Como*, where the *French* government was very unpopular.

Lautrec was, at this time, at the *French* court, and was with difficulty prevailed on, through the force of great promises, to return to *Milan*. The *Venetians* offered to join the *French* with six hundred men at arms, and six thousand foot; and the *Swiss* cantons, notwithstanding all their engagements with the pope, consented that the *French* king should take ten thousand of their subjects into his pay. All this while, *Francis* omitted nothing that could mollify the pope, and break his confederacy with *Charles*. *Lautrec* being thus enabled to provide for the defence of the *Milanese*, the campaign opened greatly to the disadvantage of the holy league. It must be confessed, there is something very unaccountable in the nature of the command which it was under, and can be only ascribed to the jealousy the pope entertained of his generals. *Guicciardini*^b informs us, that the marquis of *Mantua* was appointed captain-general of all the forces of the church; but that *Prospero Colonna*, though without any title, had the command of the whole army. Thus there was, it seems, a real and a nominal command. *Guicciardini*, however, informs us, that he himself controuled both those generals, by virtue of his commission of com-

Absurd distribution of command.

^b *Ibid.*

military-

military-general of the whole army, which gave him extraordinary powers. From all this we may conclude, that the marquis had obtained his high rank, on account of the convenient situation of his dominions, and the force which he brought to the field; but that the pope trusted to the abilities of *Colonna* for the operations of the campaign, and to *Guicciardini*, who was himself a *Florentine*, for being a check upon both.

His holiness shewed himself no great general by such a *Progress* partition of command; especially, considering the complicated interests of the league, and the nature of the *Spaniards*, *my of the Swiss*, and *Germans*, who were parties in it. The want of *league*. a due subordination among the chief officers soon appeared by its effects. *Prospero Colonna*, having garrisoned *Modena*, *Bologna*, *Ravenna*, and *Imola*, encamped upon the *Lenza*, within five miles of *Parma*, when he heard that four thousand *Swiss* foot was arrived at *Milan*. *Parma*, itself, had a strong garrison, under *L'Escut*, brother to *Lautrec*; and both the *Venetians* and the duke of *Ferrara* were in motion, in favour of the *French*. At last *Colonna*, who was a sound, tho' a slow, general, was joined by the marquis of *Mantua*, and by four hundred *Spanish* lances, under *Antonio de Leva*, who became afterwards so famous in war. This enabled *Colonna* to advance to *San Lazaro*, within a mile of *Parma*; where he waited for a farther reinforcement from *Naples*, of three hundred lances, and two thousand *Spanish* foot, under the marquis of *Pescara*, and for the *German* infantry, who were advanced as far as *Epburg*. *Colonna*'s great dependence was upon those horse to make head against the *Swiss* in the *French* army. The *Venetians*, however, made dispositions for opposing their progress; and the *Germans* began to shew themselves uneasy for their pay, which it was dangerous for the pope, out of whose purse it was to come, to send through the *Venetian* territories to *Trent*, where the *Germans* insisted upon receiving it. At last the marquis of *Mantua*, who, upon the whole, behaved with great honour and reputation, and the marquis of *Pescara*, made some movements in the *Mantuan*, to favour the approach of the *Germans*; but the *Venetians*, whom *Colonna* knew not to be in earnest, retired to *Verona*, and an entire junction of all the troops, belonging to the army of the holy league, was effected.

A council of war being held, the siege of *Parma* was proposed, but rejected; and it was unanimously agreed to march of *Parma* against *Piacenza*, which was but weak, and weakly garrisoned, and lay convenient for favouring an attack upon *Milan*, while dispositions were making for that purpose, *ed*; which

but resumed,

which promised to produce decisive effects in favour of the league, a few French horse having passed the *Po*, a report was spread of the approach of the whole French army : *Giovanni de Medici* was sent out to reconnoitre, and soon discovered the mistake, and that the French army had repassed the river. The false alarm, however, had occasioned the design against *Piacenza* to be laid aside ; nor, through the disagreement of the generals of different nations, was it ever resumed. Their animosities even proceeded so far, as to create a kind of total inaction in the army ; till the Florentine commissary^k, as he acquaints us himself, in behalf of his master the pope, spirited them up so effectually, that, by a kind of a sudden impulse, they resolved at once upon the siege of *Parma* ; a proposal which they had before unanimously rejected. But the execution received some delay, because the heavy artillery was not yet come up, *Colonna* not having thought it necessary against *Piacenza*. This delay was of vast service to *Lautrec*, as it gave time for his auxiliaries to join him. The siege of *Parma* was at last formed, but awkwardly carried on ; and, as it appeared afterwards, the attack was made from the wrong post. *Lautrec*, by this time, having received the greatest part of his reinforcements, advanced to raise the siege of *Parma*, which was at last in great danger ; that part of the town called *Codiponte* being taken by the besiegers. *Lautrec* not being joined, as he expected, by six thousand more *Swiss*, who were on their march, found himself too weak to fight the army of the league ; but he encouraged his brother to hold out, as he would remain in the neighbourhood, and be perpetually beating up the quarters of the enemy. *L'Escut*, however, must have been obliged, either to have surrendered the place up by capitulation, or to have marched out with the garrison, and join his brother, had not the soldiers of the league plundered the inhabitants of that part of *Parma* they had taken, tho' they appeared rejoiced at returning to the obedience of the church ; and this confirmed the *Parmesans* in the interest of the French. Advice in the mean time came, that the duke of *Ferrara* had surprized *Finale* and *San Felice*, and was advancing against *Modena* ; which was, it seems, but ill prepared for a defence, through the caution of *Colonna*, who was unwilling to weaken his army.

THIS intelligence occasioned a meeting of the general officers of the league ; where, after discoursing, rather than reasoning among themselves, it was unaccountably resolved

^k *Ibid, ibid.*

to raise the siege of *Parma*, though it was known to be now at *and shame-*
the last extremity. All the general officers were of this opinion *fully aban-*
nion; but the brave and wise *Antonio de Leva*, though he *done*.
concurred with them in opinion as to raising the siege, added,
that he hoped they would do it only to fight *Lautrec*; and if
they beat him, *Parma* must fall of course into their hands.
This counsel was rejected upon various pretexts. Their
resolution, however, was of such moment, and carried with
it such an appearance of disgrace, that before it was put into
execution, *Colonna*, and the marquis of *Pescara*, consulted
Guicciardini, the commissary, concerning it. *Guicciardini* re-
proached them with the inconsistency and pusillanimity of
their conduct, and threatened them with the indignation of the
pope. The two generals replied, that the siege could not,
consistently with the rules of war, be continued; and that
dispositions were making for instantly drawing off the arti-
llery; nor durst the commissary longer oppose their joint au-
thority. This shameful conduct, however, was no sooner
known in the camp, than the soldiers openly expressed their
dislike of it; and *Guicciardini*, with *Morone*, a *Milanese* exile,
went to *Colonna*'s quarters, where they found him very can-
didly disposed to reconsider the resolution, and, if he saw
reason, to retract it. For this purpose, he summoned afresh
the same council of war; but the marquis of *Pescara*, who
had begun to draw off the artillery, refused to assist at it, as
deeming it dishonourable to alter his opinion: thus the
council broke up, and the resolution of abandoning the siege
was immediately executed, after remaining twelve days be-
fore the place.

So pusillanimous a proceeding rendered the officers, to *Grief of*
whom it was owing, so despicable in the eyes of the *Germans*, *the pope*,
that while the army was returning to their camp at *San*
Lazaro, they mutinied, displaced their officers, and chose
others in their room, because their exorbitant demands for
pay were not complied with, and withdrew from the army
of the league. The news of so many disastrous and disgrace-
ful events overwhelmed the pope with grief and indignation;
and the more, because, when they happened, he every mo-
ment expected to hear that he was master of *Parma*. He
suspected the *German* and *Spanish* generals of treachery.
Guicciardini, who was present all the time, seems inclinable
to believe, that the whole was owing to the false intelligence
they received, which magnified the *French* army far beyond
the truth; and to the caution of *Colonna*, who imagining a
battle to be inevitable, thought that his soldiers could not
be brought to it, if loaded with the spoils of *Parma*. It is
certain

certain that the *French*, who under *Lautrec* were in very bad order, and could not bring the *Swiss* to act, were amazed when they heard that the siege of *Parma* was abandoned: but that event not only gave them spirits and courage, but animated the *Swiss* to their duty; and they now joined *Lautrec* in great numbers. The news of this determined the generals of the league to remove from *San Lazaro* towards *Reggio*; and this retreat would have been converted into a downright flight, had not the *Florentine* and imperial commissioners remonstrated upon the disgrace attending it. Some part of the blame was laid upon *Prospero*'s too great caution, which restrained him from employing a sufficient number of light horse to scour the country, and get intelligence of the enemy's motions.

who recovers his spirits.

LAUTREC's strength was better known at *Rome* than in the camp of the holy league; and the pope resuming his courage, brought the emperor to consent to march, with their whole force, against *Milan* itself; without regarding *Parma*, or any other object. With this view the pope had taken into his pay, but not without great opposition, a fresh body of twelve thousand *Swiss*. But the cantons hired them out on the express condition, of their being employed only in defence of the church's patrimony, and their not serving against the *French*. The cardinal of *Sion*, however, and the other agents for the holy league, accepted of them, even on that condition; as knowing it would not be difficult to prevail upon them, after descending into *Italy*, to serve against

Lombardy. After various consultations, the generals of the league despairing to take *Parma*, too weak to face *Lautrec's* camp, and unable, for want of subsistence, to continue the force where they were, resolved to pass the *Po*. While dispositions were making for that, count *Guido Rangone*, by the pope's orders, supported by a body of *Tuscan* foot, reduced an important pass, called the mountain of *Modena*, belonging to the duke of *Ferrara*.

AT this time, the army of the league was pestered by a set of banditti, who, under the denomination of *Milanese* exiles, plundered wherever they came, and even intercepted the convoys coming to their own army. *Colonna*, however, at last, made dispositions for passing the *Po*; but failed in an attempt, that was to have been executed by *Giovanni de Medici*, for burning the *French* boats on that river, near *Cremona*. But it was necessary to take care of the towns belonging to the church, and its allies, before the army passed the *Po*. *Pitelli*, therefore, was ordered to garrison them with one hundred and fifty men-at-arms, as many light horse, and two thousand

housand foot, all of them *Florentines*, or paid by the money of that state ; and two thousand *Swiss*, whom it was not thought safe to employ against the *French*, were detached upon the same service, under the bishop of *Pistoia*. Thus *Modena*, *Reggio*, and other towns in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, were secured against the insults of the duke of *Ferrara* ; who boasted of having been the deliverer of *Parma*, and whom the pope, as far as ecclesiastical censures could do, had now deprived of his duchy of *Ferrara*.

It was the first of *October*, 1521, before the army of the league, which was prodigiously encumbered with baggage, ^{which} and useless attendants, passed the *Po*. This passage was effected in so slovenly and dilatory a manner, that had *Lautrec* attacked one party, while the other was passing, he might have defeated the whole. They encamped at last at *Casal Maggiore*, where a new scene of dissimulation was opened.

THE French king, who knew the pope was the soul of the league against him, had, from the commencement of hostilities in *Lombardy*, tempted him with the most specious offers to dissolve the confederacy. *Leo*, at first, resisted him with great firmness ; but perceiving that the whole weight of the war rested upon himself ; that *Charles* was unable, or unwilling, to advance money ; that no dependence was to be had upon the *German* and *Spanish* officers ; and that the service of the *Swiss* was clogged with conditions, he began at last to harbour thoughts of an accommodation. Upon the raising the siege of *Parma*, he wrote a letter, with his own hand, to cardinal *de Medici*, his substitute at *Florence*, to repair immediately to the camp of the league, with the authority of apostolical legate, to prevent the bad consequences of the dispute between *Colonna* and the marquis of *Pescara*. The cardinal did not arrive at the army till it was encamped at *Casal Maggiore* ; nor had the pope yet determined to yield to the importunities of the French king, but arrives in to wait for events. The cardinal was the second person in the camp, the ecclesiastical state ; and though he resided at *Florence*, nothing was done at *Rome* without his advice and approbation, so that even his presence was thought sufficient to overawe all differences. The army of the league moved in four divisions through the *Cremonese* towards the *Oglio*. In this march a quarrel happened between the *Spanish* and *Florentine* foot, in which some were killed on both sides ; but it was soon terminated by the interposition of the general officers : and *Giovanni de Medici* routed a party of *Venetian* and *French* horse, who had passed the *Po*, near *Cremona*. While the army of the league was encamped on the banks of the *Oglio*,

Oglio, a resolution was taken to march to *Bordellano*. The badness of the roads obliged them to halt half-way, at a place called *Rebecca*, where they received undoubted intelligence, that *Lautrec*, at the head of the *French* and *Venetian* armies, was within five miles, with a design to fight *Danger of them* if they should proceed: This intelligence was the army of the league, more alarming, as the pope and the cardinal had received assurances from the *Venetians*, that they would be inactive. There was no comparison in the force of the two armies; that of *Lautrec* consisting of a strong body of excellent cavalry, seven thousand *French* and *Italian* foot, and ten thousand *Swiss*. The army of the league, on the other hand, was from various causes, so much reduced, that it did not contain above seven thousand *Germans* and *Spaniards*, and about six thousand *Florentines* and other *Italians*, many of whom were new levies. After consultation, it was resolved to intrench themselves at *Rebecca*, and wait for a great reinforcement of *Swiss*, under the cardinal of *Sion*, who was upon his march, and promised to join the troops of the league in three or four days at farthest. This situation, however, was very disagreeable. Their camp was exposed to the artillery of *Porto Vico*, a *Venetian* town on the opposite banks of the river, and the difficulties of getting provisions every day increased. But the cardinal had still a notion, that the *Venetians* were not in earnest, and gave himself little trouble with regard to them. The other inconvenience was more difficult to be remedied; because the disorders of the soldiers, the *Milanese* exiles particularly, had been so great, that the peasants could not be prevailed upon to bring provisions into the camp. *Guicciardini*'s opinion was, that the army should remove to the borders of the *Mantuan*, where they were sure of provisions. But this looked so like a retreat, and a repetition of their disgrace at *Parma*, that the advice was rejected. The army continued at *Rebecca*, but under such distress for want of bread, though there was plenty of flesh and wine, that many of the *Florentines*, and other *Italian* foot, deserted.

which
escapes.

AFTER the army had lain for three days in this uncomfortable situation, *Lautrec*, who had taken post at *Bordellano*, sent part of his artillery across the *Oglio* to *Porto Vico*, from whence it played upon the camp of the league. This, happening contrary to the expectation of the cardinal and the general officers, threw the army into such disorder, that before break of day they broke up, without sound of drum or trumpet; and, as *Guicciardini* had advised them, they marched to *Gabbioneta*, a town within five miles of the borders of

the *Mantuan*, where they took up a very strong camp. It is generally acknowledged, that *Lautrec* was guilty, on this occasion, of an unpardonable omission, in rejecting the advice of his *Swiss* officers, which was, that at the same time he sent his artillery to *Porto Vico*, he should have marched against the enemy; who being then between two fires, must either have surrendered, or have been destroyed. The obstinacy of *Lautrec*, who was naturally self-sufficient, in rejecting this advice, ruined his master's affairs. He took up the camp of his enemies at *Rebecca*, but proceeded no farther. The generals of the league, however, perceiving they could not continue at *Gabbioneta*, because of its damp unwholesome situation, and being apprehensive of the strength of the *French*, carried their troops over the *Oglio*, and encamped at *Offiano*, where it was resolved to remain till they were joined by the *Swiss*, whose march was unaccountably retarded.

WHILE the two armies continued in this inactivity, the *Conduct of* bishops of *Pistoia* and *Vitelli*, at the head of the *Swiss* and the *Swiss*, *Florentines* they commanded, forced the duke of *Ferrara*'s entrenchments, which were very strong, at *Finale*, and routed his army. This obliged the duke to retire to *Ferrara*, and remove the bridge of boats he had laid over the river, to prevent his being pursued. The *Swiss*, in the pope's pay, by this time, had entered the territory of *Beramo*; but notwithstanding the most earnest instances of the cardinal of *Sion* to the contrary, they discovered an invincible reluctance to fight against the *French* king. They offered, however, to march against *Parma* and *Piacenza*; because, as they said, they of right belonged to the church. Their scruples, however, were at last surmounted, and proceeding on their march, they defeated several parties of the *French* and *Venetians*, and encamped near the army of the league. But their scruples again returned, and four thousand of the troops raised in the canton of *Zurich*, refused to join the army of the league. All the arts and promises of the cardinals *de Medici* and *Sion*, and the archbishop of *Capua*, could not conquer their obstinacy, and they separated from their countrymen. Notwithstanding this, the two cardinals resolved to proceed with the six thousand remaining, and they put themselves in the centre of the army; which, says *Guicciardini*, was composed of blasphemous robbers and murderers, preceded by silver crosses, and other pompous badges of ecclesiastical authority; "So great, says the same author, who was on the spot, in our times is the abuse of the reverence due to religion!"

THE

THE two cardinals made necessity their excuse for their marching through the *Venetian* territories for three days; which was the same excuse that senate had urged for their general *Gritti* having suffered the *French* to send their artillery to *Porto Vico*. Being arrived at *Orci Vecchi*, orders arrived from the *Swiss* cantons, commanding all their subjects to separate from both armies. The politic cardinals found means to keep back those orders from their *Swiss*; but those in the *French* pay receiving theirs, they instantly separated from *Lautrec*, who had not been in a condition to pay them for some months; because his remittances had been intercepted by the *French* king's mother, and her creatures, and converted to their own use.

THE army of the league having left *Orci Vecchi*, arrived at *Rivolta*; while *Lautrec*, after the departure of the *Swiss*, was obliged to act on the defensive, and made dispositions for disputing the passage of the *Adda* at *Cassano*, which lies opposite to *Rivolta*. Thus the fortune of war all of a sudden changed; and the towns of the *Ghirudadda* being abandoned by the *French*, supplied the army of the league with plenty of provisions. The differences between *Colonna* and the marquis of *Pescara* still continued; and the former, without communicating his designs to the latter, sent over some companies of *Florentine* foot, in two barks, to surprise the town of *Vauri*, which lies on the *Adda*, seven miles from *Cassano*. This place contained a rude fortification, which it was easy to render defensible; and *Peppoli*, an officer in the *French* pay, lay there with a few foot. *Prospero*'s design succeeded, and the first embarkation landed. *Peppoli* perceiving the place surprised, dispatched a messenger to *Lautrec* for a reinforcement of cavalry; and, in the mean time, made all the resistance he could against the *Italians* who had landed. According to *Paulus Fovius*, when the messenger arrived at *Cassano*, *Lautrec* was asleep; and his servants not daring to disturb him, he did not receive the message till it was too late, and then he ordered his brother *L'Escut*, to set out with a detachment of horse to support *Peppoli*. By this time the cardinal *de Medici* and *Colonna*, who had artfully quartered his foot in the village opposite to *Vauri*, and who, according to order, moved with great expedition towards the river, had left *Rivolta*, and were arrived at the place of embarkation, where they used their utmost endeavours to forward the passage; while *Giovanni de Medici*, on a *Turkish* horse, to the amazement and terror of all who saw him, plunging into the river, swam to the opposite shore.

The army
of the
league
passes the
Adda,

By this time *L'Escut* was arrived at *Vauri*, with four hundred men at arms, and a body of foot, and vigorously attacked the place where the *Italians*, who had passed the river, had entrenched themselves; but his artillery not coming up in time, he was obliged to retire to *Cassano*; and *Lautrec*, despairing now to defend the river, retired from thence with his whole army towards *Milan*. This passage of the *Adda*, in the face of so celebrated a general as *Lautrec*, retrieved the reputation of *Colonna*, and in those days was looked upon as a master-piece in the art of war. He, perhaps, shewed a greater proof of his military genius, when, instead of marching directly to *Milan*, he encamped at *Marignano*, which lies about half-way between *Milan* and *Pavia*; from which last place *Lautrec* had drawn the garrison, to strengthen his own army. From *Marignano*, where he waited three days in expectation of his artillery, his *Swiss* advanced to *Chiaravalle*; while *Lautrec* made the necessary dispositions for defending the castle, city, and suburbs of *Milan*. By this situation, *Colonna*, and the generals of the league had it in their power, if repulsed at *Milan*, where all the inhabitants were disposed to receive them, to fall back to *Pavia*, where part of their light troops had already taken post. Every thing succeeded to their wish. The *Spanish* foot led the van of their army, and met with no opposition from the *Venetians* and the *Swiss* in their pav, who were posted in the suburbs of *Milan*, which the *Spanish* foot immediately took possession of. The marquis of *Pescara* then led his ^{and the} infantry to the *Roman* gate of *Milan*, which, without resistance, was opened to him; and the cardinal de *Medici*, *Colonna* and *lonna*, and the marquis of *Mantua*, entered it, wondering at other the easiness of so important a conquest. *places.*

THUS the city of *Milan* was lost by the *French*, through the inexcusable negligence of *Lautrec*, who was deficient in intelligence, and trusted that the badness of the roads, in that advanced season, would have prevented the approaches of the enemy. *Lautrec*, however, was still more inexcusable, in not assembling his troops on the plain before the castle of *Milan*, which still held out with a numerous well provided garrison; and in not falling upon the troops of the league, who were in great disorder, after taking possession of the city: but the darkness of the night, in which all this happened, was pleaded as his excuse. He drew off his troops towards *Como*, where he left a garrison; and from thence he marched into the territory of *Bergamo*.

LODI, *Pavia*, and *Piacenza*, followed the example of the city of *Milan*, by admitting the troops of the league; and

Cremona would have done the same, had not *Lautrec* thrown himself into it, and defeated the inhabitants, who had declared for the league. His success, which was unexpected by himself, was owing to the bishop of *Pistoia*'s disobeying the orders of cardinal *de Medici*, in not sending a body of *Swiss* to support the insurrection of the *Cremonese* against the *French*. *Lautrec* had despaired of being able to recover *Cremona*, and had sent orders to *Federigo da Bozzoli*, who commanded in *Parma*, to abandon that city, which he did ; but upon *Lautrec*'s success at *Cremona*, a counter order was sent him, which came too late ; for *Vitelli* was then in possession of *Parma*. The siege of *Como* was next undertaken by the marquis of *Pescara*. He took the place upon capitulation, which was basely violated ; and, on that account, the *French* commandant challenged him to a single duel.

Pope Leo
dies in the
midst of
his tri-
umph.

IN the mean while, pope *Leo*, being overwhelmed by the constant series of good news, which overcame his spirits, was, in the midst of success and pleasure, seized with a slow fever, on the 1st of December, at *Magliano*, one of his voluptuous retirements near *Rome*, to which city he was removed. His physicians, at first, slighted his disorder ; but in a very few days it carried him to his grave. His cup-bearer, *Barnabo Malespina*, was suspected of having poisoned him, and was therefore thrown into prison ; from which he was delivered by the cardinal *de Medici* upon his arrival at *Rome*, and no farther enquiry was made into the matter. We shall say nothing farther in this place of *Leo*'s character, which has been already described, but that he deceived all who knew him. While a cardinal, the public had a high opinion of his virtue, and a small one of his abilities ; when a pope, it was perceived that he had great abilities, and no virtue. The time he held the pontificate, is termed the golden days of literature and the arts. When he died, he was within a few days of forty-eight years of age.

LEO's death created a total alteration in the affairs of *Italy*. It weakened the power of *Charles* in *Lombardy*, and strengthened the connexions between the *Venetians* and *France*, which the former were ready to have abandoned. The affairs of *Charles* on this side the *Alps* were embarrassed, so that he could not improve the advantages which the army of the league had gained in *Italy*, where the *French* were still in possession of *Cremona*, *Genoa*, *Alessandria*, the castle of *Milan*, with the fortresses of *Novara*, *Trezzo*, *Pizzagittone*, *Domusola*, and *Arona*, and all the *Lago Maggiore*. The fort of *Pontremolli* was likewise recovered by the *Genoese* of his faction ; but the great strength of the *French* now lay in the disunion

disunion of their enemies. The cardinals of *Sien* and *Medici* abandoned all other considerations to attend the papal election, which the former expected to fall upon himself. *Charles* dismissed all the *Swiss* in his pay, excepting fifteen hundred; and he likewise disbanded his *German* foot. The *Florentine* troops marched back to their own country, while those of the church were partly quartered in *Modena*, and partly in the *Milanese*; of which *Lautrec* complained to the college of cardinals: but they were so divided amongst themselves, that they referred him for redress to the future pope. In the mean while the duke of *Ferrara* drew his troops into the field, and, with little or no loss, recovered *Bondino*, *Finale*, the mountain of *Modena*, the *Carfagnano*, *Lugo*, *Bagnacavello*, and the other towns in the *Romagna*, and threatened to lay siege to *Cento*. *Parma* was at this time in a dangerous situation. Its *Guicciardini* breaches had not been repaired since the late siege; the in-dini *dehabitants* were unarmed and dispirited, and its garrison mutinous. Encouraged by these appearances, *Lautrec*, by the advice of *Federigo da Bozzolo*, formed a design to surprise it with six hundred lances, and two thousand five hundred foot, drawn from *Cremone*, which was then his head-quarters. Cardinal *de Medici* had foreseen that such an attempt would be made; and commissioned the historian *Guicciardini* to defend *Parma*. *Guicciardini* had, for some time, been governor of *Modena* and *Reggio*. An attempt had been made to prevail with the *Swiss* of the canton of *Zurich*, who remained still at *Piacenza*, to detach one thousand men for the defence of *Parma*; but they refused it, for fear of weakening themselves. *Guicciardini*, therefore, was obliged to send for arms from *Reggio*, which he put into the hands of the citizens; whom, with great difficulty, he persuaded to abandon that part of the town called *Codiponte*, as being untenable; and *Bozzolo* immediately took possession of it, with three thousand foot, and some light horse, being followed by about the same number of *French* and *Venetian* foot. It happened that the waters of the *Po*, at this time, had overflowed the country, so as to render the roads impassable for *Lautrec*'s heavy artillery to come up. This was a great disappointment to *Bozzolo*, who conducted the enterprise; which chiefly depended on expedition for its success. His emissaries within the city made the people believe, that the heavy artillery was at hand; and it required all *Guicciardini*'s art and address to keep them from surrendering. To increase his difficulties, the garrison mutinied for want of pay; but the affection of the city towards the church was so great, that the inhabitants raised the money, and the mutiny was appeased. *Guicciardini*,

if we are to believe his own report, acted, on this occasion, the part both of a consummate politician and an able general. To remove all suspicion of his having selfish views, he represented to the citizens, that he could have no interest in exposing himself to danger, but their safety and the good of the church; and that he was not certain, whether the succeeding pope might not be an enemy both to him and his countrymen the *Florentines*. Notwithstanding all his arts, and the hopes he gave them of immediate relief, the citizens relapsing into their fears, came to a resolution of capitulating, and were on the point of sending out messengers to treat of it, when they saw the enemy approach the walls to enter the city by storm. *Guicciardini*, with great presence of mind, told the citizens that they had nothing to do but to fight, for it was now too late to capitulate; for while they were treating, the *French* would storm and plunder their city, and carry them all into captivity. This speech had the desired effect. All thoughts of a capitulation was laid aside. The garrison ran to the walls, and the citizens observing with what ease the assailants were repulsed, bestirred themselves, so that the *French* were obliged to give over their enterprise with considerable loss, and not without some disgrace, as *Guicciardini*, who had conducted the defence, was not a man of the sword, but of the law.

THE duke of *Urbino* taking advantage of the vacancy of the pontificate, accompanied by *Malatesta* and *Oratio Baglioni*, had drawn together a considerable body of disbanded soldiers, who required no other pay than plunder, entered his dukedom; all which he recovered without fighting a stroke, excepting those places which, as we have already mentioned, had been given up by the late pope to the *Florentines*, and was by them garrisoned. Their affections however towards the *Medici* family were much cooled by the death of *Leo*. Many amongst them could not bear that the cardinal, tho' illegitimate, should presume to exercise the same authority over them as the late pope had done; and his government over them had given them no idea of his virtue. But it was dangerous to oppose his authority, and the rather because he affected to be the sole defender of the church's patrimony during the vacancy of the holy see. *Perugia* being threatened by the duke of *Urbino*, he stretched all his credit with the *Florentines*, and at last prevailed upon them to undertake its defence. The truth is, the sacred college was so divided amongst themselves, and the profusion of the late pope had so exhausted the revenues of the holy see, that cardinal *de Medici*

Medici was the only person of great authority in Italy, who seemed, at this time, to have its interest at heart.

THE duke of *Urbino* and his confederates having encamped *Perugia* at a short distance from *Perugia*, made excursions all over *Perugia* ^{left by the} that neighbourhood. The garrison consisted of two thousand foot, and one hundred light horse, under *Guido Vaina*, in the pay of the *Florentines*, five hundred foot in the pay of *Gentile*, who was lord of the place under the pope, and one hundred and twenty men of arms, and one hundred light horse, commanded by *Vitello*. On the fourth day of the new year 1522, the duke of *Urbino*, whose army was now increased to five thousand foot, with a good body of horse, besides several pieces of field artillery lent him by the duke of *Ferrara*, got possession of *San Piero*, one of the suburbs of *Perugia*. He then attempted to take the place by storm; but though his assaults continued in different quarters almost a whole day, he was repulsed with considerable loss. The *Florentines* on this flattered themselves that they should easily be able to defend the place against all the power of the assailants; when *Vitello*, from private motives of his own, gave them notice that he was determined to leave it with all his troops, and did so, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the *Florentine* general to detain him. As *Vitello*, properly speaking, was general of the ecclesiastical troops, the *Florentine* general had no pretext to oppose the return of the two brothers *Baglioni*, whose father had been put to death by the late pope. *Gentile* and the *Florentines* followed the example of *Vitello*, and while they withdrew through one gate, the *Baglioni* went out at the other.

THE cardinals in the conclave were all this time disputing *Adrian* about the choice of a new pope. At first the cardinal *de Medici* had great reason to hope the election would go in his ^{pop} *Adrian* favour, though he was not then fifty years of age; but the revolt of *Perugia*, and the progress of the duke of *Urbino*, damped his hopes, and his great friend cardinal *Petrucci*, who was afraid that *Sienna* would follow the fate of *Perugia*, persuaded him by all means to accelerate the election. This consideration, joined to that of the danger of *Florence* in such an event, determined the cardinal *de Medici*; and he agreed to the election of *Adrian*, cardinal of *Tortosa*, who was a Fleming by birth, and was then lieutenant governor of *Spain* under *Charles*, whose tutor he had been. The new pope received the news of his election in *Spain*, and taking the name of *Adrian* the sixth, he repaired directly to *Italy*.

THE apprehensions of danger to the *Siennese* was not ill founded; for the duke of *Urbino* having likewise reduced *Siennese*,

di, marched directly against Sienna. The Siennese had no dependence but upon the Florentines for their defence, and the cardinal de Medici ordered the regency he had left in Florence to send Vaina, with one hundred light horse and some money, to the assistance of the Siennese. By the help of this money they were enabled to take into their pay one thousand Swiss that were under the bishop of Pistoia, and four hundred German foot. Giovanni de Medici was likewise called out of Lombardy with the troops he commanded. A great party amongst the Siennese opposed the admission of the Florentines into that city; and cardinal Petrucci being absent, a deputation was sent out to treat with the duke of Urbino concerning a surrender. While this treaty was in dependence, the Florentine troops entered Sienna, and the Swiss auxiliaries approached it; so that the duke being in no condition to undertake a regular siege, gave over the enterprise, and returned to his own duchy. Upon his retreat, the college of cardinals solicited the Florentines, and the Swiss who had been hired by Florentine money, to attempt the recovery of Perugia, which they agreed to, and the cardinal of Corzona, who was legate of Perugia, marched with them in person. But the maxims of the papal court were now changed; and the cardinals who had the management at Rome exclaimed against the cardinal de Medici and the Florentines, for disturbing the peace of the ecclesiastical state; because some disorders had been committed by the Florentine troops during their marches and countermarches. When the Florentines arrived before Sienna, they found it strongly garrisoned by the Baglioni; and therefore, under pretence of complying with the will of the cardinals, they turned towards Montefeltro. Here they had no farther object for their arms. The regency of cardinals at Rome had agreed that the duke of Urbino should keep possession of his duchy till the new pope arrived in Italy, provided he did not molest the Florentines, which he was in no condition to do; so that there was a tacit cessation of arms on both sides.

Sforza received as duke of Milan. DURING those transactions in Tuscany, Francesco Sforza, who, in right of blood, was the true duke of Milan, was received into that capital where Colonna commanded; and Lautrec formed the siege of Pavia, which Colonna obliged him to abandon. The Swiss in Lautrec's army demanded their arrears; but he had no money to pay them; upon which they prepared to set out for their own country: but to shew that they were willing to do their duty, they desired to be led to the enemy next day, that they might set out on their return the day after. Lautrec took them at their word,

and led them against the army of the league under *Colonna*, which was posted at *Bicocca*, within strong ditches and entrenchments. The *Swiss* made a most furious attack; but were repulsed with the loss of three thousand men, and *Colonna* declined molesting them in their retreat. Next day *Lautrec* broke up his camp, and marched to *Cremona*, while the *Swiss* in his army returned to their own country. Upon his retreat, the army of the league sacked *Lodi*, and besieged *Cremona*, the city of which was given up by *L'Escut* the governor (his brother *Lautrec* being returned to *France*) who agreed that the *French* should evacuate all the *Milanese*, excepting the castles of *Milan*, *Cremona*, and *Novara*. After those great acquisitions, the army of the league marched, and took and plundered *Genoa* by the assistance of the *Florentine* artillery; so that the *French* were now in a manner expelled out of *Italy*.

CARDINAL *de Medici* was all this while extremely uneasy, *The cardinal* suspecting that the new pope, who was not yet arrived in *Italy*, would strip him of his greatness in *Florence*. He had *Medici* privately excited the *Bentivoglio* family to make a fresh *attempt* to tempt upon *Bologna*, which did not succeed; and endeavoured to create such distractions in the ecclesiastical state, as might make it necessary for the new pope to employ and trust him. The *French* king was sensible how much he had been hurt by the *Florentines* being under the direction of the pope during the late war, and he formed a scheme for setting up the cardinal of *Volterra*, and the *Soderini* family, in opposition to that of *Medici*, and committed the execution of it to *Renzo*, whom we have already mentioned. This design coming to the ears of the cardinal *de Medici*, who understanding that *Renzo* was raising men with the money he had received from the cardinal of *Volterra*, came to an accommodation with the duke of *Urbino*, and brought the *Florentines* to agree that he should command their forces from *September* following for one year certain, and for another eventually. The *Florentines*, at the same time, took into their pay *Oratio Baglioni*, and would have engaged his brother *Malatesta* likewise, both of them being then in the service of the *Venetians*; but the latter declined the engagement, because he had already taken money from *Renzo*. Being unwilling however to exasperate the *Florentines*, he feigned an indisposition, to excuse himself from serving against them in person, and promised to the cardinal *de Medici* that he would enter into *Florentine* pay as soon as he could do it with honour. But *Renzo* by this time was at the head of five hundred horse and seven thousand foot, and made a sudden irruption.

War in the *Siennese*, in hopes of marching to the gates of *Siennese* *Florence*. On this emergency the *Florentines* appointed *Guido Rangone* to the command of their army, which they ordered to march directly to the *Siennese* against *Renzo*. *Rangone*'s instructions were to harass and amuse the enemy as much as possible, and to avail himself of the situation of the country and *Renzo*'s want of artillery; and above all things to cover the fortified towns belonging to the republic. *Renzo*'s first attempt was upon *Chiugi*, where he miscarried for want of artillery; as he did in an attack upon the castle of *Torrita*, which was provided by *Rangone* with a good garrison. He then directed his march to *Sienna* where *Pitigliano* was the *Florentine* governor; but *Rangone*, who had excellent intelligence, leaving his main army to follow him, threw himself into the town with two hundred light horse; so that *Renzo* durst not venture to assault it. He had lost a great deal of his reputation with the most sanguine of his own party; and being now in want of both money and provisions, he drew off from *Sienna* to *Aquapendente*, a town in the pope's dominions, where he thought himself secure from the pursuit of the *Florentines*. His supplies of money from the cardinal of *Volterra*, and that party, now failing him, he plundered the sea-coast of the *Siennese* territory, and assaulted *Orbitello*; but having left the few artillery he had behind him, in his retreat from *Sienna*, he was repulsed. The *Florentine* army was now advanced to the bridge of *Contina*, which divides the *Siennese* from the ecclesiastical territory, and sent a message to the college of cardinals, informing them, that unless *Renzo* was obliged to lay down his arms, they would enter the dominions of the church. The college upon this interposed, to the great satisfaction of both parties, who gave security that neither should molest the other, and agreed to refer all differences between them to the pope upon his arrival in *Italy*.

Malatesta *THE* *cardinal de Medici* continued all this time to labour *seizes* *Ri-* for the tranquillity of the ecclesiastical dominions; but *Pandolfo Malatesta*, the representative of the ancient lords of *Rimini*, seized that city. The cardinal was deputed by the college to go to *Bologna* as legate, and if he could not recover *Rimini* in the way of negotiation, he was promised that the marquis of *Mantua*, as general of the pope's dominions, should support them with an army. This commission however was imposed upon the cardinal by his enemies, for no part of those promises was fulfilled; and the affairs of the ecclesiastical state, notwithstanding all his zeal, remained in as great disorder as ever.

A new convention was then proposed to be entered into by *Progress* the parties in the holy league for maintaining the tranquillity of the *imperial army in Italy*, which was again threatened by the *French* king, *perialists* now at peace, and powerful within his own dominions. The *imperial army in the Milanese* had no money, and its *generals* were unable to procure any subsistence for it in that exhausted country; and therefore, without any ceremony, they quartered them in the ecclesiastical state; but money being still wanting, don *Carlos de Lanajo*, the vice-roy of *Naples*, settled the quotas of a contribution that was to be advanced by the states of *Tuscany* for their maintenance; of which the *Florentines* were to pay fifteen thousand ducats, the *Gencese* eight thousand, *Sienna* five thousand, and *Lucca* four thousand. Though those exactions were little better than robberies; yet such was their dread of the imperial power, now greatly increased by the accession of the new pope who arrived in *Rome* the twenty-ninth of *August*, that none durst refuse to pay it. The imperial interest was now every where prevalent in *Italy*. *Henry VIII.* king of *England* was in his interest; and not only lent him money, but threatened to declare war against *Francis* if he did not agree to a truce with *Charles* for three years, in which the dominions of the church, *Sforza* duke of *Milan*, and the *Florentines*, should be comprehended. *Francis* looking upon this proposal as a renunciation of his right to the duchy of *Milan*, rejected it, and made preparations for a fresh descent into *Italy*.

THE system adopted by the new pope was to unite all the *states of Italy*, especially the *Florentines*, in one common *the pope*. cause against the *French*; and the emperor had the same views. The *Florentines* complained that *Charles* had not, according to his promise to pope *Leo*, given in writing soon after his election, confirmed to them their privileges and possessions. But *Giovanni Manuel*, ambassador from *Charles* at *Rome*, to make them easy on that head, promised that his master should punctually fulfill his engagements; which he accordingly did the month following.

IN the beginning of the year 1523, *Malatesta*, through the interposition of the duke of *Urbino*, restored *Rimini* to the *Rimini* holy see; and his holiness, in consideration of his former services to pope *Julius*, not only absolved him from all ecclesiastical censures, but confirmed him in his possession of the *duchy of Urbino*, but with a saving clause to the claim which the *Florentines* had upon *Montefeltro*; for which they said they had lent pope *Leo* three hundred and fifty thousand ducats, besides sixty thousand they had expended since his *death*, 1523. recovered by the pope.

death, in defence of the church's patrimony. To leave no power in *Italy* disaffected, his holiness in like manner re-invested the duke of *Ferrara*, not only in all the estates he held before his variance with *Leo*, but in the castles of *San Felice* and *Finale*, and even gave him hopes of restoring to him *Modena* and *Reggio*. The duke, on his part, promised an entire submission to the holy see, and to assist in its preservation with a certain number of troops. About this time

Milan surrenders to the imperialists. the castle of *Milan* surrendered to the imperialists ; and *Charles*, who valued himself greatly upon his good faith, gave the investiture of it to *Sforza*. It was no surprize to the world, that pope *Adrian*, notwithstanding his professions of peace and disinterestedness, assisted a pupil who had placed him on the pontifical throne. He laboured with indefatigable pains to detach the *Venetians* from the interests of *France*, and to bring them to act offensively in favour of *Charles*. For this purpose *Carracciolo*, the apostolical protonotary, was sent with full powers from *Charles* to negotiate at *Venice*. In this he found great difficulty, as *Francis* gave the *Venetians* the strongest assurances that he was making preparations again to march with a powerful army into *Italy*, while the imperial party pretended that he had no such intention.

Cardinal Medici recovers his credit at Rome, THE fate of *Italy*, at this time, depended, in a great measure, on the part that the *Florentines* were to act. The politic cardinal *de Medici*'s capital enemy, *Sederini* cardinal of *Volterra*, was the greatest favourite the pope had, and *de Medici* knew himself obnoxious to all parties, on account of the double dealing measures of *Leo*'s pontificate. He therefore seemed to abandon, now that the papal chair was filled, all thoughts of public business, and retired to *Florence*, where his power and influence were unlimited. His gentle manners, his forgiving disposition, his liberality, and above all, the many good offices which his situation had enabled him to do for the *Florentines*, had won their affections ; and in the dearth of money, with which both the *French* and imperialists in *Italy* were afflicted, the friendship of *Florence* was of the utmost consequence ; because they were then incomparably the richest people in *Italy* in ready money, though perhaps not the most powerful. The proposed treaty between *Charles* and the *Venetians* produced great debates in the *Venetian* senate ; but as it was now known that the cardinal *de Medici* and the *Florentines* were devoted to the pope, the imperial party prevailed ; and the *Venetians* obliged themselves, by treaty, to send six hundred men at arms, six hundred light horse, and six thousand foot, to the defence of *Milan* if attacked,

tacked, and as many to that of *Naples*; *Charles* on his part engaging to guaranty, with a like force, all the *Venetian* possessions in *Italy*. Upon the conclusion of this treaty, the *Venetians* made the duke of *Urbino* their general.

As the réputation of cardinal *de Medici* and the *Florentines* to which had contributed greatly to this new treaty, the cardinal *ven-* *be repairs.*
tured to repair to *Rome*, where he was received with the greatest marks of respect. He soon got the better of the cardinal of *Volterra*, who was a hot man, and an enthusiast for the *French* interests; for he discovered to the pope a correspondence held between *Volterra* and the *French* court; in which the former pressed *Francis* to invade *Sicily*, as the surest means of succeeding in the *Milanese*. The pope, amazed at this discovery, at the earnest request of the duke of *Seffa* and the cardinal *de Medici*, sent *Volterra* prisoner to the castle of *St. Angelo*, and ordered him to be prosecuted for high treason, as *Sicily* was a fief of the church. This discovery rivetted the cardinal *de Medici* in the pope's affections; and he now resolved openly to declare himself against *Francis*. On the third of *August*, a league was signed between the pope, the emperor, the king of *England*, the archduke of *Austria*, the duke of *Milan*, the cardinal *de Medici* and the *Florentine* state in conjunction, and the *Genoese*. By this league, it was stipulated, that an army should be raised for the defence of any of the confederates who should be attacked in *Italy*; that this army should be composed of two hundred men at arms furnished by the pope, eight hundred by *Charles*, two hundred by the *Florentines*, and two hundred, with as many light horse, by the duke of *Milan*. The pope, *Charles*, and the duke, were to provide artillery and ammunition at their own expences. The pope, the *Florentines*, and the duke, were each to pay twenty thousand ducats a month towards the war, the emperor thirty thousand, and the states of *Genoa*, *Sienna*, and *Lucca*, ten thousand amongst them, the two latter being admitted into the league. The marquis of *Mantua* was not directly made a party in this treaty, because he received pay from the pope and the *Florentines* as their general.

DEFEATS, disgraces, disappointments, and the lately *The French* concluded treaties; seemed only to render the *French* king *French* the more bent upon invading *Italy*, and to quicken his *king pre-* preparations. Though a brave, open, good natured prince, *pares to* he had, at the instigation of his mother, been guilty of the *invade* most flagrant injustice to the duke of *Bourbon*, his near re- *Italy*. lation, and the greatest, as well as the most deserving of his subjects; for he had encouraged a law-process to vest her with

with his estate; and he, in other respects, had treated the duke with great neglect and contempt. The spirit of the duke, who was then great constable of *France*, and the most popular man in that kingdom, could not bear all this; and he secretly linked himself with the emperor, and the king of *England*, upon terms foreign to this history. *Francis* did not discover this conspiracy, which went even so far as to strip him of his crown, and to make the duke king of *Provence*, till he had begun his march for *Italy*; and then it was too late, for the duke escaped in disguise to *Franche Comté*. The discovery altered the resolution of *Francis* of going to *Italy* in person, and he committed the care of the expedition to the admiral *Bonivette*, a man unequal to such a charge. *Bonivette* carried with him eighteen hundred lances, six thousand *Swiss*, two thousand *Gascons*, two thousand *Valeffe*, six thousand *Germans*, twelve thousand *French*, and three thousand *Italians*. He surprized *Novera* and *Vigevano*, and took the *Milanese* unprovided, the allies not imagining, that, after the two treaties that had been concluded, and the discovery of the duke of *Bourbon*'s rebellion, *Francis* would have proceeded in his expedition; add to this, that *Colonna*, their commander in chief in the *Milanese*, laboured under an indisposition. He had flattered himself with being able to prevent the *French* from passing the *Tessino*, but they passed it at *Vigevano*, and he was obliged to retreat towards *Milan*, after sending *Antonio de Leva*, with one hundred men at arms, and three thousand foot to defend *Pavia*. The fortifications of *Milan* were so out of repair, that they could not be defended, had the *French* immediately marched to that capital; but after trifling away some days, which gave the allies time to repair the works, they marched to *San Cristoforo*, within a mile of *Milan*, and then to *Chiavavalle*, proposing to lay a regular siege to *Milan*, which was garrisoned by eight hundred men at arms, eight hundred light horse, four thousand Spanish foot, six thousand five hundred *Germans*, and three thousand *Italians*.

DURING this state of the war, the confederates received a shock by the death of pope *Adrian*, its author and support. While the holy see was vacant, very little discipline was observed amongst the confederates; and at this time *Guicciardini* (if we are to believe his own history) did great service to the confederates. The duke of *Ferrara*, who had been deceived by *Adrian*, attempted to recover *Modena* and *Reggio*, of which *Guicciardini* continued governor. For this purpose, he joined *Renzo*, who had with him two thousand foot, and two hundred horse; and advanced against *Modena*, which

which was but poorly provided for a defence. All *Guicciardini*'s eloquence could scarcely persuade the citizens of *Modena*, though they hated the family of *Este*, of which the duke of *Ferrara* was the head, that they ought to defend themselves at their own expences; but at last he succeeded so well, that they raised some money, which paid the *Spanish* garrison; and the duke despairing of succeeding against *Modena*, marched against *Reggio*; which, with its castle, was surrendered to him; as was *Rubiera*, though a place of great strength, and well provided for a defence.

ABOUT one thousand of the *Florentine* troops, under the *marquis of Mantua*, was at this time quartered at *Lodi*; but *French Bonivette* sending the famous chevalier *Bayard*, and *Bozzolo* defeated in against him, with eight thousand foot, and eight hundred *Lombard*-men at arms, the marquis, fearing he might be obliged to ^{dy}, surrender prisoner of war, retired to *Ponte Vico*; upon which the *French* entered *Lodi*. The other operations of the war at this time consisted of skirmishes, surprisals, marches, and counter-marches, of no consequence to history. The vice-roy of *Naples* had been, by the interest of the cardinal *De Medici*, named to the chief command of the confederate troops in *Lombardy*. *Colonna*, not brooking this preference, resolved to exert himself, and if possible to make the period of his life and his command the same, in which he succeeded. He earnestly endeavoured to procure the interest of a *Florentine* regiment of men at arms under *Vitelli*, which had done great services against the *French* at *Genoa*; but the doge declared he could not part with them, without endangering the imperial interest there. The *French* were all this while losing vast numbers of men before *Milan*; and, through the over caution of their general, they were become even despicable to their enemies. The vacancy of the popedom still continuing, *Colonna*, who, like the other *Roman* barons, hated the power of the popes, tempted the duke of *Ferrara* to join him, by offering to order the *Spanish* foot to quit *Modena*, and to put it into the duke's hands; *Colonna* consented, but *Guicciardini* coming to the knowledge of the negotiation, persuaded the garrison not to obey *Colonna*'s orders, by which the place was saved to the holy see.

THE *French* army all this time made no progress against *Milan*; and though strongly encamped, the season was so ^{and pro-} severe, that they proposed a truce. *Pagolo Vittori*, the *Flo*-truce. *Florentine* commissary, was employed in the negotiation, and would gladly have agreed to the proposal; but the *German* officers, who knew the straits to which the *French* were reduced, rejected it; upon which the admiral broke up his camp,

camp, and retired towards the *Tessino*. Both the garrison and the inhabitants of *Milan* called out to *Colonna* for a pursuit; but he boasting, that he had reduced the art of war to a regular intellectual system, which admitted leaving nothing to fortune, repressed their ardour, and would not suffer a man to leave the city; by which it is probable he lost the opportunity of ruining the *French* army. Notwithstanding this omission, it is certain he did wonders in his command, by obliging so great an army to retire with so much ignominy, and by the provident dispositions he made all over the *Milanese*, where he secured every place and pass of importance, and, without risking any thing, left his enemies to perish, which they did in vast numbers, by the diseases contracted through the unwholesomeness of their encampments, and the inclemency of the season.

Cardinal Medici chosen pope.

THE election of a new pope had now taken up fifty days. *Cardinal De Medici* had secured to himself a considerable majority of the thirty nine cardinals, who were shut up in the conclave; but the opposition he met with from all the *French*, and even some of the imperial party, prevented his being able to bring over two-thirds of the number, which alone can make the election valid. It was evident to the cardinals that none could be chosen if he opposed him; so that it was in his power to protract the election as long as he pleased; and it was plain, at the same time, he was determined to carry it in his own person. The cardinals in the opposition could not agree in the nomination of a competitor against him; and at last, partly by his insinuating, placable address, and partly by offering, if chosen, to divide all his ecclesiastical preferments, which were very rich and numerous, amongst the members of the college, he was unanimously chosen pope.

His character.

HE took the name of *Clement VII.* and no pope ever mounted the pontifical throne with greater advantages than he did, not only on account of the vast personal reputation he had acquired, but because he was considered as being, in a manner, the sovereign of the *Florentine* state. The character of abstemiousness, perseverance, and application to business, he had acquired, daunted all the adversaries of the holy see; resettled the affairs of the *Romagna*, and obliged even the duke of *Ferrara* to give over his design upon *Modena*, and to retire in quiet to his capital. The war in *Lombardy*, however, still raged; but *Colonna*, by his foresight, baffled the *French* in all their attempts. That great man now drew near the end of his life. Perceiving that his disease, which had hung about him for eight months, endangered his faculties, he

was

was for some weeks before his death as desirous of the arrival of his successor, the viceroy, as he had been averse to it before. He was on his death-bed when the viceroy arrived; but the latter was so struck with admiration at *Prospéro*'s conduct, that he refused to enter *Milan*, or to supersede him in his command. At last, hearing that *Colonna* was in his last moments, unwilling that so great a man should die before he had the satisfaction of seeing him, he paid him a visit, and received his parting breath. What is remarkable of this great man is, that he fell a sacrifice to the consequences of gratifying a violent passion he had for madam *Chiara*, one of the finest women of that age.

IN the beginning of the year 1524, the confederates held a general meeting at *Milan*, to concert the operations of the General subsequent campaign, and the means of defraying its meeting of charges. They were provided of every thing to render it the confederates. successful, but money. Their troops had been long without pay; and it was necessary to raise the funds for the new levies that were making in *Germany*. Notwithstanding all the French had suffered, their king was so sanguine upon the Italian expedition, that he had furnished *Bonivette* with troops, that rendered him an over-match for the confederates. The pope, dreading the consequences of a French victory, privately lent *Charles* thirty thousand ducats, and obliged the *Florentines* to lend him thirty thousand more, in full of all demands, on account of the confederacy they had entered into in *Adrian*'s time.

NOTWITHSTANDING this mark of affection to *Charles*, it is certain that the moment *Clement* mounted the pontifical throne, he changed the whole system of conduct he had professed before. He saw that if *Charles*, who never had yet given the investiture of *Milan* to *Sforza*, was victorious in *Lombardy*, he would give law to *Italy*; and therefore his scheme was to ballance parties, so as to counterpoize one another. He therefore all of a sudden began to recommend peace and moderation to both; and affected the utmost impartiality. *Charles* was disgusted at so strange an alteration of behaviour. He ordered his ministers at *Rome* to remind the pope of all the obligations he had conferred on him, and particularly in the affair of his election; but above all, that it was by his counsel, which directed *Leo* in every thing, that he had entered into war with the French. *Clement* did not deny the charge; but frankly owned, that a pope, the common father of *Christendom*, was not to be directed by the conduct of a cardinal; and that pope *Clement* was a different person from *Julio de Medici*.

Superiority of the confederates in Lombardy.

THE confederates all this time acted with a manifest superiority in the *Milanese*, where *Giovanni de Medici* acquired great reputation by his valour and conduct. The marquis of *Pescara*, who, with all the prudence and foresight of *Colonna*, was enterprizing and resolute, was now the acting general of the confederates. The disposition of the two armies was such, that the *French* hoped the confederates would disperse for want of money; and the confederates, that the *French* must decamp for want of provisions. The castle of *Cremona*, after enduring a severe siege, now surrendered to the imperialists; who then passed the *Tessino*, in hopes of intercepting the *French* convoys. This obliged *Bonivette* to decamp, and move with his army, many of whom had deserted to *Novara*, to favour his junction with 8 or 10,000 *Swiss*, who were on their march to assist him. While he was upon this march, he encountered great inconveniences; and his whole army must have been cut in pieces, if the confederate generals could have agreed on the manner of attack; but each differed from another, and all of them hated *Pescara* much, that no measure he proposed was agreed to. The advantage, however, that presented against the enemy in their retreat to *Ravisimo* was so manifest, that the soldiers of their own accord ran to their arms, and pursued them, so that they left seven pieces of cannon in the hands of the imperialists. Next day the pursuit was renewed; and the marquis of *Pescara* coming up with a few troops, the *French* loss was considerable, especially in officers; among whom was the chevalier *Bayard*, who is said to have been one of the best and bravest men that *France* ever produced. Upon the whole, the *French* were entirely driven out of the *Milanese*.

The emperor mis-carries before Marseilles.

THE main body of the *French* army, notwithstanding all the losses it had sustained, was yet entire; and though *Charles* endeavoured, by invasions and expeditions into *France*, to divert the war from the *Milanese*; yet he was very unsuccessful in those expedients; and lost before *Marseilles*, which he in vain endeavoured to take, so many men, and so much reputation; that the disappointment threw him into a disorder which threatened mortal consequences. The *French* and their king were proportionably elated; and *Francis* declared his fixed resolution to march in person into the *Milanese*. The army of *Charles* had been greatly reduced by his late attempts in *France*, and that of *Francis* was stronger than ever. His resolution being publickly known, the pope endeavoured to dissuade him from it, and to mediate a peace. With this view he employed the archbishop of *Capua* to treat first with *Francis*, and then with *Charles*. *Francis* would not suffer

suffer the archbishop to proceed in his negotiation, and recommended him to the care of his mother, who, till his return, was to reside at *Avignon*.

THE great question now between the *French* and the imperialists was, which army should arrive soonest in *Lombardy*. Both arrived, by different routs, almost at the same time. *invade* The imperialists holding a council of war at *Pavia*, it was *the* *Milan*-resolved that they should leave a strong garrison in that city, *nef*, and under *Antonio de Leva*, consisting of three hundred men *at take* *Mi-*arms, and five thousand *German* foot, and that they should *lau-* again make a stand at *Milan*. But when *Morone*, to whose care the preparations at *Milan* was committed, arrived at that city, he found that the plague was raging in it, and had destroyed thirty thousand of the inhabitants, and it was easy to see the consequence, if an army should enter an infected city. *Morone* advised the inhabitants to submit to the *French*; and after providing for the safety of the citadel, he returned to *Pavia*, upon which a *French* garrison entered *Milan*, where none of the inhabitants were molested.

FRANCIS was more elated than he ought to have been, by getting possession of *Milan*, and marched thence to *Pavia*. His army, including the garrison of *Milan*, amounted to twenty-four thousand foot, and two thousand men at arms, but was every hour increasing. The marquis of *Pavia*, who was then at *Lodi*, was overjoyed at hearing that *Francis* was gone to *Pavia*, and foretold the consequences that after happened. The imperialists, however, had still greater difficulties to encounter. *Charles* was so straitened for money, that he gave orders for mortgaging the revenues of his kingdom of *Naples*. Neither the pope nor the *Florentines* could be brought to advance him any, and his holiness declined to renew the engagements that had been entered into by his predecessor; thus, in fact, the whole burden of the war rested on *Charles*, for the *Venetians*, intimidated by the *French*, refused to be farther concerned in it.

THE siege of *Pavia* was now formed by *Francis*, but in *Francis* so ineffectual a manner, that the imperial generals were in no *besieges* pain about the consequences. The pope renewed his *endeavours* for peace, and dispatched the bishop of *Verona*, in *shew*, to mediate between the two parties, but, in reality, to execute a secret commission with *Charles*. He found them equally contumacious. The imperialists would hear of no negotiation while the *French* king possessed a foot of ground in *Italy*; and *Francis* frankly owned to the bishop, that his intention was, after he had reduced the *Milanese*, to prosecute his rights upon *Naples*, by invading that kingdom. The bishop

then proceeded to his main business, which met with no difficulty. The pope promised to give no assistance, directly, nor indirectly, to the king's enemies, and undertook the same on the part of the *Florentines*. The king, on the other hand, by an instrument signed by himself, (in which the superiority of the *Medici* family, over *Florence*, is expressly acknowledged) took both the pope and the *Florentines* into his protection, and it was agreed that this convention should not come to light, unless his holiness thought proper. *Clement*, by this measure, imagined, that he would gain so much upon *Francis* as to persuade him to lay aside all thoughts of invading *Naples*, but he was deceived. For it was no sooner concluded, than he ordered the duke of *Albany*, the first prince of the blood of *Scotland*, to march to *Naples*, at the head of a considerable army, which was to be reinforced in the *Romagna* with four thousand men, raised by *Renzo de Cesi*; and, at the same time, he notified his intention to his holiness by the count of *Carpi*, his ambassador at *Rome*, who likewise was charged to demand leave from his holiness to levy men in the ecclesiastical, and *Florentine*, dominions. This demand greatly embarrassed the pope, who laid before *Francis* many reasons for laying aside his *Neapolitan* expedition; but all would have been to no purpose, if some reinforcements that arrived at the imperial camp, had not rendered it expedient for *Francis* to recall the duke of *Albany*, and the troops under his command.

The pope and Florentines courted by Charles. *CHARLES*, though his affairs had a promising aspect in *Lombardy*, was now under great difficulties. His resources for money had failed him, not only in *Italy*, but from the king of *England*, who began even to demand the money that was due to him. The source of all the emperor's difficulties lying in the pope and at *Florence*, *Charles* offered *Clement* almost any terms he could demand; but his holiness insisted upon peace in *Italy*, or a neutrality to himself, which *Charles* declared was not in his power to grant him. The *Spaniards* and *Germans* in *Lombardy*, by the good management of the marquis of *Pescara*, though not paid, served *Charles* with wonderful fidelity, and *Francis* made but little progress in the siege of *Pavia*. A new body of *Swiss* and *Grisons* joining *Francis*, the duke of *Albany* was again dispatched upon the *Neapolitan* expedition, and the pope thought that a proper time for renewing his endeavours for peace. He sent *Vettori*, the commander of his galleys, to the vice-roy of *Naples*, to shew him that it was not in his power to stop the duke of *Albany*'s march; and that *Naples* being in the utmost danger, he could not do better than to consent

and
threatens
Naples.

to a cessation of arms. He added, that a definitive peace might be concluded, by putting *Milan*, in the mean while, into neutral hands ; and by the emperor, for a sum of money, giving the investiture of that duchy to a second son of *France*, which would prevent it from ever being united to that crown. *Clement* likewise promised, that the dukes of *Milan* and *Bourbon* should be honourably provided for ; and that he himself, the *Florentines*, and the *Venetians*, should guarantee the performance of the articles to the emperor.

THE viceroy, and the other imperial generals, seeing under what disadvantages they made war in *Lombardy*, and that of them all their hopes of being supplied by the *Florentines* with *quis of* money were now damped, were willing to agree to this proposal, and to draw off their army to the defence of *Naples* ; had not the marquis of *Pescara* opposed the proposal with so much firmness and strength of reasoning, as determined the viceroy to reject all the pope's overtures, and to remain in *Lombardy*. This resolution served the pope as a pretext to excuse his granting the duke of *Albany* a passage through his dominions ; and he addressed a brief on that head to *Charles*, who received it from *Giovanni Corsi*, the *Florentine* ambassador at his court. *Charles*, on reading it, lost his usual moderation, and bitterly upbraided the pope for his treachery and ingratitude. The *Florentine* put *Charles* in mind, that his holiness, since his exaltation, had been the constant friend of pacific measures, and that all his counsels had been disregarded, to the great prejudice of *Charles* himself.

THE want of money amongst the imperialists in *Lombardy* continued to distress their affairs. The duke of *Ferrara* put himself under the protection of *Francis* ; and the imperialists viceroy complained that the pope infringed his neutrality by *against the* furnishing the *French* with waggons and carriages. *Giovanni pope de Medici* at the same time quarrelled with the viceroy, and entered the *French* service, while the duke of *Albany*'s motions towards *Naples* were so slow as to raise a belief, that the true intention of *Francis* was to frighten the imperialists into a cessation of arms.

IT was the beginning of the year 1525, before the duke of *Albany*, who had been joined in his march by *Renzo* with *Progress of* three thousand men, arrived at *Lucca* ; and the *Luquesi* being the duke of parties in the league against *Francis*, he forced them to pay *Albany* him twelve thousand ducats. He then proceeded through the dominions of *Florence*, where he was treated with the highest respect, and proceeded to *Sienna*. The pope now began to be afraid that *Francis* was in earnest as to his attempt upon *Naples*. He had in vain tried every art to retard the duke of *Albany*'s march ; but, upon his arrival at *Sienna*,

his holiness entreated him to stop, that he might, by his authority, settle some differences between the *Petrucci* family and the council of *Nice*, in that city, the duke having been conversant in affairs of government. The pope, in paying this compliment to the duke, had a farther view than that of stopping his march; for, in fact, the *Siennese*, intimidated by the neighbourhood of the *French* army, made his holiness a present of their liberties, by transferring the power of their magistracy into the hands of his friends.

The imperial army in Lombardy reinforced.

THE duke of *Bourbon* arrived with a new reinforcement to the imperial army in *Lombardy*, of five hundred horse and six thousand foot, just at the time when the garrison began to be distressed for want of money and ammunition. The viceroy, however, and the imperial officers, conveyed some money by stratagem to the besieged, which contained them within the bounds of their duty; and the admirable address of the marquis of *Pescara*, prevailed with the troops, under the viceroy's and his command, to wait a month for their pay. This forbearance, and the arrival of the duke of *Bourbon*, determined the imperial generals, at all events, either to raise the siege, or to force *Francis* to a battle. They were the more encouraged to this, as they knew that the *French* king was greatly imposed upon in his musters, and that he paid for one third more effective men than he really had in his army. Upon the first motions of the allies, *Francis* called a council of war, in which the most experienced of his officers gave it as their opinion, that he should raise the siege of *Pavia*, and remove to a ground (many such being in the neighbourhood) where he could not be attacked with any probability of success. This advice was the most prudent, because it was certain, that the imperial army could not have subsisted many days in a body for want of money and necessaries, and that all the marquis of *Pescara*'s dependence was upon an immediate and a decisive engagement. But, though this counsel was backed by the pope's ambassador, who well knew the straits of the imperial army, it was rejected by *Francis*, who thought that his raising the siege would reflect upon his honour, and called to remembrance some idle words that were frequently in his mouth, that he would lose his life rather than raise the siege of *Pavia*. He, however, changed the disposition of his army, so as to render the approaches of the enemy more dangerous; but, in the mean while, he suffered the enemy to take possession of the most important posts in the neighbourhood. All the motions of the imperial army were conducted by the sagacity and intrepidity of the marquis of *Pescara*, who led the imperialists

imperialists, by regular degrees, from one post of danger to another, till they came within cannon-shot of the *French* army, which lay within intrenchments. Some days passed in skirmishing and cannonading each other, and in each waiting for a favourable moment to begin the attack. At last, on the 25th of February, necessity obliged the marquis of *Pescara* to move towards *Mirabello*, where a strong post of the *French* was. This induced the king to march out of his intrenchments, as thinking that the enemy designed to relieve the town by forcing that post. *Francis* had some days before sustained an irreparable loss by a wound which *Giovanni de Medici*, the most promising young general of that age, received in the heel, and which obliged him to be carried to *Piacenza*. This accident wonderfully dispirited the *French* troops, who had but a mean opinion of their own generals and officers; so that when the imperialists advanced within the park of *Mirabello*, all was confusion and disorder in the *French* army; especially amongst the cavalry, which moving irregularly to the right and left, exposed the division commanded by the king to the best battalions of the imperialists, led on by the marquis of *Pescara* himself. *Francis* made a noble resistance, and behaved so bravely in his own person, that the marquis was repulsed, and obliged to call the viceroy and the *German* foot to his assistance; the battle was now renewed; the behaviour of the *Swiss* in the *French* pay that day, in no degree answered their reputation; they were routed and cut in pieces by the *German* foot; and *Francis*, who disdained to fly, was, with a handful of his nobility and officers, surrounded by the victorious army. He continued fighting with the most undaunted resolution, endeavouring to rally his troops, and to stop the progress of the enemy; but, at last, being ^{the} *French* king is wounded in the face and hand, and brought to the ground ^{taken pri-} by his horse being killed, he was made ^{soner} prisoner, by the only *French* officer who had followed the duke of *Bourbon* to *Italy*. He did not know the king, who seeing the viceroy near him, discovered himself; and the viceroy most respectfully kissing his hand, received him prisoner in the name of the emperor. By this time the rout of the *French* army was completed. The marquis *De Guasto* had defeated the *French* horse that had been posted at *Mirabello*; and *Leva*, who had so gallantly defended *Pavia*, made a most furious sally with his garrison, which completed the ruin of the *French* army. About eight thousand of the *French* were

killed, and most of the rest were taken and plundered, not to mention the vast loss which the French sustained in their nobility; the flower of whom were, that day, either killed or taken prisoners. The loss of the imperialists was about eight hundred men. As soon as the news of this defeat reached *Milan*, *Trivulzi*, the French governor there, and his garrison abandoned that city; and thus the *Milanese* was once more cleared of French troops.

Inactivity of Charles.

It is to this day unaccountable, that *Charles* did not make greater advantages than he did of his victory at *Pavia*, as he certainly now had it in his power to have marched into the heart of *France*, and to have made good all the imperial claims in *Italy*, which would have amounted to little less than a sovereignty over the whole. But *Charles* was then intent on settling the government of *Spain*, and was not much subject to resentments of any kind, though he certainly had no reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the pope, the *Florentines*, or the *Venetians*, who had all of them, for no very justifiable reasons, forfeited their engagements with him.

Danger of Florence.

The danger of *Florence* gave the pope more concern than that of the ecclesiastical state, because he considered the *Florentines* as the subjects of his family. While he remained connected with prosperous allies, the *Florentines* appeared perfectly resigned to his will. But having, for some time past, been considered in *Italy*, and all over *Europe*, as a partisan of *France*, the secret enemies of his family in *Florence*, who were numerous and powerful, began to put their countrymen in mind of those days of liberty they enjoyed during the eighteen years expulsion of the *Medici* family. It appeared by letters and papers found in the French king's cabinet, taken at the battle of *Pavia*, that the pope had been the main instrument of bringing the *Venetians* off from the imperial interest; and that, in short, he was the secret spring of all the hardships they had lain under before the battle of *Pavia*. Weighed down by reflections on those discoveries, and on his own conduct, he set about drawing up a kind of an apology for himself, the matter of which was to be digested in the form of briefs, and sent to the imperial and other courts. In those briefs he pleaded necessity for all that he had seemingly done against the imperial interest, and mentioned the vast obligations that the emperor and the house of *Austria* lay under to himself, and, by his means, to his two immediate predecessors. He complained of the reservedness of the imperial generals, and put the emperor in mind, that a body of ecclesiastical and foreign soldiers were

were in his service in the battle of *Pavia*; and he magnified the service he had done to the emperor, by artfully amusing the duke of *Albany*, so long about the *Siennese* affair, that he thereby saved the kingdom of *Naples*.

THE *Venetian* senate, on this occasion, preserved a wonderful serenity. Instead of desponding, like the pope, they *of the Venetians* represented to him, that, if he was disposed to act with spirit netians. and courage, and to join with them, they might yet save *Italy* from the imperial yoke. Nothing was more practicable, than for his holiness to persuade the *Swiss* cantons to lend him a body of ten thousand men, for which the *Venetians* were willing to bear their proportion of the expence; and the *Florentines* were rich enough to raise another body of *Italian* foot; and there was little doubt to be made of their being joined by the army under the duke of *Albany*, which had not yet marched beyond the limits of the ecclesiastical state; and, that the duke of *Ferrara*, who had a great deal of money, with a strong fortified and well provided capital, would likewise join them. The substance of this proposal had, before the battle of *Pavia*, been laid before his holiness *by the Venetians*, as a proper measure, which soever side got the victory. But it was then neglected; he adopted it, however, in the present desperate state of his affairs; and was on the point of signing a convention on that head, when the archbishop of *Capua* arrived at his court.

THIS prelate had been long employed in *Clement's* affair, and he no sooner heard of the battle of *Pavia*, than he paid a visit to the viceroy of *Naples*. The gaining the battle of *Pavia* was so far from removing the difficulties the imperial generals were under before it was fought, that it increased them. The soldiers became licentious through the booty ^{The pope amused by} they had acquired, and were as clamorous as ever for their ^{the vice-} pay, which their officers could not advance them. *Lanoya, roy*, the viceroy of *Naples*, therefore, in hopes of drawing money from the pope, appeared well disposed to enter upon an accommodation with him, and gave the archbishop of *Capua* a commission for that purpose. To enforce the negotiation, however, he drew down troops to the frontiers of the ecclesiastical state, into which he threatened to penetrate, to find out the duke of *Albany*, and his master's other enemies there. Before the arrival of the archbishop of *Capua*, the pope had sent a minister to dispose the king of *England* to join in depraving the power of *Charles*. But *Clement*, who was naturally indolent, and averse to violent measures, no sooner heard the report of the archbishop of *Capua*, than he chose the way of negotiation. He recalled his minister, who was

on his road to *England*; he prevailed with the duke of *Albany* to dismiss his *Italian* soldiers, and he brought about a cessation of arms between the *French* and imperial parties that were in and about *Rome*.

WHEN the negotiation opened, the viceroy insisted upon the *Venetians*, and all the other parties in the holy league formed under *Adrian*, paying up all their arrears and deficiencies in money, which the *Venetians* refused to do. As it was plain that the viceroy had set this negotiation on foot, only to get some ready money, the *Florentines*, rather than that it should prove abortive, supplied the marquis of *Pescara* with twenty-five thousand ducats; but took care to obtain under *Gatinara's*, the imperial plenipotentiary's, hand, an acknowledgment that this sum was to be reckoned as part of a greater to be settled by the new convention. In the mean while, the duke of *Albany*, with *Renzo de Cesi*, embarked the remainder of his troops for *France*, with the consent of the viceroy.

A convention concluded. THE obstinacy of the *Venetians*, in refusing to pay the money demanded by the viceroy, was of service to the pope, because it convinced the imperial generals, that there was no underhand dealing between them; so that, at last, on the first of *April*, a convention was concluded between the pope and the *Florentines* on one side, and *Gatinara* as plenipotentiary for *Charles*, or rather for the viceroy of *Naples*, on the other, the *Venetians* being excluded. By this convention, the contracting parties guaranteed, with a certain number of troops, the possession of the duchy of *Milan*

The terms. to *Francesco Sforza*. The emperor took under his protection the ecclesiastical dominions, and the state of *Florence*, specifying the house of *Medici*, and its power, in that city. *Charles* was to be paid, in ready money, a hundred thousand ducats, by way of arrears, to recall his troops from the ecclesiastical state, and to suffer no others to be quartered there without consent of his holiness. Twenty days were left for the *Venetians* to accede to the treaty; and the hundred thousand ducats were to be repaid, if *Charles* did not ratify the treaty, in five months. By one of the separate articles it was provided, that the duke of *Ferrara* should restore to the church *Reggio* and *Rubiera*, and all the places he had taken from it during the late vacancy of the holy see; in consideration of which, the pope was to pay another hundred thousand ducats to *Charles*. The last article was clogged with a condition, that examination should be made, whether those places were fiefs of the empire, in which case the pope was to hold them as such. *Paulus Jovius*, in his life of the

marquis

marquis of *Pescara*, [✓] very justly blames this last article as infamous on the part of the viceroy, who had received money from the duke of *Ferrara*, on condition that those places should not be restored to the pope.

HAD it been possible for the *Swiss* to have arrived, and *Progress of the imperialists in Italy*, this treaty *realists*. the other levies to have been made time enough to have opposed the progress of the imperialists in *Italy*, this treaty *realists*. might have been considered as disgraceful; but, as matters were situated, the wiser part of mankind thought it prudent; because, though the imperial generals were greatly distressed for want of money, they might still have prevailed upon their troops to take the field, by promising them the plunder of rich ecclesiastical, or *Florentine*, towns and churches. Both parties seemed to be equally satisfied, and the pope obtained leave to send his compliment of condolence by the bishop of *Pistoia*, to *Francis*. The viceroy next proceeded upon his main, and, indeed, his sole business, which was to raise money. He gave, the *Lucquese* his master's protection for ten thousand ducats; and he exacted fifteen thousand from the *Siennese*, whose situation was somewhat particular. Though the duke of *Albany*'s authority had obliged them to re-establish the council of nine, who were the pope's creatures; yet, no sooner was the defeat of the *French* at *Pavia* known, than both the imperial and papal parties, in *Sienna*, applied to the viceroy for favour; and he, by giving general answers to both, brought both to consent to furnish him with their money. While it was telling out, *Severini*, a *Genoese* citizen, who had been an agent with the viceroy, murdered another citizen, one *Bichi*, whom he intended next year to have placed at the head of that government, and thereby that noble city, so important by its situation between *Rome* and *Florence*, was recovered to the imperial interest: it was thought that the viceroy, however he might assemble, abetted this revolution. Other states followed the example of *Sienna*, and all *Italy* seemed now to ply under the will of *Who gain the conqueror*. The marquis of *Montferrat* made a present *Sienna*. to *Charles* of fifteen thousand ducats; and the duke of *Ferrara* advanced the viceroy fifty thousand, in part of payment of a greater sum. The states of *Milan*, the *Genoese* and *Lucquese*, stood engaged for certain sums, and *Charles* sent his generals in *Italy* fresh remittances. Historians are, to this day, at a loss to account for the farther inactivity of *Charles* at this juncture. It was expected that the viceroy, instead of treating with the pope, would have marched to the gates of

Moderation of Charles,

Rome, and have completed those conquests, which the most most powerful of his master's ancestors had in vain aspired after ; but, instead of that, *Charles* would admit of no congratulations, or rejoicings, for his victory ; and spent his time in processions and prayers, that it might turn out to the good of *Christendom*. Those historians, perhaps, come nearest to truth, who say, that this moderation of *Charles* was unfeigned ; there seems, at least, no other probable cause to be assigned for it. His moderation went so far, that when the *Venetian* ambassador excused the conduct of his masters during the late war, *Charles* received it in good part ; though he told the minister at the same time, he was perfectly well satisfied, that every word of it was a falsehood. He then assembled his council to consult upon the disposal of his royal prisoner. Some were for setting him generously free, others for imposing hard terms upon him. *Charles*, who knew no extreme either of generosity or severity, sent *Buren*, one of his favourites, to *Pizzigittone*, where *Francis* was, to propose the terms on which he might regain his liberty, which *Francis* thought to be so hard, that he rejected them ; but offered to renounce all his claims upon *Milan* and *Naples*.

and exorbitancy of his troops. THE moderation of *Charles* was more than over-balanced by the haughtiness and extravagant behaviour of his officers and soldiers, in *Italy*, after the battle of *Pavia*. The pope, in order to check them, ordered the convention he had made with the viceroy, to be immediately published, with the most solemn formalities, before the ratification of *Charles* arrived. This, however, did him very little service ; for when the *Florentines*, by his desire, were ready, according to treaty, to have paid the arrears of their subsidy, the viceroy refused to deduct the 25,000 ducats, which they had advanced to the marquis of *Pescara*, while the negotiation was in dependence ; almost every other article of the treaty was likewise violated. The state of the church was still full of imperial soldiers. The papal and *Florentine* parties in *Sienna* were mal-treated and plundered by the viceroy's orders or connivance ; but that which gave the pope the greatest uneasiness of all was, the difficulty attending the restoring to him *Reggio* and *Rubiera*, which it was plain the viceroy encouraged the duke of *Ferrara* to retain. The viceroy's prevarication in this affair was shameful ; and as the *Florentines* were ready to have paid their money, the public began to suspect that *Charles* designed to humble the pope, and to oppress the liberties of *Italy*. At last, after many solicitations, the imperial ratification of the late convention

vention arrived; but without that of the three separate articles. *Charles* excused himself from imposing any terms upon the duke of *Milan*, who, though a feodatory of the empire, was master of his own dominions and revenues. As to the affair of *Reggio* and *Rupiera*, he desired to be excused from doing any thing in prejudice of the right of the empire; and the duke of *Ferrara* acknowledging to hold them as fiefs of the empire, therefore he could not possibly do so flagrant an injustice, as to transfer them to the holy see. This declaration, however, was accompanied with certain shrewd hints, that a great deal might be done by the seasonable application of money.

THE *Florentines* were the greatest sufferers on this occasion. *Hardships* The viceroy, in order to touch the money, had agreed of the *Florentines*, to every thing that the pope had required; and the pope was so very anxious to have the treaty fulfilled, and to remove every stumbling-block, that he had even prevailed with the *Florentines* to advance the whole sum of a hundred thousand ducats before the ratification arrived. His holiness was struck with shame, dread, and concern, at the scandalous collusion, as he called it, between the emperor and his viceroy. He refused to accept the ratification, and insisted upon *Charles* immediately repaying to the *Florentines* the hundred thousand ducats, which all the ties of good faith obliged him to do. *Charles*, or rather his ministers, laughed at all his complaints; they pretended, that the treaty was ratified; that the restitution stipulated to be made by the *Florentines* was in a separate article inserted by inferior agents, who could conclude nothing to the emperor's prejudice. There are reasons to believe, that had *Charles* now listened to his ministers, the whole system of *Italy* would have been overthrown. Their advice was to render the duke of *Ferrara* an effectual check upon the pope, by putting him in possession of *Modena*; to reinstate the *Bentivoglio* family in *Bologna*, and to revive the dormant claims of the empire upon *Florence*, and the other *Tuscan* states, which he ought to take into his own possession. *Clement* was no stranger to those suggestions, and losing all hopes of protection from *France*, he resolved to dissemble.

EVERY one who has read the *English* history knows, that *Vanity of the great ambition and vanity of Henry VIII.* who was now *Henry VIII. of England.* on the *English* throne, led him to be the umpire or arbitrator of all differences amongst *European* states; and even *Italy*, remote as it was, must feel his influence, and the power of his minister *Wolsey*. It was to them that the *Florentines* and the *Venetians* owed their independency, and their not becoming

becoming immediate subjects to the empire. *Wolsey* was ruffled by *Charles* having now twice disappointed him of the popedom, and for his discontinuing, since the battle of *Pavia*, certain marks of personal attention, which he had always paid him before. He therefore began to impress his master with apprehensions of *Charles*'s growing power, and of the danger *England* might be in by his invading *France*; and *Henry* received his insinuations so favourably, that he intimidated his disposition to serve *Francis*, to his mother the lady regent of *France*, during her son's captivity. The pope at this time seemed to be as zealous as ever for restoring the tranquillity of *Italy*, and for obliging *Charles*. He continued to mediate between him and the *Venetians*, from whom the viceroy demanded, not only the guaranty of the *Milanese*, but the full sum of which they were in arrears by their treaty with the emperor in *Adrian*'s time. The *Venetians* offered eighty thousand ducats; but the viceroy insisting upon a hundred thousand, the debates continued; the viceroy not chusing to break off the negotiation, because he was in great want of money. Mean while most of the *Germans* in the imperial pay in *Italy* had been dismissed; and the *Venetians*, being apprised of the coldness between *Charles* and the king of *England*, plucked up spirit enough to refuse to comply with the viceroy. The pope, and the *Florentines*, and, indeed, all the *Tuscan* states, began, from the same reasons, to stand on the like terms; and the viceroy plainly saw that he could not answer his detaining *Francis* longer in *Lombardy*, for fear of a rescue, and by his own consent he carried him by sea to *Spain*. The negotiations between the two monarchs are foreign to this history. *Charles* seemed to be more than ever fond of restoring a good understanding amongst the christian powers. At first he intended to have repaired to *Italy* in person, but business detained him in *Spain*; from whence he solicited the pope to send cardinal *Salviati*, with full powers to treat of an universal peace, and with a dispensation to marry his cousin-german, the infanta of *Portugal*, who was to have brought him an immense sum in ready money. He likewise gave orders that all possible means should be made use of for compromising matters between him, the *Florentines*, and *Venetians*; and at last he sent to *Sforza* the investiture of the duchy of *Milan*, in consideration of a large sum of money; though in fact, the investiture was clogged with such conditions that *Sforza*, even after receiving it, was little better than a vassal to *Charles*.

THE Imperial, Spanish, and Neapolitan, generals, under *Charles*, had by this time quarrelled amongst themselves. The marquis

marquis of *Pescara* was so much provoked by *Charles* taking *Discontent* little or no notice of his services, that he appeared ready for *and conspiracy* any desperate undertaking. *Morone*, chancellor and first minister to *Sforza*, a man of great capacity and dexterity in *marquis of business*, made his master sensible, that he was little better *Pescara*. than a slave; and, in some private meetings, it was agreed to cut all the *Germans* in *Italy* to pieces, and to make the marquis of *Pescara* king of *Naples*. As this could not be done without bringing the pope and the *Venetians* into the design, it was communicated to both. It was too full of dangerous importance for the pope to adopt it; and yet it was, what of all things, he wished might succeed. He took a middle way between concealing and discovering it, for he put the emperor upon his guard against discontents his generals; and hinted, that he ought to have a watchful eye upon their conduct. The *Venetians* embraced the proposal with great eagerness, in hopes of being supported by the *French* and their regency. As to the marquis of *Pescara*, it is, as yet, a doubt how far he had been accessory to the design. The most probable opinion is, that at first he had yielded to *Morone*'s suggestions; but that afterwards, seeing vast difficulties attending the execution, and that the *French* court were so solicitous about recovering their king's liberty, that they were not disposed to exasperate the emperor, and deeply embarked in negotiating with him, he resolved to discover the whole to *Charles*, who had already received hints of it from *Antonio de Leva*, and *Marino*, abbot of *Nogera*. A few days after the marquis of *Pescara* sent a trusty agent, informing *Charles* of the whole conspiracy, and obtained permission from him to continue his practices till the whole extent of it was discovered. The marquis upon this, laying aside all reserve, proposed in person the execution of the design to the duke of *Milan*, and prevailed upon *Morone* to write to the pope, who deputed a trusty agent, by a brief of credentials, to confer with the conspirators upon the subject.

THE matter of deliberation was, that the pope, the *French*, *His intendants*, and other states of *Italy*, should enter into a *tions, and confederacy*, of which the marquis of *Pescara* should be captain-general; that all the *Spanish* soldiers in the duchy of *Milan*, who would not join the marquis, should be put to the sword; and that the confederates should then proceed to the conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*, the investiture of which was to be granted by the pope to the marquis, who had no other difficulty remaining, but whether he might not stain his honour and his conscience, by taking arms against

against *Charles*, who was the possessor of *Naples*, under a commission from the pope, who was its lord paramount; and desired that the point might be examined by civilians. Those unseasonable qualms, after proceeding so far, gave *Morone* some suspicion of *Pescara*'s sincerity; but even that did not prevent the conspiracy from going on. The duchess of *Arenzano*, sister to the French king, had miscarried in a negotiation, which she undertook in person, for her brother's deliverance; and the regent promised the conspirators a large sum of money, and 500 lances, to be sent to *Lombardy*, to favour their design. *Morone*, upon this promise, demonstrated, that it was possible for them to execute their project, even though the marquis of *Pescara* should betray them; and he proposed, if he should give them any just cause of suspicion, to detain him, and his principal officers, prisoners in the castle of *Milan*, and to proceed in the execution of their design. The pope would not have agreed to so dangerous a plan of operations, had he not been alarmed by the certain intelligence he received, that *Charles* was preparing to repair in person to *Italy*, and to put himself at the head of a great army. This news struck his holiness with terror; because the reverence for the holy see, which *Charles* professed, could be no bar to his prosecuting the claims of the empire upon *Florence*, and the other *Tuscan* states. He therefore dispatched the secretary of the French embassy at *Rome* to conclude the negotiation with the lady regent of *France*; but he was murdered on his journey in the *Bresciano*, to the great disquiet of the pope, who was afraid he had been intercepted by the imperialists.

Appointed to command for the emperor in Italy. THE marquis of *Pescara*, in the mean while, received a commission from *Charles*, appointing him his captain-general in *Italy*, which he accepted of. *Charles* likewise ordered *Carraciolo*, one of his ministers, to accommodate matters with the *Venetians*; and affected to give orders for his troops to evacuate both the *Milanese* and the ecclesiastical state; and the marquis of *Pescara*, to continue his scene of dissimulation, actually withdrew some troops from the latter. This small favour was granted to the pope to soften him in the affair of the dispensation for his marriage; by which he was in hopes immediately to raise nine hundred thousand ducats ready money; and the pope was, at last, obliged, unwillingly, to send the dispensation to the cardinal *Salviati*; but with an order to him, to produce or keep it back as he should see convenient for the affairs of his holiness.

Betrays his confederates. IT was now time for *Charles* to execute his great design upon *Milan*. The marquis of *Pescara* calling together his army,

army, he sent for *Morone*; who, forgetting all his usual maxims, repaired to *Pavia*, where the marquis had his headquarters. He received *Morone* with great civilities, and carried him into a chamber, where *Antonio de Leva* was concealed behind the hangings. The conversation turned upon the grand design of putting all the *Spaniards* in *Lombardy* to the sword, and particularly *Antonio de Leva*; who, upon the marquis retiring, appeared, and taking *Morone* into custody, sent him prisoner to the castle of *Pavia*, where he made an ample confession of all the conspiracy against *Charles*. The marquis then demanded of *Sforza*, to be put in possession of *Frizzo*, *Lecco*, and *Pizzigittone*, which are the keys of the duchy of *Milan*. This demand was complied with, and the marquis was even admitted into *Milan*; where he required the duke to sign an order for delivering up the castle of *Cremona*, and for putting into his hands some of his ministers, who had been accused of a conspiracy against the emperor, who was lord paramount of *Milan*. *Sforza* refused to comply with those, and several other, demands, and insisted upon his innocence. Upon this the marquis obliged the people of *Milan*, greatly against their will, to take an oath of fidelity to *Charles*; at the same he filled up all the vacant places of trust and profit in the duchy in his master's name, removing all the officers who had been appointed by the duke, and began to block up the castles of *Milan* and *Cremona*. Those proceedings overwhelmed the pope with sorrow; as all his laboured scheme, for uniting *Italy* against the emperor, was now dashed to pieces, and he was left defenceless and exposed to the resentment of *Charles*; and, at the same time, it put a stop to the progress of the negotiation between the emperor and the *Venetians*. In this crisis, the marquis of *Pescara*, worn out by fatigue, died in the end of November 1525. His death.

1525. He had been early in war; and, tho' only thirty-six years of age at the time of his death, he was accounted one of the most experienced, as well as able generals in *Europe*. His memory has been severely handled by historians, for the double part he acted, towards the end of his life, between the *Italian* princes and the emperor. His death was an irreparable loss to the latter, who had no general equal to him, either in abilities or authority, to fill his place. The *Italian* states, on their side, were as much embarrassed. They saw it impossible to carry their schemes, of a coalition, into practice, without the assistance of the *French*; which they knew would fail them, or perhaps be turned against them, upon the least hopes *Charles* should give them of their king's deliverance. The *King of England* was now the declared friend of

Henry VIII. befriends Francis; who is freed from prison.

of *Francis*, and had entered heartily into the *Italian* alliance. He offered to give security to the *Florentines*, that the *French* should not make a separate peace, and for the payment of the first quarter subsidy on their part. But all his assurances could not rouse the spirit of the pope, who acted on this occasion with great despondency. He began to underrate the public, as to the good opinion it had entertained of him when he first mounted the pontifical throne; for it now appeared, that tho' he had been an excellent and a successful first minister, yet he was but a poor spirited, irresolute, pope. The ambassadors of the confederates at *Rome* had brought him to consent to agree to the alliance against *Charles*; but on the very day he was to sign the articles, *Herrera*, an imperial minister, arrived with new propositions for the protection of *Milan*, and the reduction of *Reggio* and *Rubiera*, which made him alter his purpose. While this matter was negotiating, a treaty was concluded between the emperor and *Francis*, by which the latter obtained his liberty; and the duke of *Sessa* and *Herrera* offered, on the part of *Charles*, to withdraw the imperial army from *Lombardy*, provided the pope, and his allies, would advance them one hundred and fifty thousand ducats, and agree that the duke of *Bourbon* should recover the investiture of *Milan*, if *Sforza* should be found guilty of having conspired against *Charles*. *Clement* and his allies very properly thought, that the duke of *Bourbon* possessing *Milan*, was the same thing as if it was in the hands of *Charles* himself; and having some intimation, that *Francis* was determined not to fulfil the terms on which he had been set at liberty, rejected the proposals, and sent *Vittori*, the *Florentine* commander of his galleys, to dispose *Francis* to enter into the proposed league; but *Vittori* died at *Florence* on his road. The expectations of the public from the deliverance of the *French* king were very sanguine; and it is, at present, a doubtful point among casuists, whether he was bound in honour and conscience to fulfil the terms which he had granted, while he was under durance, and were consequently extorted, and so detrimental to his people and successors, whose rights and possessions he could not dispose of. The latter was the chief argument he made use of when he arrived at *Bayonne*: he acquainted the viceroy, who pressed him to ratify the treaty of *Madrid*, that he could not do it without the consent of the states of *France*. When the pope and the *Venetians*, who thought they must be ruined if he performed the treaty of *Madrid*, sent agents to find him on that head, they found him furnished with a variety of arguments, foreign to this part of our work, to prove that

he was under no obligation to do it, and he shewed himself very desirous of entering into a confederacy with the *Italian* states against *Charles*.

THE castle of *Milan*, which held out against the imperialists for *Francis Sforza*, was now reduced to great straits; of *Milan* and the whole duchy was laid by *de Leva*, who commanded besieged the Spanish troops, under the most oppressive contributions, which at last drove the people to despair; and they endeavoured to expel the imperialists out of *Milan*; but their efforts were in vain, and served only to increase their miseries. The pope's fears, at this time, drove him to act with rashness and precipitation. Instead of waiting the result of affairs between *Francis* and *Charles*, he hurried the *Venetians* and the other *Italian* powers into an immediate war, before the *Swiss*, on whom his great dependence lay, were in readiness to march, and before the king of *England* had formally acceded to the confederacy. Orders were sent to conclude, in all events, the treaty with *Francis*; and even before that could be done, both he and the *Venetians* put troops in motion for relieving the castle of *Milan*; but with orders not to act till advice came of the treaty being signed by *Francis*. The duke of *Urbino*, now general of the *Venetians*, advanced towards the *Adda* with their men at arms, and six thousand foot; and *Guido Rangone*, the pope's general, had orders to be in readiness to march to *Piacenza* with six thousand foot, most of them *Florentines*. The duke of *Urbino* gave it as his opinion, that the confederacy would require twelve thousand *Swiss*, to enable it to act with effect against *Charles*, and the levies were trusted to *Gianjacopo de Medici*, a *Milanese*, and the bishop of *Veruli*. They each engaged to raise six thousand men, who were to enter upon pay as soon as they arrived in the duchy of *Milan*. Those proceedings, however, were interrupted by the irresolution of *Francis*, who had delivered his two sons to *Charles* as pledges for the performance of the treaty of *Madrid*, and, on their account, was very backward in proceeding to hostilities. He offered *Charles* a sum of money in lieu of *Burgundy*; but he assured the pope and the *Venetians*, that he would make no peace with *Charles*, unless the duchy of *Milan* was evacuated, and the peace of *Italy* secured. *Charles* rejected the alternative of money; and, rather than agree to the proposals of *Francis*, he thought of re-establishing *Sforza* in the duchy of *Milan*. In the mean while, the pope and the *Florentines* took into their pay the renowned Genoese admiral *Andrew Doria*, and eight of his gal- lies, under pretence of freeing those seas of the *Moors* and in-fidels; but, in reality, to oblige the imperialists to raise the *Mod. Hist. Vol. XXXVI.* K k *siege*

The Flo-
take Doria
into pay.

siege of *Milan*, and to bring about a revolution in *Genoa*. *Doria*'s yearly pay was thirty-five thousand ducats. *Charles*, alarmed with the novelty of the pope and the *Florentines* becoming maritime powers, hastened the duke of *Bourbon* into *Italy*, and ordered all the naval force he had there to join the rest of his ships of war at *Barcelona* to oppose *Doria*. Without losing sight of the duke of *Milan*, he ordered Don *Hugo de Moncada* to repair to *Milan*, and to offer to make up all matters in difference between them, and even to make proposals to the pope. *Moncada*'s journey served only to accelerate the negotiation of a confederacy against *Charles*, which at length, on the seventeenth of *May*, 1526, was concluded between the plenipotentiaries of the *French* king on one part, and those of the pope and the *Venetians* on the other. The chief articles of this negotiation related to the preservation of the *Milanese* to *Sforza*, and to the procuring the liberty of the *French* king's children. It was stipulated, that at present, for the relief of *Francesco Sforza*, besieged in the castle of *Milan*, and for the recovery of that state, the campaign should be opened with eight hundred men at arms, seven hundred light horse, and eight thousand foot for the pontiff, with eight hundred men at arms, one thousand light horse, and four thousand foot, on the part of the *Venetians*; and with four hundred men at arms, three hundred light horse, and four thousand foot, to be provided by the duke of *Milan*, as soon as it lay in his power; and, in the mean time, the pontiff and *Venetians* were to furnish out the four thousand foot for him: that the king should immediately send into *Italy* five hundred lances; and, during the war, should pay every month to the pontiff and *Venetians*, forty thousand crowns, with which *Swiss* infantry should be raised: that the king should immediately take the field against *Charles*, on the other side of the mountains, on what quarter should appear most convenient, with an army of at least two thousand lances, and ten thousand foot, with a sufficient train of artillery: that he should fit out twelve light gallies, and the *Venetians* thirteen, at their own charge: that the pontiff should join with those the gallies which he had hired from *Andrew Doria*: that the charges of the ships necessary for the said fleet should be in common: and that the fleet should sail against *Genoa*.

It was likewise agreed amongst the contracting parties, that after the imperialists were expelled from *Lombardy*, the confederate forces should attack the kingdom of *Naples*, and that the pope might give the investiture of it, with the consent of the allies, to any person he pleased; but that it should be restored to *Charles*, if within four months after the time

A. D.
1526.
A treaty,
and its
terms.

of its being conquered; he should set at liberty the *French* king's children, and accede to the present treaty; that *Francis* should not only defend and assist the duke of *Milan*, but endeavour to effect a new confederacy between him and the *Swiss*, *Sforza* paying him a subsidy of not less than fifty thousand crowns a year; and that *Sforza* should likewise marry some noble *French* lady of that king's chusing; that *Ari* should be restored to *Francis*, and that in *Genoa*, when reduced, he should have the same superiority as heretofore; that the confederates should omit no means, either by representation or force, to bring about the liberty of the young *French* princes; that after the *Italian* wars are finished, the confederates should be obliged to assist the king beyond the mountains again *Charles*, with one thousand men at arms, fifteen hundred light horse, and eleven thousand foot, or with money instead of troops, at the king's choice; that no member of the confederacy should have the liberty, without the consent of the others, to make an agreement with *Charles*, who should be permitted to make a progress to *Rome* (in case he entered into the confederacy) for the imperial crown, with a number of troops not formidable, but such as should be directed by the pope and the *Venetians*; that in case of the death of any member of the alliance, the league should remain firm; and that the king of *England* should be protector and conservator of the same, with liberty to enter into it; and if he entered, a state should be assigned him in the kingdom of *Naples*, of the yearly revenue of fifty-three thousand ducats, and one of ten thousand, either in the same kingdom, or in another part of *Italy*, to mollify the cardinal of *York*.

We have been the more explicit in giving the contents *Importance* of this new holy league, as it is called by some historians, *of the Florentines* because, though the *Florentines* were not mentioned in it as *rentines*: principals, yet all *Europe* very justly looked upon them as being the chief contracting parties. The ecclesiastical dominions, and the pope's coffers, were drained of men and money, and could furnish little or nothing towards carrying on the war; so that he was obliged to depend on the *Florentines* alone for both. It is remarkable, that the *Florentines* were exempted from being named as principals, lest their commerce with the towns and other places belonging to *Charles* should be interrupted: it being only said, that they should enjoy all the exemptions, privileges, and benefits of the confederacy, as much as if they were expressly comprehended in it, the pope engaging they should in no manner

oppose the league^a. Notwithstanding those plausible pretexts, we cannot help thinking that the omission was owing, in a great measure, to the jealousy of *Clement*, who thought that the naming the *Florentines* as principals, gave them too much the air of independence upon his family.

IT was necessary there should be a captain-general appointed for the army of this league; but the time pressed so much, that the parties had not leisure to deliberate on an affair of so great moment. *Francis* delayed the ratification of all the articles, being still reluctant to break off all conferences with the viceroy; but put his army in motion, and remitted his first payment. The pope appointed *Rangone* to command his ecclesiastical forces, which were paid by *Florentine* money, and lay now at *Piacenza*, where he ordered the *Florentine* men at arms under *Vitelli*, who commanded them in chief to attend him; and he appointed the brave *Giovanni de Medici* to be captain-general of the *Italian* infantry; as he did the historian *Guicciardini*, then president of the *Romagna*, to be lieutenant-general in the army, and in all the state of the church, with (as he tells us himself) almost unlimited powers. The *Venetian* army lay under the duke of *Urbino*, as captain-general, and *Piero de Pesaro*, as provedator, in the *Brescian*; and both armies had orders to begin hostilities immediately in the *Milanese*.

Negotiation between the imperialists and the pope.

MONCADA was then in the castle of *Milan*, and endeavoured, but in vain, to bring the duke over to his master's interest. From *Milan* he proceeded to *Rome*, where, with the duke of *Sessa* and the imperial generals, he presented himself before the pope, and haughtily offered him either peace or war. *Clement*'s answer was, that he could determine upon neither, without consulting his ally the king of *France*. This seems to have been the first certain information which *Moncada* had of the lately concluded holy league; and next day he offered, in the name of his master, to reinstate *Sforza* in the duchy of *Milan*, provided that castle was deposited in the hands of *Caracciolo*, till certain immaterial forms of trial, which were requisite for *Charles*'s honour, could be gone through; but the pope persisting in his answer, *Moncada* and the imperialists left *Rome* in disgust. The duke of *Urbino* now acted as captain-general of the holy league; and though letters from *de Leva* and the marquis of *Gualfo* had been intercepted, pressing *Moncada* to come to an accommodation with the pope, on account of the ruinous state of

^a *GUICCIARDINI*, book xvii.

their

their master's affairs in *Lombardy*, yet the duke had so bad an opinion of the *Italian* infantry, and so high an one of the *Spanish* and *German*, that he refused to pass the *Adda*, unless he was reinforced by five thousand *Swiss*. He would not even pass the *Oglio*, unless he was joined by the ecclesiastical and *Florentine* army, which lay near *Piacenza*; and then he proposed to entrench himself upon the banks of the *Adda* till the *Swiss* should arrive. This dependence proved very precarious. The commissioners for raising them had neither money nor credit for bringing into the field the numbers they had engaged for; and great part of the levy-money was embezzled by the contractors. Those mismanagements retarded the relief of the castle of *Milan*; and the citizens, having again broken out into open hostilities against the imperialists, were again quelled and reduced by the deaths and expulsion of the ringleaders. To make some amends for this disappointment, for such it was to the army of the league, the duke of *Urbino* and *Giovanni de Medici* surprised *Lodi* and its garrison, one of the strongest and most important fortifications in all *Lombardy*.

THE taking of *Lodi* might have been destructive to the imperialists in *Lombardy*, had it not been for the over-caution of the duke of *Urbino*, who continued single in his opinion, though a passage over the *Adda* was now secured, against marching to *Milan*, without a large body of *Swiss*.

At last he yielded so far as to consent to move from *Lodi*; but with very slow marches, and halting every second day in expectation of the *Swiss*. The whole army of the league being now joined, amounted to twenty thousand foot, with a proportionable number of cavalry; but the *Venetian* troops were much better mounted, and supplied with arms, artillery, ammunition, and provisions. The force they had to encounter was only three thousand *German*, and between five and six thousand *Spanish* foot, lying in *Milan*, but destitute of every thing. There being yet no appearance of the *Swiss*, the confederates, slow as their marches were, drew near to *Milan*; and a council of war was held upon their method of approaching to relieve the castle. The duke of *Urbino* had not been formally constituted captain-general, and only acted as such with the tacit consent of the other confederate officers, on account of his great authority and reputation. *Guicciardin*, therefore, and the *Florentine* generals, and even the *Venetian* proveditor himself, were very free in censuring his backwardness, and blaming him for the fine opportunity he was losing of relieving the castle. At last, about fifteen hundred of the *Swiss* arriving, he was prevailed on, though against his inclination, to advance within three miles of *Milan*; and in a

council of war, it was determined, *July 5*, by his sole authority, to take possession of the suburbs.

The duke of Bourbon arrives in Italy.

The night before this measure was to have been put in execution, the duke of Bourbon, who had arrived at *Genoa* with six gallies, and bills of exchange for one hundred thousand ducats, threw himself at the head of eight hundred chosen Spanish foot into *Milan*^b. His arrival gave great spirit to the imperialists in that city, and as much disquiet to the pope. By the original plan of the war, *Doria* had undertaken for the reduction of *Genoa*, if joined by the *French* gallies at *Marseilles*, when hostilities commenced in *Lombardy*. *Francis*, who was still solicitous about his children, had omitted to give orders for this junction, which would have rendered *Doria* superior at sea; so that he could not only have prevented the Spanish gallies from entering *Genoa*, but have shut up its port, which in a very short time must have obliged that city to submit. The arrival of the duke of Bourbon in *Milan*, being unknown to the confederates, the duke of *Urbino* advanced with great confidence against the suburbs, where he expected no opposition; but he found them well guarded, and obstinately defended. This disappointment made him relapse into all his apprehensions from the valour and discipline of the enemy; and though he had made such dispositions that, notwithstanding all the resistance he met with, he must have carried the place; yet all of a sudden, in the night of the seventh of *July*, he ordered the artillery and ammunition to be drawn off, and all the *Venetian* troops to prepare for a march; and he sent notice to the *Florentine*, and the other generals, that he expected they would follow his example. It was in vain for them to repair to his head-quarters, to enquire into the reason of so sudden and disagreeable a resolution. The reasons he assigned were, the cowardice of the *Italian* infantry, and the dispositions which the enemy had made of their artillery. He concluded, with peremptorily insisting upon a retreat to *San Martino*, where there was a strong camp, and that the army was not properly encamped on the spot where they were.

Representations of Guicciardin to the duke of Urbino on retiring from Milan.

THOSE reasons were far from being relished by the other generals. *Guicciardin* represented to him the danger, as well as disgrace, of so sudden a decampment, which would discourage the pope, the *Florentines*, and the *Venetians* so much, that it would ruin all the purposes of the league; and proposed to encamp in another manner. The duke of *Urbino*

^b SIGONIUS de rebus gestis Andreae Doriae, pag 229. GUIC. book xvii.

would

would hear no reasoning upon this head, and his troops began their march in a most irregular tumultuous manner. According to *Paulus Jovius*, and other authors, *Giovanni de Medici* gallantly refused to decamp by night; and at break of day he gave a furious assault upon the *Roman* gate of *Milan*, and made his retreat in good order. The duke of *Urbino*, instead of halting, as he had ordered his army, at *San Martino*, issued orders, while they were on their march, for their proceeding some miles farther to *Mariano*, under pretence that they would be there more safe from their being attacked by the Imperialists (A). When *Guicciardin* and the *Florentine* generals applied to him, to know the reason of this fresh disgrace, he refused to give them any answer; but, pointing to his general's baton, he told them, while he held that, he resolved to suffer no encroachment upon his authority.

As the duke of *Urbino* had been always noted both for courage and conduct, his behaviour at this time amazed the public; and the rather, because, while he lay encamped at *Mariano*, he declared, that he found the attempt to relieve the castle of *Milan* so difficult, that he would not resume it, unless he was at the head of twelve thousand *Swiss*, and of an army double to that of the enemy.

THE imperialists in *Milan* could scarce believe their eyes, *His men* when they saw the disorderly retreat of the confederates, *gives*. nor did they send a single troop out to molest them; and this drew fresh reproaches upon the duke of *Urbino* from the other generals. It was thought, with some appearance of reason, that the duke was secretly disgusted at the *Florentines*, who continued to keep possession of *San Leo* and *Monte Feltro*, and with the house of *Medici*, because the daughter of *Lorenzo de Medici* bore the title of duchess of *Urbino*; and likewise, that he resented the hardships that had been put upon him by pope *Leo*, and by *Clement* himself, while he was a cardinal. Some imagined, that he had secret instructions from the senate of *Venice* for what he did; but that is improbable, because it was against the *Venetian* interest as well as glory. *Guicciardin* is of opinion, that he really distrusted the *Italian* foot; and was afraid of being defeated by the imperialists. Whatever may be in those conjectures, it is certain that this retreat was fatal to the league. The pope had depended on the reduction of *Milan*, and had no resources either of courage, constancy, or money. A body of *Spanish* foot, garrisoned at

(A) *Guicciardin*, in speaking of this flight, said, that the *Cæsar*, and have said, *Veni, vidi, fugi*, I came, I saw, I fled.

Carpi, laid waste all the ecclesiastical dominions, and cut off the communication between *Florence* and the army, which was thereby distressed for want of money. As to the *Florentines*, they still continued to supply him; but the necessities of his holiness were now increased.

The pope distressed at Rome; THE family of *Colonna*, and the imperial party about *Rome*, had fomented insurrections in that city, and were actually in arms in its neighbourhood. This laid the pope under prodigious inconveniences, as the war was now carried on at the gates of his own capital. He began to contrive how to alter the government of *Sienna*; and was, by a pretended traitor, deluded into an attempt upon that city, which, in case of a war continuing, he thought would be of the utmost consequence both to *Rome* and *Florence*, if it was reduced to his power. The plot being discovered, the *Siennese* treated the plotters, soldiers, and party, with so much indignity, that he employed a body of *Florentines*, in conjunction with his own troops, to reduce them by force. The soldiers employed upon this occasion, amounted to twelve hundred horse and eight thousand foot, but all of them new raised raw troops, and they approached the walls of *Sienna* with nine pieces of cannon. This army had in it a great number of exiles, whose interest within the city was very considerable; and they had given the *Florentines* the strongest assurances, that the army would no sooner appear before the city, than an insurrection of the people would happen. At the same time *Doria*, with the pope's fleet, was employed in battering the ports of the *Siennese*, by sea; but the hatred which the *Siennese*, of all ranks, entertained of the pope and the *Florentines*, defeated all the hopes of the latter. No insurrection took place, and the *Florentines* were obliged to lay a regular siege to the city.

agrees to an amistice His holiness being thus, as usual, disappointed in his sanguine expectations, began to give ear to *Moncada*, who had now returned to *Rome*, under pretence of mediating between him and the *Colonna* party and the *Siennese*. This happened at the time when both he and the *Florentines* were thinking of withdrawing their army from *Sienna*. But an accommodation being now proposed, they defended it, as thinking that the continuance of the army before *Sienna* would give weight to the negociation. At last, being disappointed in that expectation likewise, orders were actually sent, both from *Rome* and *Florence*, for raising the siege. The day before those orders were to have been executed, four hundred foot of the besieged sallied out of the city and attacked the artillery, which was guarded by a regiment under *Jacopo Corso*, which imme-

immediately gave way; and the whole army following the example, a total flight ensued, and the besiegers left in the hands of their enemies ten pieces of cannon belonging to the *Florentines*, and seven belonging to the *Perugians* or the pope; all which were carried, with great triumph, into *Sienna*.

THE progress of the war in *Lombardy* continued still to *Distress* of be unsuccessful, on the part of the league. Five thousand of the *Milan*-*the Swiss* troops were arrived; but the duke of *Urbino* refused nese. to resume the operations of the campaign, without a farther reinforcement, which, on account of the insolence and avarice of the people, could not be obtained. The imperialists availed themselves of the duke's inactivity to fortify *Milan*, and to plunder the citizens, whose oppressions grew every day more intolerable. They had no recourse but in the duke of *Bourbon*, on whom *Charles* was said to have bestowed their city and duchy. They therefore addressed him in a body, for relief to their miseries. He promised them relief, upon their paying a sum of money; but after that was paid, their distress was such that many of them put an end to their lives. The army of the league lay still at *Marignano*; and it was, at last, resolved to make an attempt for the relief of the castle; but after a fruitless motion for that purpose had been made, it surrendered by capitulation on the 24th of *July*. After the surrender, the duke of *Urbino* insisted upon a general of the whole league being formally chosen, but that election was postponed; and the *French* king growing remiss in prosecuting the war, the pope lost all spirit. It is observed, however, by historians, that during this state of inactivity, *Giovanni de Medici* trained the *Florentine* infantry in such a manner, that, from being contemptible, they became the best troops in the army. The pope, by this time, grew jealous of the king of *England*, who had not fulfilled his engagements with the league; and he solicited the *French* king to join with him and the *Venetians*, in the invasion of *Naples* by sea and land; but *Francis* continued still to treat with *Charles*, who applied himself more than ever to the affairs of the war; and his generals in *Lombardy* took *Cremona*, which the generals of the confederates again besieged, and it was again yielded to *Sforza*. In the mean while the marquis of *Mantua*, who remained inactive, and whose territories were in common to both parties, was again taken into the pay of the *Florentines*, his former time of service being expired. He was in no great reputation amongst the confederate generals, and, not being employed, he wisely kept his dominions neutral, by pleading to *Charles* that he was in the pay of the *Florentines*, and to the league

league that he was the feudatory of the emperor. It was, however, necessary for the *Florentines* to keep him in pay, because of the convenient situation of his states.

The Florentines uneasy.

THE *Florentines*, about this time, began very sensibly to feel the expences of the war, especially in *Lombardy*, which was carried on almost intirely at their charge; and shewed so much reluctance to advance more money, that his holiness was obliged to compromise masters with his enemies of the family of *Colonna*, who, breaking their agreement, surprised the gates of *Rome*, plundered not only his palace, but the church of *St. Peter*, and obliged him first to take refuge in the castle of *St. Angelo*, and afterwards to make a truce with the imperialists for four months. The *Florentines* were included in this truce, which was very disadvantageous to his holiness. By it he was obliged to withdraw all his troops from *Lombardy*; to order *Andrew Doria* to desist from all hostile enterprizes by sea; to pardon the *Colonna* family, and to give hostages for the performance. This truce broke all the scheme of operations in *Lombardy*, at the very time when, by the junction of the *French* troops under the marquis of *Saluzzo*, they began to wear a more favourable aspect.

The pope, however, found means so far to evade the truce, that he ordered four thousand of the *Florentine* troops to remain in the castle of *St. Angelo*, with those in the league under *Giovanni de' Medici*, on pretence of their having been taken for a certain time into the *French* pay.

Charles began now to shew himself a great and an able prince; and instead of being amused by the fair offers of the pope and his confederates, backed by the *English* ambassador, he equipped an armament of forty sail in the port of *Carthagena*, and after putting on board six thousand troops, he sent it to *Italy*. The war still went on in *Lombardy*, because the pope's allies were not affected by the truce he had made at *Rome*; but nothing decisive happened on either part. The duke of *Urbino* still continued to differ in opinion from all the other generals of the league, and was therefore unfortunate in all his designs and operations. The pope, after rendering himself contemptible to all the courts of *Europe*, by the pusillanimity and inconsistency of his conduct, having recalled part of his troops from *Lombardy*, employed them under *Vitello* against the *Colonnas*, who he saw had forced them into the truce. This scheme likewise proving ineffectual, he entered into a negociation with the duke of *Ferrara*, which was broken off by the arrival of the *Spanish* troops in *Italy*, and by Charles sending to the duke the investiture of *Modena* and *Reggio*. By this time, a fresh army of about fourteen thousand *Germans*, under *Fronberg*, had entered

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Lombardy, and were opposed by the army under the duke of Urbino; but in a skirmish at *Borgoforte*, in the *Mantuan*, *Giovanni de Medici* lost his life, to the irreparable damage of the confederates, though he was, at the time of his death, no more than twenty-nine years of age. Negotiations, nevertheless, still went on; and while the imperial army, and that of the league, were fighting in the field, their ministers were treating in the cabinet, both with equal effect; for the war was carried on with pusillanimity, and the negotiations managed with infincerity. The pope grew every day more contemptible, and was deserted by the French king in an expedition he had formed against *Naples*, which at first had very promising appearances of success. The duke of *Bourbon* was now advancing against *Rome* itself, by the way of *Tuscany*; and his holiness was infinitely anxious about the fate of *Florence*, being followed but at the distance of about thirty miles by the duke of *Urbino*, whose caution was as much applauded by the *Venetians*, as it was blamed by the pope.

ON the third of *January*, 1527, the duke of *Urbino* having advanced as far as *Parma*, began, under colour of illness, to make preparations for returning to *Lombardy*. He was still attended by *Guicciardini*, who, from the beginning of the year, had observed that the duke had done all in his power to cross the interest of the pope and the *Florentines*; and from some words that had dropped from him, he perceived he was not to be satisfied, unless the latter restored to him *San Leo* and *Montefeltro*. *Guicciardini* knew that the public voice at *Florence* was for the restitution, and ventured, in the name of the republic, to promise it, and even pretended, that he received letters from his holiness to that effect; for which, however, he was afterwards blamed by the pope.

THE duke of *Ferrara*, though he did not serve personally in the imperial army, directed all its motions; and, by his advice, the duke of *Bourbon*, without amusing himself with *bon aventure* or garrisoning smaller places, pointed his march towards *Florence* and *Rome*. His army was in a most wretched condition, and his troops obliged to pay themselves by the contributions which they levied upon the places through which they passed. The *Spanish* foot at first mutinied, and were, with some difficulty, reduced to order by the duke; but the *Germans*, who had not, ever since their being raised, received above three ducats a man, served cheerfully under the command of *Franzborg*, whom they entirely loved, and who promised them the plunder of *Rome*, and the rich *Italian* provinces. It was with some difficulty that the marquis of *Saluzzo* secured *Bologna* from being surprized by the imperialists

A new army of imperialists enters Lombardy.

Designs of the duke of Urbino.

ists. The duke of *Bourbon* was now arrived at *Buonporta*, and in a personal interview he had with the duke of *Ferrara* at *Finale*, he was confirmed in his purpose of marching directly to *Florence*, and from thence to *Rome*, though unprovided with money, artillery, pioneers, provisions, stores, and every thing that could promise him success in so desperate an undertaking. Being arrived in the *Bolognese*, he, pretending that he was marching to the relief of the kingdom of *Naples*, demanded a supply of provisions. This demand not being speedily complied with, because the imperialists had no money, they were obliged to enlarge their quarters; and had there been the least conduct or union amongst the generals of the league, they might have been easily surprized and cut in pieces; for the *Spanish* foot again mutinied for their pay, and had almost killed the duke of *Bourbon*, in endeavouring to appease them, which he could not do without giving them a sum of money, which he borrowed from the duke of *Ferrara*.

Distress of the pope POPE Clement had now nothing to trust to but the wants of the imperialists, for preserving himself on the pontifical increases. All the pompous promises that had been made him by the *French* king, were now vanished into air; and though the king of *England* still continued his professions of friendship to the league, yet he was at too great a distance to afford his holiness any immediate relief. The *Venetians* were slow in their motions, and backward in their payments; so that the troops under the marquis of *Saluzzo*, quartered in the *Bolognese*, could not be brought to move; but, above all, he dreaded the spirit of the *Florentines*, who were now exasperated beyond measure, on account of the immense sums that had been extorted from them, without their having the least prospect of being reimbursed. All those considerations determined the pontiff to enter into a negociation with the imperial agents at *Rome*, for a suspension of arms during eight months; which was at last concluded, upon his holiness paying to the imperial army sixty thousand ducats, and reinstating the *Colonnas* in their lands and privileges. It was likewise agreed, that all the places which had been taken by either party in the ecclesiastical state, or the kingdom of *Naples*, should be restored. A certain time was to be allotted for the king of *France* and the *Venetians* to accede to this armistice; and the *Germans*, in any event, were to evacuate the ecclesiastical state, and that of *Florence*, upon the pope paying them the farther sum of forty thousand ducats.

Imprudence of the pope THIS agreement made the pope perfectly secure, and the rather, because his lieutenant, *Guicciardini*, had intercepted some

some letters from the duke of *Bourbon*, by which it appeared that he was in the utmost despair and distress. He therefore imprudently dismissed all his army, excepting one hundred light horse and two thousand foot, and sent *Fieramosca*, one of the imperial agents, who had concluded the armistice into the *Bolognese*, to procure the accession of the duke of *Bourbon* to the same. That duke, partly through policy, and partly dispirited by the temper of his army intent on plunder, delayed the ratification, and was busied in procuring from the duke of *Ferrara* a supply of all kinds of necessaries for his army. The pope ordered *Guicciardin* to apply to the duke, but he received only fair words; and at last *Bourbon*, pretending to be over-ruled by the tumultuous disposition of his army, gave orders for its marching forwards. According to the best information, that duke was actually no longer master of his army, which would have killed a messenger from the viceroy of *Naples*, sent to desire him to accept of the truce, had he not fled. The pope thought that money alone was wanting to stop his progress, and he threw the charge of providing it upon the *Florentines*. Even the viceroy offered *Bourbon* twenty thousand ducats to appease his troops. But all was ineffectual; *Guicciardin* now saw that nothing but the activity of the confederates, who were in the *Bolognese*, could save the holy see from ruin, and therefore he solicited the marquis of *Saluzzo*, and the *Venetians*, to march directly to his assistance; but the pope by this time had lost his credit with all parties. They plainly saw that he would purchase peace upon any terms; and though the viceroy of *Naples* had come to *Florence*, to have an interview with the duke of *Bourbon*, to persuade him to forbear, yet all was ineffectual. The *Venetians* dallied with him; but far from refusing to assist him, they sent orders to the duke of *Urbino*, to decamp from *Casal Maggiore*, and to advance towards *Tuscany*; but all he did was sending two thousand foot to guard his own dominions.

THE duke of *Bourbon* still continued his march towards *Tuscany*, though he had no notice that the viceroy remained ^{Marches to} still at *Florence*, and had come to an agreement with the ^{wards} *Florentines*, that upon the payment of sixty thousand ducats, the duke of *Bourbon*'s army should return to *Lombardy* within five days, and that the viceroy was actually set out to have a personal interview with *Bourbon* for that purpose. It was thought that the viceroy's intention was to turn the whole force of the war against the *Venetians*; for he refused to separate the *Spanish* foot, as he promised, from *Bourbon*'s army, which proceeded with equal rapidity and ^{rac}acious.

paciousness against friends and foes. At last Bourbon entered the valley of *Galeata*, which belonged to the *Florentines*, where he received from *Guicciardin* fresh advices of the accommodation that the viceroy had come to, and that he was on his journey to meet him. But all was to no purpose; for he advanced to *Santa Maria*, in *Bagni*, though all the while he pretended to be extremely desirous of a treaty.

Artful management of Guicciardin. The interests of *Florence* and the pope were now separated, for the duke of Bourbon had no other option, than whether he should plunder *Florence* or *Rome*. *Guicciardin* managed skilfully, that he procured the marquis of *Soluzzo*'s promise to march with the troops in the *French* pay, and part of the *Venetians*, to protect his countrymen the *Florentines*, who, on their part, agreed to give those troops pay from the time they entered *Tuscany*, and to come to no accommodation with the imperialists, even though the pope should. The *Florentines* farther agreed to restore to the duke of *Urbino* the fortresses of *San Leo* and *Majusco*. That duke therefore, about the twenty-second of *April*, entered *Tuscany*. The cardinal of *Cortona*, at this time, acted as a kind of deputy for the pope in *Florence*; and both armies being now in *Tuscany*, he left that city, that he might pay his compliments to the duke of *Urbino*, who was at hand, and intended to enter *Florence*. The cardinal was no sooner gone, than the *Florentines*, the youthful part of them particularly, tumultuously demanded of the magistrates arms out of the arsenal, to defend themselves against all foreigners. This not being readily complied with, the insurgents seized upon the town-house, in the principal square of the city, and obliged the magistrates to proclaim *Hippolito* and *Alessandro de Medici* rebels.

Disturbances of Florence appeased.

THE truth is, the *Florentines*, by this time, both despised and hated the pope, and wanted to return to their popular government. While they were deliberating on the means of effecting that, the duke of *Urbino*, and the marquis of *Soluzzo*, whose infantry was encamped in the plain near *Florence*, with the cardinal *Cortona*, *Hippolito de Medici*; and a great number of officers, entered the city, and putting fifteen hundred foot under arms, they marched in a body to the great square, which they immediately took possession of, but were repulsed in an attack they made upon the town-house. Upon this, the duke of *Urbino* ordered some *Venetian* soldiers to enter *Florence*; and dispositions were made for storming the town-house. *Bizzola* presuming on his authority with the young nobility there, had repaired to them, and proposed terms of accommodation; but he hardly escaped with his life, and was going to advise the duke of *Urbino* to proceed to extremities, when

the duke resolved to try fair methods, and to promise a pardon to all the insurgents. This being offered, the tumult was accordingly composed; but *Guicciardin* was, by the cardinal of *Cortona*, blamed for his advice, because, had the place been stormed, all the enemies to the family of the *Medici* must have been put to death; while he was, on the other hand, accused by the populace for having favoured that family.

This dangerous commotion in *Florence*, gave the *Venetians* *New news* and the other confederates, a very indifferent opinion of the *negociations*: attachment of the *Florentines* to the pope and his family; and they refused to proceed farther in *Tuscany*, without greater assurances of the constancy of the *Florentines* in the confederacy; and that the *Florentines* should themselves become principals, and furnish ten thousand foot towards the common cause. The *Florentines* agreed to enter as principals; but referred themselves to the pope for the quota of troops they were to contribute. His holiness, afraid of farther exasperating the *Florentines*, pleaded to the allies the inability they were under for satisfying so exorbitant a demand, and brought the *French* and *Venetian* ambassadors to agree to a new treaty, by which they were obliged to furnish him with large sums of money. The *Venetian* senate disapproved of their ambassador's conduct; and the *French* king was but very little disposed to fulfil the agreement. The state of *Florence*, however, was probably saved by the neighbourhood of the confederate army; for the duke of *Bourbon* considering his own weakness and necessities, and that the success of any attempt against *Florence* was precarious, marched by the advice of the duke of *Ferrara* and *Morone*, who, being now released from prison, was become a strong imperialist, directly for *Rome*, which was now defenceless, the pope having disbanded all his troops. On the twenty-sixth of *April* he set out for the territory of *Arezzo*, leaving all his cannon *Bourbon* and heavy baggage behind him; and before the pope knew *proceeds to* he was upon his march, he presented himself and his army *Rome*, before the gates of *Rome*. The *Florentines* had advice of *Bourbon*'s march from *Vitello*, but it was too late; for not knowing that *Bourbon* had left his artillery and heavy baggage behind him, they sent five thousand troops to *Rome*, in hopes that they would come time enough to succour the pope, and ordered their whole army, and that of the ecclesiastical state, to follow. *Renzo de Celi* was entrusted by the pope for the defence of *Rome*; and he was so confident of making an effectual resistance, that he assured his holiness that he had nothing to fear, and even hindered the merchants from carrying their effects to places of security. A thick fog favoured

voured him when he was met by *Guicciardin*. He endeavoured to persuade him from making his approaches, but he desperately resolved, being unprovided of every thing, either to die or take the city. Perceiving that the *German* foot proceeded but slowly in the service, he snatched a ladder, and in person applied it to the walls; but was killed by a shot from a harquebus. His death, far from restraining the ardour of the assailants, increased it; and, with the loss of about one thousand men, they entered and sacked the city, while the pope was obliged to withdraw to the castle of *St. Angelo*. The disorders committed by the soldiers were dreadful, and the booty they made incredible. They added insults to cruelty, and scoffs to rapaciousness. Upon the news of *Bourbon*'s death, his holiness, imagining that his troops, no longer animated by his implacable spirit, might listen to an accommodation, demanded a parley; but, in the mean while, neglected all means for defence. The *Spanish* and *German* foot, sensible of this, and that they had nothing to fear, proceeded to enter and to plunder the richer quarters of the city. The *Spanish* and *German* cardinals, and the nobility in their interest, thought themselves safe, and removed neither their persons nor effects. But they were deceived; for they underwent the same fate as their antagonists. The *Spaniards*, as the *Germans*, made amends by plunder for their want of pay; but many of the latter being *Lutherans*, they had no manner of regard to the sanctity either of churches or churchmen. The former were plundered of all their furniture, and the latter were punished in their persons. Cardinals and bishops were ignominiously exposed upon asse, with their legs and hands bound; and a great number of wealthy citizens, who were suspected of having secreted their effects and money, were tortured, many of them even to death, to oblige them to make discoveries. The paying an exorbitant ransom was the only safe-guard that the greatest *Roman* had; and the booty, in plunder and ransoms, is said to have amounted to about two millions and a half of ducats.

The Florentines endeavour to relieve the pope.

THOUGH the *Italians*, in general, hated both the person, and power of the pope, yet they could not bear the thoughts that barbarians should domineer in *Rome*; and the *Florentines* thought themselves obliged to rescue their countryman, and the head of the church, from his danger. *Rangone* advanced with the light horse and eight hundred harquebusiers to *Ponte di Salara*, in hopes to have the glory of delivering the pontiff; but understanding there that the *Bourbonites* were masters of *Rome*, he fell back to *Otricoli*, to join the rest of his army. He was greatly blamed for this retreat, it being thought that, if he had entered *Rome*, he might have put the *Bourbonites*, who

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is killed.*

who were all of them dispersed and intent on plunder, to the sword. But the root of the pope's misfortunes lay in the duke of *Urbino*, who still continued to command the *Venetians*, and who sought all opportunities to protract time. The *Swiss* in the *Venetian* service were so ill paid, that it was the third of *May* before they left *Florence*; and, by the dilatory measures of the duke, it was the eleventh before they advanced to *Crevietto*. Here *Bozzolo* laid a scheme for relieving the pope and the cardinals out of the castle of *St. Angelo*; but it proved abortive by *Bozzolo*'s falling from his horse. Mean while the duke of *Urbino* amused himself in bringing about a new revolution in favour of his friends in *Perugia*; but at last, on the nineteenth of the same month, by slow degrees, he came to *Nepi*, from whence the pope was informed, by *Guicciardin*, of his approach. His holiness was now far advanced in an accommodation with the *Bourbonite* army; but on the prospect of his being relieved, he broke it off. *Rangone* offered to *undertake* the deliverance of the pope, if supported by the *wardness* *duke of Urbino*, who consented to the same; but invented so many pretexts and trifling excuses for delaying the execution, that the design came to nothing. He even threatened to punish some of his officers who maintained that it was practicable to relieve the castle. In short, he at last declared he could not attempt it without fifteen thousand additional *Swiss* to his army, ten thousand *Italian* musqueteers, three thousand pioneers, and forty pieces of cannon. He desired *Guicciardin* to inform his holiness, that he could not proceed till such a force was assembled.

It was plain from this proposition, that the duke meant *Retreat of* to do nothing, because it was not only impossible to bring *the confederates* such an army to the field, but a fresh army was then on its *march* from *Naples* to reinforce the *Bourbonites* in *Rome*. After various consultations the confederate army retired to *Monteurosi*, shamefully abandoning the pope in his danger. The great prince of *Orange*, the founder of the *Dutch* republic, had succeeded to the duke of *Bourbon*'s command; and it, perhaps, was from the contempt he contracted for the pope and his religion, on this occasion, that he conceived ideas of the necessity for a reformation. The viceroy of *Naples* had been employed by the pope, when all other resources failed, for an accommodation; and he readily undertook it, both because he was disposed to serve his holiness, and because he was in hopes to have supplanted the prince of *Orange* in his command; but when he came to *Rome*, far from having any authority with the *Bourbonites*, he found his life in danger, by his offering to take upon him to treat; and therefore the pope

The pope
redeems
himself
from cap-
tivity.

was obliged, on the sixth of June, to come to a most disgraceful accommodation with his enemies. The terms were, that he should pay them four hundred thousand ducats, of which one hundred thousand were to be paid immediately, and the rest at stated times, but the whole within two months; and he was to remain a close prisoner till the first one hundred and fifty thousand were paid, together with the thirteen cardinals who were with him; after which they were to be removed to Gaeta, or Naples, there to wait for the determination of Charles: he likewise agreed to give hostages for the payment of the money, the castles of *St. Angelo, Ostia, Civita Vecchia, and Civita Castellana*, together with the cities of *Piacenza, Parma, and Modena*, and to submit to many other mortifications.

BUT his holiness, in this agreement, stipulated for more than he could perform. *Andrew Doria* being in possession of *Civita Vecchia*, refused to give it up without being paid his arrears; and the cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza* refused to submit to the Spaniards. The duke of *Ferrara* seized *Modena*, without resistance; and the *Venetians*, though they seemed to blame him, made themselves masters of *Ravenna*; as *Sigismondo Malatesta* did of *Rimini*.

Revolution
in Flo-
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THE Florentines, on this occasion, experienced a new revolution. The cardinal of *Cortona* continued to govern that state in the pontiff's name; but he no sooner heard of his being made a prisoner, than, despairing of raising money from the citizens, and loth to advance any himself, he summoned a general meeting; and he resigned into the hands of the citizens his power and authority, which they gladly accepted of, and thereby resumed their popular form of government. All he bargained for was, that the pope's nephews might have liberty to remain at *Florence* in a private capacity; and that a general amnesty should be published; all which being obtained, he retired to *Lucca*. He was scarcely arrived there, when he repented of his pusillanimous precipitate conduct, and sent messengers to prevail on the governors of the citadels of *Pisa* and *Leghorn*, who were friends to the *Medici* family, to keep possession of those forts. The Florentines, having foreseen what would happen, had been before hand with him, and partly by persuasion, partly by money, had got the places into their own hands. The Florentine people, thus having almost miraculously recovered their liberty and constitution, chose *Nicolo Capponi* gonfalonier of justice for one year, with a liberty of being confirmed for three. He was a person highly respectable by his blood, but more by his wisdom and virtue. He was zealous for the freedom

Born of his country ; but endeavoured to persuade his fellow-citizens to avoid that democratical spirit which had so often endangered or overturned their constitution.

THE *Florentines* were too much exasperated when they reflected on the vast sums they had expended in the quarrels of *Medici* ^{The Medici} family, to hearken to the voice of reason. The *enemies* ^{there.} of that house calculated, that it had cost them five hundred thousand ducats to defend the duchy of *Urbino* for the holy see ; that pope *Leo*'s wars with the *French* king had cost them as much ; that they had paid three hundred thousand ducats to the viceroy of *Naples* and the imperial generals, about the time of *Clement*'s creation ; and that they had expended six hundred thousand in the war against *Charles* ; so that, upon the whole, they calculated that the pope's quarrels, which were entirely foreign to their own, had cost them about two millions of ducats in a few years, (a sum that no crowned head in *Europe* could have advanced in so short a time) without receiving from it the smallest benefit either of power or revenue. The recollection of all this rendered the *Florentines* quite outrageous against the partisans of the *Medici*, whom they bitterly persecuted on every occasion. They went so far as to demolish all the arms and marks of distinction belonging to that house throughout their city, and even proceeded to appropriate their private estates for reimbursing themselves.

THE *Bourbon* army (for it properly can go under no other *Miseries of name*) still remained in *Rome* ; and the sweets of plunder had *Rome* ^{cont.} extinguished all discipline amongst them. They now listened *tinued.* to nothing but the dictates of rapaciousness. They disregarded the prince of *Orange*, while the viceroy of *Naples*, and the marquis of *Guglielmo*, were obliged to fly from *Rome* to escape their fury. This intemperate behaviour saved the pope from utter ruin. Twenty-two thousand regular troops were assembled in *Rome*, and its neighbourhood ; and they might have possessed themselves of all the ecclesiastical state ; but their views were confined to plunder entirely, and their riotous manner of life, together with the heats of the season, introduced amongst them pestilential diseases, which communicated themselves even to *Florence*, and swept off prodigious numbers. The inactivity of the *Bourbon* army, and the death of its general, prevailed with the *French* king to renew his negotiations for a general league against *Charles* in *Italy*, into which the king of *England* readily entered ; but failing in the performance of his engagements, they were converted into a subsidy in money, and *Francis* linked himself with the *Venetians* and the duke of *Milan*. It was agreed, to take into

the pay of their confederacy ten thousand Swiss and ten thousand Italian foot, besides ten thousand French, that were to be commanded by *Pietro Navarra*, five hundred lances, and eighteen pieces of artillery, the whole to be commanded by *Lautrec*, at the desire of the king of *England*.

A new confederacy. THE partizans of the *Medici* family continued still powerful in *Florence*; and though the emperor offered to take the new modelled state under his protection, at their own request made by the duke of *Ferrara*, they entered into the new confederacy, and obliged themselves to keep in pay five thousand foot, which highly exasperated *Charles*. The pestilence at last communicating itself to the army of the league, it retired first to *Orvieto*, and afterwards to *Castello della Pieve*; and being apprehensive they might be attacked by the imperialists, it was with difficulty they were prevented from taking shelter in the state of *Florence*. The pope now despaired of relief; and all the favour he could obtain, was leave to remain in the castle of *St. Angelo*, and to apply to *Charles* for favour by the cardinal of *Farnese*, who declined the legation. *Lautrec* at last, in the beginning of *July*, proceeded to *Italy*, the king of *England* having advanced vast sums for support of the league. The armaments on the part of the confederates were expected to be more powerful than any that had been yet made; and *Lautrec* had the title of captain-general of the league. His motions encouraged the *Venetians* and the *Milanese* to bestir themselves in *Lombardy*; but they were repulsed by *Antonio de Leva*, who likewise defeated the *Swiss* governor of *Mus*, as he was advancing to join the *French* army.

Dissimulation of the emperor. THE relief of the pope from his confinement in the castle of *St. Angelo*, became now a serious matter with all the powers of *Europe*. The emperor hearing of his captivity, ridiculously put himself into mourning, yet continued him in prison: upon which the kings of *England* and *France* sent formal ambassies to demand from *Charles* the deliverance of his holiness. This produced only vague promises; and had it not been for too much exasperating the other powers of *Europe*, particularly *England*, he would have ordered him to be carried to *Spain*; but *Charles* was intimidated by the confederacy that had been formed; and, in compliment to *Henry*, he ordered his holiness to be restored to his liberty, and put in possession of the towns and places that had been taken from him. This was far from giving peace to *Christendom*. The kings of *France* and *England*, though their views in making war were very different, prescribed to *Charles* the preliminaries for a treaty; the chief articles of

which were, his accepting of two millions of ducats in lieu of all his demands ; his sending home the *French* king's children, and suffering the affairs of *Italy* to remain as they were. *Charles* rejected those terms, and made preparations for an *Italian* war with more vigour than ever. The imperial army in *Rome* continued still indolent and inactive, and was daily wasting away by the plague, which drove the prince of *Orange* to *Sienna*, where he was obliged to employ his authority and some force to preserve the imperial interest.

HITHER TO *Charles* had proceeded no farther in the liberation of the pope, than by pretending to issue orders out. *Disorders of the Bourbonites.* But his troops refused to obey ; and the pope, unable to raise any more money than the first payment of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats, or to give any fresh security for the payment of the rest, they threatened to hang up all the hostages. At last, however, they moved from *Rome*, as it were for the change of air ; and, after plundering *Terni* and *Narni*, they prepared to make an irruption into the *Florentine* dominions. This was the more practicable on account of the weakness of the confederate army, the greatest part of which was assembled in the *Milanese*. The *Florentines* were sensible of their danger, and had raised for their defence eighty men at arms, one hundred and fifty light horse, and four thousand foot, all of them in excellent order, and punctually paid, which was far from being the case with the troops of their allies. The duke of *Urbino*'s dilitary motions were now openly blamed by all the parties in the confederacy ; and the *Venetians* themselves, suspecting him of treachery, had put his wife and son under arrest at *Venice*. It was thought, however, at this time, that the imperial army in *Italy* was reduced to ten thousand foot, which encouraged the confederates to make some motions in the *Romagna*, where they took the abbey of *San Pietro*, and some other inconsiderable places. Afterwards the duke of *Urbino* took up his quarters at *Narni*, as the *French* did at *Bevagna* ; while the *Florentine* infantry, commanded by *Oratio Baglioni*, having no quarters assigned them, took and plundered the town of *Montefalco*, and afterwards the *Bressian*.

Alike ineffectual were the operations of the confederates in *Lombardy*, till the arrival of *Lautrec* in *Piedmont*, in the beginning of *August*. His first undertaking was against *Bosco*, dy. *Affairs of Lombardy.* which he obliged to surrender, though it was garrisoned by one thousand imperialists. About the same time *Andrew Doria*, who was now in the pay of *Francis*, obliged *Genoa* again to submit to the *French*. Those successes gave great spirit to the affairs of the league under *Lautrec*, whose army was now assembled ; and he laid siege to the important city of *Alessandria*.

Alessandria, which he took; but he was obliged to put it into the hands of the duke of *Milan*. The city of *Milan* was, at this time, possessed by *Antonio de Leva*, who dispatched one of his officers, *Belgioioso*, to defend *Pavia*, which *Lautrec* instantly invested, and took about the middle of *September*. It is said, the remembrance of the defeat and disgrace which the *French* had suffered before that city, made them treat the inhabitants with vast inhumanity.

Danger of Florence. THE *Florentines*, at this time, considered themselves as being in the most imminent danger. The great force of the league lay in *Lombardy*; and their dominions were exposed to the imperial army in the *Romagna* and the ecclesiastical state. *Lautrec* had been soured by being forced to resign *Alessandria* to the confederates, and was therefore glad of an opportunity to humble them. After the taking of *Pavia*, the *Florentines* solicited him to march forward to the *Romagna*, while the duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians* insisted upon his besieging *Milan*. *Lautrec* complied with the *Venetians*, pretending that his orders were first to deliver the pope from his prison, and then to attempt the conquest of *Naples*. It was thought that *Lautrec* had private orders from *Francis* not to put *Sforza* in possession of all the *Milanesi*, but to keep it as a bait for the emperor, during the negociation, which was still in dependence.

Obstinacy of the emperor. THE loss of *Pavia* and *Alessandria*, far from mollifying *Charles*, rendered him more obstinate than ever, and he rose in his demands; one of which was, that the *Florentines* should pay him thirty thousand ducats for the non-observance of their engagements. At last, *Lautrec*, having concerted measures with *Doria* and the *Venetians*, for attacking *Naples* by sea, passed the *Po*; but received private orders from *Francis* to act with great coldness, so that he threw all the impediments he could into the affairs of the confederacy. He brought the duke of *Ferrara*, however, to agree to become a party in the league, which he did upon conditions very advantageous to himself and his family; and his example was followed by the marquis of *Mantua*. The slowness of *Lautrec*'s marches again endangered *Florence*; for tho' the duke of *Urbino* and the marquis of *Saluzzo* were now in *Tuscany*, their armies were so ill paid, that, if the Imperialists had advanced, they must have retired under the walls of *Florence*, the duke of *Urbino*'s troops not exceeding three thousand men. *Lautrec* remained all this time near *Parma* and *Piacenza*; but the apprehensions of his advancing to free the pope, now rendered *Charles* in earnest about his deliverance: tho' his terms continued to be so unsavourable to the pontiff, that the negociation was spun out

went to a great length to no purpose. His holiness pressed *Lautrec* to hasten his march, protesting that he should be obliged, if he did not, to accept of the emperor's terms, hard as they were. But *Charles*, who was apprehensive of a revolution in *Naples*, partly freed him from that disagreeable necessity, by ordering *Moncada* to finish the negociation, and to restore the pontiff to his liberty, which was done on the last day of *October*. The terms were, that his holiness should observe a strict neutrality between *Charles* and his enemies; and that he should deposit in the emperor's hands *Ostia*, *Civita Vecchia*, *Civita Castellana*, and the citadel of *Forlì*; and give hostages for the performance of the treaty. He was likewise to pay, in the whole, about three hundred and fifty thousand ducats amongst the *Spanish* and *German* soldiers; and to grant the emperor liberty to raise money out of the ecclesiastical revenues of *Spain* and *Naples*. His holiness was reduced to great difficulties, and obliged to pursue some very simoniacal measures to enable him to fulfil his contract. He even distrusted *Moncada* so much, that he stole in disguise out of the castle, and posted to *Orvieto*, before he could think himself in safety. Upon the pope's deliverance, *Lautrec* advanced to *Bologna*, where he spent twenty days, and strongly solicited the pope to enter into the confederacy; but he met only with evasive answers. The negociations for peace, however, still went on, and *Charles* appeared willing to make up matters with the *Florentines*; but the negociation proving ineffectual, war was denounced on the part of the confederacy against the emperor, who thereupon ordered the *French*, the *Venetian*, and *Florentine* ambassadors to be put under arrest.

A. D.
1528.*The pope
delivered.*

ALL hopes of an accommodation being now over, *Lautrec* *March of* left *Bologna*, and began his march for *Naples* by the way of *Lautrec to the Romagna* and the marquisate of *Ancona*, greatly against *Naples*. the will of the *Florentines* and the pope, who pressed him to march by the way of *Sienna*, that their territories might be covered from the Imperialists, who still remained in the country near *Rome*. But *Lautrec* by this time had entered *Naples*, and waited for the coming up of the *Florentine* foot, which went by the name of the *black bands*, whom he esteemed to be the best troops then in *Italy*. While those bands were on their march, they took and plundered *Aquila*; but on the 22d of *March*, having joined the confederate army, they and a body of *French* were sent, under *Pietro Navarra*, to besiege *Melfi*. The emulation between the *Florentines* and the *French* was so great, that they proceeded to a small breach they had made without any order, and so irregularly, that they were taken on their flanks, and repulsed with some loss. Next

His success, and
bravery of
the Flo-
rentines
there.

morning they renewed the assault, and took the town by storm, putting all the peasants and townsmen to the sword; while the prince of *Melfi* himself retired to the citadel, which, in a short time, he was obliged to surrender. All the garrison, except the prince and a few of his officers, were killed, and the whole loss of the besieged amounted to three thousand men. This success was followed by others of still greater importance; and, had not the confederate fleet under *Doria* been dispersed by a storm, the conquest of *Naples* might have been completed that summer. *Lautrec*, however, formed the siege of *Naples*, in which the *Florentine* troops distinguished themselves to great advantage; tho', not being supported by a proper cavalry, they suffered much, and grew more cautious; but *Lautrec* had not a naval force to make his undertaking good. *Doria* had secretly resolved to fall off from the league, and the *Venetians* were employed in other conquests. Those disadvantages, but above all the diminution of the *Florentine* troops from three thousand to two thousand, disheartened the *French*. *Lautrec* had, again and again, pressed the pope to enter into the league, which he seemed inclinable to do, and to desist from all his pretensions upon *Florence*, provided the *Venetians* would restore to him *Ravenna*, which they refused to do; but his holiness recovered *Rimini*, and, under pretence of acting as a mediator, he still declined acceding to the confederacy.

Policy of
the pope.

THE true cause of his backwardness was soon known to be the earnest desire he had to recover the dominion of *Florence* to himself and his family. Ever since his deliverance out of the castle of *St. Angelo*, he had been secretly carrying on intrigues in that city, and had sent a *Florentine* prelate to manage his concerns there, protesting, that he had laid aside all designs upon their freedom; and that all he begged was, that he and his family should not be exposed to insults; but remain in quiet possession of their external ornaments and marks of honour. The *Florentines* were so distrustful of his intentions, that they refused audience to his ambassador, which obliged his holiness to have recourse to the mediation of the *French* king. This expedient proved equally unsuccessful; for the *Florentines* still appeared averse to treat with him. At last, he applied to *Lautrec* to restore *Fabio Petrucci* to the government of *Sienna*, and to remove from thence the friends of *Florence*; but the friendship of the *Florentines* was at this time of so much importance to *Lautrec*, that he refused to concern himself in the matter. His holiness then endeavoured to prevail with *Pirroda da Castel di Piero*, on pretext of some private grievances, to surprise *Sienna* with eight hundred men, and

had some exiles he had collected at *Chiugi*: but the vigilance of the *Florentines* defeated this design also; for they made the viscount of *Turenne* sensible, that the pope had nothing in his eye but to gratify his private ambition, and distress the *Florentines*, by obtaining possession of *Sienna*, which, by its situation, would have greatly forwarded his views.

THE siege of *Naples* still went on; but *Doria* now declared *Naples*, that he was entered into the emperor's service; and by his defection, together with the plague and the diseases that raged *and death* in the *French* camp, their troops were reduced to a handful, of *Lautrec*, which must have been entirely cut in pieces, had it not been for the valour of the *Florentine* auxiliaries. At last, *Lautrec*, who was an excellent officer, dying, the marquis of *Saluzzo*, a general far inferior to him in abilities, succeeded to his command. Unable longer to continue the siege of *Naples*, he drew off his troops towards *Aversa*; but being briskly attacked in his retreat by the Imperialists under the prince of *Orange*, he was obliged to yield himself a prisoner; and to agree, that the *French* under his command should return to their own *Ruins of the country* without their colours, arms, horses, or effects; and French *in that the Florentine and other Italian* infantry should not serve *Naples*, *against the emperor* for six months: and thus all the mighty preparations and successes of the *French*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, came to nothing.

THE Imperialists all this time maintained their ground in *Lombardy*, though under great disadvantages, through the Lombard good conduct of *Antonio de Leva*; but *Doria* got possession of *dy and Genoa*, which he restored to its liberty. The *Florentines*, nevertheless, continued firm to their engagements with *France* and *England*, and consented to pay one third of the troops that served under *Renzo da Cieri*, who was still in possession of some places in the kingdom of *Naples*. All parties were now tired of the war, and entered upon a fresh treaty for peace; but, in the mean time, the Imperialists under the prince of *Orange* retook *Aquila* and *Matrice*, which last place had been abandoned by *Capillo Pardo*, who likewise carried off with him the money advanced by the *Florentines* for its defence. The pope, all this while, pretended to breathe nothing but peace; and offered, if *Ravenna* and *Cervia* were restored to him, to make up all matters in dispute with the *Florentines*, who still continued to supply *Renzo* with men and money. Their firmness induced *Charles* to listen to the proposals of his holiness, whose views continued to be fixed on the recovering his authority in *Florence*. He plainly perceived, that he could not bring the *French* to be subservient to his designs there, and he hoped every thing from *Charles*. *Braccio Baglioni* had claims

Firmness of claims upon *Perugia*, in which he was favoured by the pope, the Florentines out of hatred to the *Florentines*; and that induced his rival *Malatesta* to leave the service of his holiness, and to enter against the pope, into that of the *French* and the *Florentines*. The pope did all he could to prevent this defection from his interests; but the

Florentines thought him so useful an ally, that they gave him two thousand crowns salary, and the command of one thousand foot, besides providing for his sons, and giving him other lucrative places and pensions. He, on his part, engaged, upon the *Florentines* paying two hundred foot for the defence of *Perugia*, which they likewise took into their protection, to have always one thousand of his own troops at their service, even though he should be abandoned by the *French*.

who gains over Mala- THE pope complained bitterly, on this occasion, to the French king, that the *Florentines* had debauched from his service a subject and a state belonging to the holy see; and *Francis* endeavoured to persuade *Malatesta* to continue in the pontiff's pay. But all was in vain; for *Malatesta* obstinately adhered to his engagements with the *Florentines*, who now openly assisted him, in defiance of his holiness. *Capponi* continued to be still gonfalonier of *Florence*, and endeavoured, by wisdom and moderation, to preserve the liberties of his country; but without doing any thing harsh or unjust to the adherents of the house of *Medici*. This conduct was disliked by the enemies of that house, who continued implacable against it; and, after two years of *Capponi*'s office were expired, they caballed against his continuing in it for a third. *Capponi* still maintained his credit with the wisest and worthiest part of the citizens, and with their privy he entered into a private correspondence with the pontiff, to divert him from coming to any violent resolutions against the state. The correspondence, however, was discovered to *Capponi*'s enemies, by his dropping a letter which he had received from *Rome*; and which was so maliciously represented by some of the members of the higher

Revolution council, that the youths of *Florence* rose in arms, seized on the town-house, and, calling the magistrates and citizens together in a tumultuous manner, they first put the gonfalonier under arrest, and deprived him of his office: a sentence which was ratified by the upper council. After this, the gonfalonier was tried before the proper judges for corresponding with the enemies of the state; but, being acquitted by them with great honour, he was attended to his palace by the nobility and chief citizens of *Florence* in a body. He was succeeded in his office of gonfalonier by *Francesco Carducci*, a person of very inferior qualities to him.

THE duke of *Urbino* still continued to command the troops *Affairs of* of the confederates in *Lombardy*, and had by this time cleared *Lombardy* himself of all suspicion at *Venice*. He had, in conjunction with the *French* general *St. Paul*, and the duke of *Milan*, recovered almost the whole duchy, except *Milan* and *Como*, which were still maintained by *Antonio de Leva*, who, about this time, recovered *Novara*; and, though disabled by the gout, lameness, rheumatism, and other diseases, he surprised, defeated, and took prisoner *St. Paul* at *Landriano*. This defeat obliged the *French* to evacuate almost all the *Milanese*, and to retire to *Lodi*. But the negotiations for peace became now more serious than ever, and the chief powers at war seemed sincerely disposed towards an accommodation. The pope had behaved so artfully, that though he was despised and distrusted by all parties, yet his friendship became necessary to all of them; but the emperor outbid all the rest. A treaty was concluded between them at *Barcelona*, by which his holiness obliged himself to grant the imperial troops a free passage through the ecclesiastical state. *Charles*, on the other hand, engaged to reinstate *Alessandro de Medici*, the son of *Lorenzo de Medici*, the late nominal duke of *Urbino*, in all his family rights, and power over the *Florentine* state, as exercised before the expulsion of his family; his holiness promising to pay the necessary expences attending that restitution. The pope was again to be put into the possession of *Cervia*, *Ravenna*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Rubiera*, without prejudice, however, to the rights of the empire and those of the holy see. The pope was to grant the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples* to *Charles*, together with a vast number of ecclesiastical immunities and privileges in that kingdom; and, in case *Francesco Sforza* was, upon trial, found to have been guilty of high treason against his imperial majesty, the duchy of *Milan* was to be disposed of, by the joint consent of both parties. Other articles, not so material to our present purpose, were likewise stipulated between them; and, to bind the whole accommodation, *Charles* agreed to give his natural daughter, *Margaret*, in marriage to *Alessandro de Medici*, with an annuity of twenty thousand ducats, and an investiture of all the secular greatness of the *Medici* family. It is remarkable, that *the Florentines*, when this peace was concluded, did not know of the advantageous turn his affairs had taken in *Lombardy*, yet he readily confirmed the articles on the 29th of *June*, and solemnly swore to the observance of them before the high altar of the cathedral church of *Barcelona*.

THIS peace was not the only blow the *Florentines* received at this time; for while *Francis* was giving them the strongest af-

assurances of his adherence to his league with them, he actually entered into a negociation at *Cambray* for an accommodation with *Charles*. The conferences were managed by the French king's mother and the lady *Margaret*, sister to the emperor, assisted by ambassadors from *England* and the pope. On the 5th of *August* the treaty was concluded and published. The terms were, that the French king's children should be released, on payment of a large sum to *Charles*, who was to be put into possession of all that the French held either in the duchy of *Milan*, or the kingdom of *Naples*. *Francis* was likewise to assist *Charles* in obliging the *Venetians* to restore the towns they had taken from him in *Puglia*, and they and the *Florentines* had four months allowed them for acceding to the treaty.

who are abandoned by the French king.

It must be confessed, that the whole of this negociation was disgraceful to *Francis*, who, in other respects, was a generous open-hearted prince. But, indeed, the nature of the times did not much favour the exercise of those virtues in sovereigns. *Francis* seemed to be ashamed of what he had done; and, after the peace had been concluded in his name, he came to *Cambray*, where the ambassadors of the confederates, particularly those of *Florence*, still remained. He artfully declined giving them all audience at once; but taking each separately, he apologized to all for the necessity he was under, on account of his children, to conclude the peace. As to the *Florentines*, he seemed greatly concerned for their interest, because they had depended on his good faith. He pretended, to their ambassadors, that he never would see them oppressed; and promised to lend them forty thousand crowns, to assist them in defending their liberties; and gave leave for *Stefano Colonna*, an officer of reputation in his service, to enter into their pay. But our author observes, that the promise of the money vanished into smoke.

Charles begins hostilities against them,

EVERY thing now tended towards the great catastrophe of the *Florentine* liberty. *Charles* had sent before him two thousand Spanish foot, to wait for his arrival at *Genoa*; and no sooner had he signed the convention with the pope, than he ordered the prince of *Orange*, who was then at *Aquila*, on the confines of *Naples*, reviewing his troops, to march into the *Florentine* territories. The prince detested the commission; but was obliged to obey, though he threw all the rubs he could in the way to render it abortive. On the last of *July* he repaired to *Rome*, to concert with his holiness the operations of the campaign. Many difficulties occurred, and the prince was sometimes on the point of breaking off the conferences. He pleaded; that he had no money; and the pontiff, with

With great difficulty, agreed to advance thirty thousand ducats, and forty thousand more in a short time, upon the prince's undertaking to drive *Malatesta Baglione* out of *Perugia*, and to reduce that city to the obedience of the church; and then to proceed against *Florence*, where he was to re-establish the authority of the *Medici* family. The prince, having now no farther pretense for delay, assembled his army, which consisted of three thousand *German*, and four thousand *Italian*, foot; the chief officers under him being *Pierlugi da Farnese*, the count *di San Secondo*, colonel *Martis*, and *Schiarra Colonna*. He was to be followed by the Spanish foot under the marquis of *Guglielmo* in *Naples*; and the pope lent him three pieces of *cannon*, and other artillery, out of the castle of *St. Angelo*.
and lands at Genoa.

THE *Florentines* were far from being daunted, as the pope had expected, at the march of the prince, and appeared to be unanimously resolved to defend their liberties and independency, when advice came of *Charles* having arrived at *Genoa*, on the 12th of *August*, with a large fleet, on board of which were nine thousand foot and one thousand horse, all veteran troops; while at the same time *Felix*, one of his generals, marched into *Lombardy* with eight thousand *Germans*. The *Florentines* were well apprized of the designs on foot against them; but could not bring themselves to believe, that the immemorial hatred between the popes of *Rome* and the emperors of *Germany* were so far extinguished, as that *Charles* could easily behold *Florence* become again subject to the holy see. The boasted confederacy was now reduced to the *Florentines*, the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Ferrara*, the duke of *Milan* having entered into a private negociation with his holiness. The *Venetians* sought only to secure what they had acquired; and the duke of *Ferrara* was sure of having good terms, but held out till he could get the best. The *Florentines*, alone, acted with good faith to themselves and their allies. That they might not be wanting in point of prudence, as soon as they heard that *Charles* was arrived in *Italy*, they deputed four of their most considerable citizens to attend him as their ambassadors, and fairly to represent the hardships they were under. The *Venetians* were offended at this step of the *Florentines*, who were likewise blamed by the duke of *Ferrara*, because it looked like a separate negociation. That duke, however, imitated their example; and the *Venetians* themselves consented that the duke of *Milan* should make the best terms he could with the emperor.

THOUGH the *Florentines* proceeded with great wisdom and courage, yet they were not fully apprized of the connexions *and con-*
duct of the
Charles and the pope. The reader, perhaps, needs *not* *Floren-*
tines,

not be informed that the divorce was now in agitation between *Henry VIII.* and queen *Catherine*, aunt to *Charles*, who had treated the pope so favourably as he did, that he might prevail with him to refuse the divorce, and to excommunicate *Henry*, if he should marry another wife, while *Catherine* was alive. His holiness was sensible how much this affair concerned the house of *Austria*, and had made the reinstating the *Medici* family to their power in *Florence* the price of his compliance. The *Florentine* ambassadors acquitted themselves to admiration, and with great dignity. Repairing to *Genoa*, where *Charles* was, they congratulated him on his arrival, and discharged their commission; but without making any mean submissions. They were answered by *Charles*'s first minister, that it did not consist with the imperial dignity to treat with the ambassadors of a subject state, who had joined the enemies of its lawful sovereign, and therefore had forfeited its privileges; and that *Charles* expected they should obtain a commission for a treaty with the pontiff, after which he would perhaps deign to hear what they had to propose. The ambassadors reported this answer to their principals at *Florence*, who sent them an ample commission to treat with *Charles*, but not with the pontiff; ordering them, at the same time, to admit of no proposals from him; and not to visit the cardinal *de Medici*, who was one of the ambassadors attending *Charles* on behalf of his holiness. For those reasons, when *Charles*, in the beginning of *September*, went to *Piacenza*, he refused to suffer the *Florentine* ambassadors to enter that city. Even this severe treatment did not discourage the *Florentines* from making preparations for a gallant defence. They took into their pay the warlike abbot of *Farfa* and two hundred horse, and sent him money for raising one thousand foot, which was, by the pope's orders, intercepted near *Bracciano*: the abbot, however, soon made reprisals, by seizing the person of cardinal *Santa Croce*, one of the ambassadors the pope sent to *Charles*; and putting him under arrest, which obliged his holiness to refund the money. They had cast their eyes upon Don *Ercole da Este*, the duke of *Ferrara*'s eldest son, to be captain-general of their troops, and had sent him levy money for one thousand foot; but the duke of *Ferrara* prevailed upon his son not to accept the command; and he was mean enough even to detain the money, though he sent his cavalry into the *Florentine* service.

His holiness having, by those proceedings, entered into a state of hostilities with the *Florentines*, and treated *Malatesta Baglioni* as a rebel, *Charles* gave orders for *Antonio de Leva* to enter *Lombardy* at the head of all the *Spanish* forces, and offered

ferred to land them at *Spetia* in the *Genoese* dominions, as being *Progress of* *near Florence*; but the pope, looking on that territory as his *the war* *own*, was far from encouraging so powerful an invasion; and *against* therefore it was resolved to begin the operations on the side *them*. of the *Romagna*, under the prince of *Orange*. He accordingly directed his march against *Spelle*, where the best of his officers, *Giovanni de Hrbina*, was killed by a shot from the place, while he was reconnoitring it. The garrison, which consisted of five hundred foot and twenty horse, was commanded by *Lione Baglioni*, a natural brother of *Malatesta*, who made a cowardly surrender of the place, upon a single battery being opened against it; the garrison capitulating to march out without any arms but their swords, and as many effects as they could carry, and not to serve against *Charles* for three months.

THE bishop of *Tarbe* was at this time in *Tuscany*, as am- *Diffimula* bassador from *France*, and encouraging the few remains of *tion of* the confederacy, particularly the *Florentines*, to hold out to the *Francis*. last, because his master was preparing to send a great force to their assistance. The intention of *Francis*, by those declarations, was to multiply the difficulties of *Charles*, every day producing fresh doubts and obstacles to the execution of the treaty between them. Though he had no intention to favour the *Florentines*, yet he thought he might more readily recover his children by spiriting up an opposition to him in *Tuscany*. He succeeded so far, that the war was renewed between *Charles*, on the one part, and the duke of *Milan* and the *Vene- tians*, on the other, in *Lombardy*. The pope, being afraid that, by this newly rekindled war, he might be disappointed in his views upon *Tuscany*, interposed as a mediator with all parties; and *Charles*, alarmed by the progress of the *Turks* in *Hungary* and *Austria*, became every day more pliable. The *Venetians*, on the other hand, always frugal of their money, had laid up their fleet, and had sent orders to their general, the duke of *Urbino*, to act upon the defensive in the *Bresciano*. In the mean while, the active *Antonio de Leva*, whom age and infirmities had now reduced to be carried in a litter upon men's shoulders, took *Pavia*, almost without resistance; while the marquis of *Mantua*, who was now in the imperial pay, was making preparations for besieging the duke of *Milan* in *Cremona*, which was succoured by the *Venetians*, who dreaded the neighbourhood of the imperialists.

AFTER the prince of *Orange* had taken *Spelle*, being joined *Progress of* by the Spanish foot under the marquis de *Guafo*, he advanced *the prince* against *Perugia*, where he had entered into a secret negotia- *of Orange*. tion with *Malatesta* to persuade him to submit to the pope. As the views of his holiness against *Perugia* reached at that time

time no farther, than that the inhabitants, and the garrison, which consisted of three thousand Florentine foot, might not interrupt his designs upon Florence, he offered *Malatesta* very advantageous terms; and that not only his estate and effects should be preserved, but that he should be at liberty to withdraw with the garrison, to the defence of the *Florentines*; and that none of his enemies should be admitted into *Perugia*. *Malatesta* would have gladly accepted of those terms; but, out of a point of honour, he declared he would not, unless with the consent of the *Florentines*. To bring the latter to agree to them, he informed them, that he could not defend *Perugia*, without a fresh supply of one thousand foot, and unless they would cover the neighbourhood of *Perugia* with the rest of their troops; which, in fact, it was not possible for them to do, without leaving their own capital defenceless. *Malatesta* then represented to them, that, in all probability, if an accommodation was not effected, the prince of *Orange* would advance with his main army directly against *Florence*, and leave *Perugia* to the mercy of the pope, who had troops of his own sufficient to distress, if not to reduce it.

Difficulties about Malatesta. *MALATESTA*'s suggestions were fully debated at *Florence*, where the danger their garrison was in of being intercepted, and some distrust they had of his fidelity, prevailed on the magistracy to resolve upon granting him leave to accept of the terms proposed by the pope and the prince of *Orange*. They accordingly, on the 6th of September, sent a messenger with leave to *Malatesta* to close with the terms proposed to him; but by all means to withdraw his garrison to *Florence*. Before this messenger arrived at *Perugia*, the prince of *Orange* had made so great a progress, that *Malatesta* had agreed to the terms; and the prince, that the garrison might receive no interruption in returning to *Florence*, had agreed to make a halt of two days to favour their retreat. It was the 12th of December before the *Florentines* marched out of *Perugia*, which they did with such expedition, that they arrived the same day at *Cortona*; and the Imperialists still advancing, the whole war was in a manner contracted to the neighbourhood of *Florence*.

Siege of Cortona. THE *Venetians* and the duke of *Ferrara*, well knowing that the pope's principal object was to re-establish his family in *Florence*, were all this while exciting the *Florentines* to persevere in their own defence, in hopes of obtaining better terms for themselves; nor, in the end, were they deceived in their schemes, though they deceived the *Florentines* in all the magnificent promises they made them. The prince of *Orange* was at this time busy in the siege of *Cortona*, which proceeded

but

but slowly, though the place had but seven hundred in garrison; whereas it required one thousand to make an effectual defence. *Antonio Francesco Albizi* then commanded for the *Florentines* in *Arezzo*, where the garrison was very strong. Being apprehensive of the fate of *Cortona*, and that, after taking it, the prince of *Orange* would certainly march directly against *Florence*, and thereby cut off all communication between that city and *Arezzo*, he resolved to withdraw the garrison, and to leave no more than one hundred soldiers for the defence of the castle; but being arrived at *Feghini*, he had an interview with *Malatesta*, who persuaded him to send back one thousand of his men to *Arezzo*.

In the mean while, on the 17th of September, the prince of *Orange* continued the siege of *Cortona*, though not very briskly; but the garrison, despairing of relief either from *Florence* or *Arezzo*, surrendered the place, and agreed to pay to the prince twenty thousand ducats to exempt them from being plundered. The example of *Cortona* was followed by *Arezzo*, which is which the garrison abandoned; and the inhabitants surrendered, on condition of being taken under the imperial protection, and not to return under the government of the *Florentines*, as imagining that they must then return to be subject to the house of *Medici*. But *Charles* had now declared, that he would hear of no terms, nor admit the *Florentine* ambassadors to treat, unless the *Medici* were re-established in their power over the *Florentines*; and the prince of *Orange* declared, that he must proceed to extremities, if that re-establishment was not complied with.

IT is amazing that the *Florentines* had the courage and constancy to withstand, as they did, so many powerful enemies, and the practices of so many treacherous allies. Italy considered the reduction of *Florence* as the price of her peace; and by their every prince and state within it thought themselves concerned either in opposing or forwarding the favourite view of his holiness; but all for the same end, their own interest. His holiness thought no gratification too great, that could acquire a friend or remove an enemy: even petty lords availed themselves of the distresses of the *Florentines*, by receiving money for their levies, and then going over to their enemies. The army of the prince of *Orange* now consisted of four thousand five hundred Spanish and German foot, all of them excellent troops, and about six thousand *Italians*, three hundred men at arms, and five hundred light horse; but it was miserably provided in cannon, so that the prince was obliged to apply to the *Siennese*. The aversion which that people had for the house of *Medici* was equal to that of the *Florentines*;

and though they were in no condition to refuse the prince's demands, yet they proceeded in their compliance with him reluctantly and slowly. With this melancholy prospect before their eyes, the *Florentines* still continued to treat. By gaining time, they had leisure to fortify their city; and they were in hopes that the imperial army must moulder away, or be disbanded for want of money. But, above all, they were still in hopes of being able to mollify *Charles*, and had chosen four new ambassadors to treat with him.

Suggestions against them. BUT they soon found all their expectations vain, and that they must stand or fall by themselves. Nothing was so much talked of in *Italy*, both amongst their friends and allies, as their ingratitude towards the house of *Medici*, who had raised them to so high a pitch of grandeur; who, by their private fortunes, had enriched their state, adorned their city, and polished their manners; who had ruled them with such gentleness and justice, that their superiority was not felt, who never had been accused but upon groundless suspicions and unsupported clamour; and who never had had an enemy but those who were enemies to the peace of their country, and the order of government. The *Florentines*, on the other hand, having but newly recovered their liberty, were passionately fond of it; but they perceived that they could not enjoy it, and manifest their aversion to the house of *Medici* at the same time. They, therefore, in a general meeting, or parliament, resolved to agree to re-admit the family of *Medici*, and to treat with the pope, provided their liberties were not to be affected, or the popular form of their government altered.

They negotiate with the pope; Deputies were sent to signify this resolution to the pope, and others were sent to the prince of *Orange*, who had expressed great kindness for their state, provided the *Medici* family was restored to it. The pope behaved towards the ambassadors with his usual politeness, dissimulation, and caution. He protested, that he had no design upon the liberties of *Florence*; that he had no difference with their state, farther than as being an ally to the emperor, who was the direct lord of it; and that the best method they could pursue was to leave their interests intirely in his hands, and to trust to his honour, being determined to employ all his credit with *Charles* in their favour, and to do them more good offices than they had reason to expect at his hands. The *Florentines*, to put his professions to a trial, requested that he would procure an immediate stop to be put to the march of the imperial army; which the crafty pontiff absolutely refused to do, as well knowing to what the request tended. As to the prince of *Orange*, he pretended, that, being under the emperor's orders,

ders; he could do nothing of himself. Notwithstanding this, the slowness of his motions were very favourable to the *Florentines*.

THE latter, all this while, continued their endeavours to *but fortify* their city; but found it impracticable to do it *effectually*, before the prince of *Orange*, who, on the 24th of *September*, lay at *Monte Varchi* in the *Val d'Arno*, eight miles distant from *Florence*, could come before it. They received likewise intelligence, that *Ramazzotto*, a papal general, had advanced from the *Bolognese*, and had entered the vale of *Mugello* with three thousand men, in order to proceed to *Prato*; so that their city was in danger of being shut up by its enemies on all sides. The apprehension of this drove many of the inhabitants out of *Florence*; and the council of ten, who had the management of the war, gave it as their unanimous opinion, that the *Florentines* had no chance for safety, but to send a free and unconditional offer of submission to the will of the sovereign pontiff. That council, however, being subordinate to the supreme council, the affair was laid before them, who, with the gonfalonier at their head, and supported by the partizans of popular government, and the youth of the city, condemned the resolution, and prepared for a vigorous defence.

THE prince of *Orange*, without shewing any resentment *Slowness* at the *Siennese* for not expediting the march of their artillery, of the pretended he could not advance farther than *Feghini* and *An-* prince of *cisa*, which he did on the 27th, before the arrival of the *Orange* artillery from *Sienna*; but it was thought, that, if he had proceeded on the 28th, which was the day the disagreement happened between the supreme council and the council of ten, he might have taken possession of *Florence*, even without artillery. His slowness raised the *Florentines* from their despondency; and they worked so incessantly upon their fortifications, that, by the 4th of *October*, they were judged to be in a state of defence. The citizens became now unanimous to hold out to the last; and their resolution was confirmed when they received advice that *Ramazzotto*, whose troops were without money, and without discipline, having plundered the *Mugello*, was returned to the *Bolognese*, where he purchased from his soldiers all their plunder.

THE pope, from the late applications made to him by the *Florentines*, and the new deputation they had ordered to *Charles*, imagined that they were disposed to make an absolute surrender of their government into his hands, and sent the archbishop of *Capua* to the imperial camp, to prevent the country being ravaged. The archbishop was obliged to pass

through *Florence*, where he found the citizens far otherwise disposed than his holiness had imagined, which made him hasten the interview which he proposed to have with the emperor at *Bologna*, concerning the affairs of *Italy*, but chiefly those of *Florence*.

Siege of Florence.

IT was the 20th of *October* before the prince of *Orange*, who still pretended to wait for the *Siennese* artillery, reached the plain of *Ripoli*, two miles from *Florence*, with all his troops and cannon. As the situation of that city is very unequal, lying in the midst of hills interspersed with vallies, and divided by the river *Arno*, the siege of it proved a matter of more difficulty than the prince had foreseen. On the 24th he took possession of the hills near the fortifications, all along from the gate of *San Miniato* to that of *San Giorgio*, on the one side, and, on the other, from the same gate to the road from the gate of *San Nicolo*. The *Florentines* had in their city eight thousand troops, on whom they might depend; and they had placed sufficient garrisons in *Prato*, *Pistoia*, *Empoli*, *Pisa*, and *Livorno*; and intrusted the defence of the places of less importance to their own inhabitants, and the strength of their situation. The *Siennese* thought that this was a proper time for recovering *Monte Pulciano* from the *Florentines*; but it was luckily saved by some *Florentine* foot who were in the place, and who were afterwards supported by three hundred horse under *Napoleone Orsino*, a *Florentine* officer. The country of *Tuscany*, at this time, was terribly ravaged by troops of banditti and irregulars, the *Siennese* particularly, who plundered equally friends and foes.

Charles prepossessed against them.

IT was now plain to his holiness, that the siege of *Florence* would prove a matter of the utmost difficulty. He was then arrived at *Bologna*, to which place *Charles* repaired soon after; and at their interview, and in their conversation, they treated each other with the greatest marks of friendship, esteem, and affection. *Charles*, receiving undoubted intelligence that the *Turks* had been repulsed before *Vienna*, and had retreated towards *Hungary*, resolved now to proceed more earnestly than ever in settling the affairs of *Italy*. He had been prevailed upon by the pope to admit the new *Florentine* deputies to an audience; and the answer he gave them was dictated by his holiness, who more than ever insisted upon the reduction of *Florence*. *Charles*, who had been impressed with a notion that the *Florentines* always inclined to the *French* interest, had no objection to that; but complained of the want of money, and said, that it was necessary to come to an accommodation with the *Venetians* and the duke of *Milan*, who otherwise might assist the *Florentines*. The pope, on the other hand,

hand, offered to pay to the army of the prince of *Orange*, who had left the siege, and was come to *Bologna* to assist at the conferences, sixty thousand ducats every month, provided his imperial majesty, after coming to an agreement with the *Venetians* and the duke of *Milan*, would employ all his troops in *Lombardy* in the siege of *Florence*. The affair of the restitution of *Modena* and *Reggio*, to the duke of *Ferrara*, came next to be considered. *Charles* had promised to that duke, that they should be restored to him; but the pope remained inflexible against the restitution, because of their importance to *Parma* and *Piacenza*.

WHILE the conferences were thus depending at *Bologna*, *Progress of accounts* came of the vast progress the *Lutherans* were making *in Germany*, where every thing was in confusion, and which *the Turks* again threatened to invade. This news determined *Charles* to come to some agreement with the duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians*. Before his arrival in *Italy*, he had been so exasperated at that duke, that it was thought he would have cut off his head, had it been in his power; but reflecting now on the vast sums he had to no purpose lavished in *Italy*, his only study was how to bring about an accommodation with him, without derogating from the imperial authority. Had he listened to *Anthony de Leva*, he would have transferred the *Milanese* to the house of *Medici*; but the pope was averse to that proposal, because of the danger and difficulty with which it must be attended, and became a strong advocate for *Sforza*, who continued to be strenuously supported by the *Venetians*. *Charles*, therefore, resolving to cut short all difficulties, sent *Sforza* a safe-conduct, that he might come and justify his conduct before him at *Bologna*. *Sforza* accepted of the safe-conduct, and arrived at *Bologna*, where appearing before the emperor, he thanked him for being admitted to his presence; but added, that he required no other safe-conduct than his own innocence and his majesty's justice, and laid the paper that contained it before *Charles*, who was highly pleased with the duke's magnanimity. It was now the end of November; and though the pope was indefatigable in his endeavours to bring about a peace between *Charles* and the *Venetians*, as well as *Sforza*, the negotiations took up almost a month. At last, on the 23d of December, both accommodations were concluded.

By that with *Sforza*, the latter was to pay to *Charles*, *A peace concluded.* within one year, one hundred thousand ducats, and fifty thousand ducats annually for ten years after; in consideration of which, *Charles* agreed to confirm to *Sforza* the investiture of the *Milanese*; but he was to keep in his hands *Como*, and the

castle of *Milan*, till the first payment was made. By the treaty with the *Venetians*, the latter promised to restore *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, with all their dependencies, to the pope; to restore to the emperor all that they possessed in the kingdom of *Naples*; and to pay him, by way of arrears, fifty thousand ducats, upon his restoring to them their places in his possession; and they were afterwards to pay one hundred thousand ducats more. These are the only heads of this accommodation that fall within our design.

The siege of Florence continued,

ALL the wars of *Italy* were now contracted to the siege of *Florence*, which continued to make so gallant a defence, that the prince of *Orange* was obliged to bring a body of pioneers, and some field-pieces, from *Lucca*. He then erected a battery against the bastion of *San Miniato*, which he endeavoured to storm, but with very little success; so that all he could do was to take possession of the towns of *Colle* and *San Geminiano*, for securing his convoys from *Sienna*, from whence he drew his provisions. All his assaults continuing ineffectual, the operations of the siege were slackened, and the prince, drawing off his troops, turned it into a kind of blockade; during which the besieged made several sallies with considerable success. In this languishing state of the siege, *Charles*, having completed his accommodation, sent from *Lombardy* four thousand *German*, and two thousand five hundred *Spanish* foot, eight hundred *Italians*, and above three hundred light horse, with twenty-five pieces of artillery, to assist at the siege of *Florence*; but the valour of the besieged, and the strength of the city, was such, that the besiegers durst not venture upon an assault: while the *Florentines*, now thinking they were no match for their enemies in the open field, discontinued their sallies; so that, for some time, a total inactivity ensued between the two parties. The prince, however, found means to send fifteen hundred foot, four hundred horse, and four pieces of cannon, against *Lastra*, which, according to *Paul Jovius*, made a noble defence; but not being relieved in time, it was taken, and about two hundred of the garrison put to the sword. This loss was recompensed to the *Florentines* by a successful sally, which *Stefano Colonna*, at the head of sixteen thousand *Florentines*, all disguised like *Spaniards*, made upon a quarter of the besiegers, where he put a vast number to the sword, and returned to *Florence*, without losing a man. It was about this time that *Pirro di Piero*, in marching to attack *Montopoli*, a town in the *Pisan* territory, was intercepted by the *Florentine* garrison of *Empoli*, which defeated him, and made many of his men prisoners. *Napoleone Orsino* likewise checked *Aleffandro Vitelli*, who committed great ravages

vages in the territory of *Borgo San Sepolcro*. On the other hand, the Florentine garrisons of *Pistoia* and *Prato*, intimidated by the reinforcement that had arrived from *Lombardy* to the besiegers, abandoned those places, which immediately submitted to the pontiff; as did *Pietra Santa*.

IN the beginning of the year 1530, the besiegers had been *to the disadvantage* so far from making any progress against *Florence*, that the pope *advantage* was persuaded, by *Malatesta Baglioni*, to send the bishop of *Faenza* to *Florence* to treat with them of an accommodation. *perialists*. The *Florentines*, who were far from being averse to peace, suffered this negociation to go on. But the whole appeared afterwards to be an artifice of *Malatesta*, whose time in the *Florentine* service was now almost expired; for the *Florentines*, for fear of his going over to the pope, who had offered him great terms, renewed their contract with him, and appointed him to be their captain-general. The bishop of *Faenza*'s negociation, however, with *Malatesta*, encouraged the *Florentines* to make fresh applications, by their ambassadors, to the emperor and the pope; but without, in the least, departing from the demands they had made for securing their liberties, and this rendered the whole negociation fruitless; for *Charles* refused to admit them to his presence, and they returned to *Florence*.

THE marquis *del Guasco* commanded the imperial troops, *It is reinforced* that had come from *Lombardy* to assist at the siege of *Florence*; *forced*. and he encamped at *Peretola*, without venturing to advance farther, leaving the operations of the siege to the prince of *Orange*, who thought his character was now at stake, and resolved to proceed with the utmost vigour. In *January*, he erected new works, ordered his troops to take post nearer the city, and made dispositions for battering the bastion of *San Giorgio*, the strongest about *Florence*, and defended by *Stefano Colonna*. But after all the vast preparations the prince made, finding the attempt impracticable, he desisted from it; and thus a blockade, rather than a siege, was still continued.

THE *Florentines* were now in high spirits: by the *acces-* *Resolution* *sions of strength* the garrison had received, it amounted to *of the Flo-* about ten thousand men; but they received the pay of fourteen thousand. This confirmed the soldiers in their duty, *ficers*. and they refused no toils or danger in discharging it. Their officers, to encourage them to perseverance in those sentiments, held an assembly in the church of *San Nicolo*, where, after mass had been performed, they took a solemn oath, in the presence of *Malatesta*, their captain-general, to defend the city to the last extremity. They were not, however, unanimous.

nious in this resolution ; for *Napoleone Orsino*, after receiving advance-money from the *Florentines*, left their service, and at *Bracciano* entered into that of the pope and the emperor, to whom he promised that all the subalterns in his pay should follow him.

The pope applies to Francis.

THE unexpected defence made by the *Florentines* was so alarming to the pope, that he at last had recourse to the *French* king. *Francis*, who had his reasons at that time for managing his holiness, at his earnest solicitation sent *Clermont*, one of his ministers, to *Florence*, where, after making the best apology he could for the necessity his master was under to abandon them at the treaty of *Cambray*, offered his mediation between them and his holiness ; but at the same time gave them to understand in public, that *Francis* expected they would, in any event, submit to the pontiff and the emperor, and that all they were to expect from his negotiation, was to get the best terms that possibly could be obtained. But *Francis* was insincere in the whole transaction ; for though *Clermont*, in his master's name, required both *Malatesta* and *Stefano Colonna*, who received *French* pay, to leave *Florence*, he secretly advised them to the contrary ; and though *Francis* had carried his dissimulation so far as to recal *Vigny*, his resident at *Florence*, from thence, yet he still maintained an agent there, and gave the heads of the *Florentines* private assurances that he would send them effectual assistance as soon as he could recover his children out of the emperor's hands. The pope used likewise his utmost endeavours to prevail with *Francis* to discharge the *Florentine* ambassador from his court, and presented his chancellor and favourite with a cardinal's hat and the legateship of *France*, by the hands of the bishop of *Tarbe*. That prelate was, at the same time, empowered by his holiness to propose an interview between himself, the *French* king, and the emperor, at *Turin*. To this proposal he was answered, that such a meeting could, with no propriety, take place, while the young princes of *France* continued in prison ; nor did his majesty think it safe for him to run himself into the like danger.

The emperor crowned at Bologna.

His holiness having miscarried in this scheme, he persuaded the emperor to repair with him to *Sienna*, that they might be nearer at hand for giving orders about the siege of *Florence* ; but the emperor shewing some impatience at not having received the imperial crown in *Italy*, it was proposed that that ceremony should be performed at *Rome*. When he and the pope were on the point of setting out for that city, advices came that the disorders in *Germany* were encreased, and that the presence of *Charles* in the empire was now absolutely necessary

cessary for suppressing them, by calling a diet of the empire, a general council of the church, and for electing his brother the archduke *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*. Upon this the emperor and his holiness repaired to *Bologna*, where *Charles* was crowned. This ceremony being over, the duke of *Ferrara*'s affairs came next under consideration. The emperor had a much greater personal regard for that duke than he had for the pontiff, and had eluded all the pope's arts to bring him to a declaration in his favour concerning *Modena* and *Reggio*. On the seventh of *March* the duke came, under a safe-conduct that had been granted him, to *Bologna*, and the pope and he entered together into a compromise to refer all matters in difference between them to the emperor's arbitration. *Charles* affected great partiality for the pope, to whom he promised to adjudge *Modena* and *Reggio*, if upon examination they should be found to belong to the holy see; and if they should not, he promised to let the time prefixed for the arbitration elapse, without pronouncing any sentence at all. At the same time *Charles*, still farther to please his holiness, obliged the duke of *Ferrara* to recal his ambassador from *Florence*, and to furnish a body of pioneers to assist in the siege of that city. It was the twenty-second of *March* before the emperor left *Bologna*, and the thirty-first of the same month before the pontiff set out for *Rome*.

THE prospect of taking *Florence* was still at a great distance; *Progress* and though the prince of *Orange* had several times ordered *the* the bastion of *San Giorgio* to be stormed, his troops were *re-siege of* pulsed in all their assaults. The prince did not succeed bet- *Florence*. ter in his attempts to batter the same bastion, for his artillery was too weak to make any considerable impression upon it; and his army must have been greatly reduced in numbers, had it not received daily supplies of disbanded soldiers, invited thither by the plunder of the *Florentine* territories, and unable to find employment in any other part of *Italy*.

FRANCESCO FERUCCIO was then the *Florentine* commandant in the important town of *Empoli*. He had, by his boldness, activity, and fortune, risen to that station from a low command; and having been extremely fortunate in his excursions, he had got together a choice body of troops. The pope had got possession of the city of *Volterra*, as dependent upon *Florence*; but the castle holding out, the imperial army battered it with five pieces of artillery which they had brought from *Genoa*. The *Florentines* had the preservation of this fortress greatly at heart, and ordered one hundred and fifty horse, and five companies of foot, to advance to *Empoli*, and to put themselves under the command of *Feruccio*, who was

was to attempt the relief of the castle of *Volterra*. This detachment set out by night for *Empoli*, the foot taking one way, and the horse another; and the foot having defeated a party of imperialists who attacked them, both they and the horse arrived safe at *Empoli*. *Feruccio* lost no time in marching to the relief of the castle of *Volterra*, which he entered on the twenty-sixth of *April* with two thousand foot and one hundred and fifty horse. He instantly attacked and carried the intrenchments that had been raised by the imperialists, and the very next morning the city, and all the artillery employed in the siege, fell into his hands. This fortunate expedition was followed by other vigorous measures, which *Feruccio* undertook. His army daily increasing, he laid a scheme for surprising *Colle* and *San Geminiano*, and thereby cutting off all communication between *Sienna* and the imperial army before *Florence*, which must thereby have been vastly distressed; and which now despairing of taking *Florence* by storm, had again turned the siege into a blockade. But *Maramaus*, an imperial general, arriving with two thousand five hundred foot, all of them volunteers, in the neighbourhood of *Volterra*, defeated *Feruccio*'s schemes.

Imprudence of Feruccio. His imprudence occasioned a still greater blow to *Florence*. When he marched to the relief of *Volterra*, he left too slight a garrison in *Empoli*. This encouraged the marquis *del Guasto* to attack the place, which he took by storm, and put the garrison to the sword. This loss was the more sensibly felt by the *Florentines*, who greatly depended upon the convenience of its situation for distressing the imperialists, and obliging them to raise the blockade. On the other hand, the marquis *del Guasto*, after taking *Empoli*, joined *Maramaus*, who remained in the neighbourhood, or rather the suburbs, of *Volterra*; and his army then consisting of about six thousand men, he battered the city; and having made a breach, he attempted to storm it, but was beat off with the loss of four hundred men. He erected a new battery, and made a fresh assault; but being repulsed with a still greater loss, he raised the siege.

Distress of the Florentines. By this time the blockade of *Florence* had, by degrees, reduced that city to great want of provisions. On the ninth of *May* they attacked the imperialists, by a sally from the *Roman* gate; but with very little success, having lost one hundred and thirty men, and the besiegers about two hundred. They had now placed their chief dependence upon being succoured by the *French* king, who had actually remitted to them, though in partial ineffectual payments, twenty thousand ducats. But they were soon satisfied that they had nothing to expect

expect from *Francis*. The time of the performance of all his mighty promises was now arrived. He had, in the beginning of *June*, recovered his children, by paying the money stipulated for their deliverance. But some fresh causes of discontent, on both hands, arising between the pope and the emperor, the former began now to make advances to *Francis*, who was by no means averse to an accommodation; so that instead of sending the *Florentines* assistance, as he had promised, in men and money, he sent *Pierfrancesco da Pontremoli* to negotiate an agreement between them and the pontiff. The arrival of this minister at *Florence* threw a dreadful damp upon the *Florentines*, who now saw they were to be sacrificed to the extreme desire which *Francis* had to keep the pope on his side, by suffering the siege to go forward. Notwithstanding this galling disappointment, and all the miseries they suffered, *Their losses.* the *Florentines* still kept up their spirits; and on the very day that the *marquis del Guasto* took *Empoli*, *Malatesta* and *Stefano Colonna* made a sally with three thousand men, in two divisions, to attack the imperialists, who were quartered in the fortified monastery of *San Donato*. *Stefano* entered the trenches, and did considerable execution upon the enemy; but not being supported by *Malatesta*, whom he therefore accused of cowardice and treachery, he was obliged to retreat to the city.

THE distress of the *Florentines* for provisions still increasing, *They lose* and all their hopes of foreign assistance being now at an end, *all hopes* they had no resource but in *Feruccio*. They sent him orders of relief, to march from *Volterra* to *Pisa*, and after assembling all the *by the dead forces* there he could to march to *Florence*, being determined *feat of* upon his arrival to throw open their gates, and to come to a *Feruccio*. decisive action with the besiegers. Necessity alone justified this expedient, as *Feruccio* must fight his way through his enemies, every step he advanced. It was suspected, with some appearance of reason, that *Malatesta* apprized the prince of *Orange*, with whom he kept up a correspondence, of this design; and that he had given him assurances he would not attack the imperialists in his absence. Be that as it will, the prince, against all the rules of war, drew off the best part of his troops from the siege, and advanced to fight *Feruccio*, who, in his march from *Pisa*, proceeded by the way of *Lucca*, *in hopes of being joined by some of the Lucquese*. The two armies met together near *Cavignana*: that of the imperialists was superior in every respect; and a bloody engagement ensued, in which the prince of *Orange*, distinguishing himself rather as a private subaltern than a general, was killed. The imperialists, however, were victorious; and *Feruccio*, who was

was taken prisoner, was put to death in cold blood by *Maramaus*, in resentment, as was supposed, of his hanging a trumpeter, who, during the siege of *Volterra*, had been sent into that city with a message.

THOUGH *Guicciardin*, in his relation of all the passages during this siege, is evidently partial to the interests of the pope, whom he served; yet it appears upon the face of the very facts he relates, that the *Florentine* magistrates continued to defend themselves with astonishing intrepidity, still trusting to the care of Providence, or to some accident that might happen in their favour. Though pressed to surrender by *Gonzaga*, who succeeded the prince of *Orange* in his command, they rejected all terms of accommodation; and some amongst them were enthusiasts enough to believe that God would work a miracle for their deliverance. A great part of the citizens, however, were in their hearts disposed to listen to an accommodation; but were over-awed from discovering their sentiments. The magistrates, with the gonfalonier at their head, now came to the desperate resolution of attacking their enemies in their entrenchments, and gave orders for that purpose to their general *Malatesta*. He at first remonstrated upon the madness of the attempt, and the wickedness of bringing inevitable ruin on so noble a city; but at last, finding all his representations in vain, and influenced with the hopes of being restored by the pope to the government of *Perugia*, he flatly refused to obey the orders given him, and put his troops under arms. Upon this the magistrates formally divested him of his command; and some of the most resolute of the citizens went to intimate to him his dismission, and an order to withdraw out of the city with his own troops. All this put *Malatesta* into such a fury, that he drew his dagger, and would have killed one of the messengers, had he not been saved by some of his attendants. *Malatesta*'s obstinacy, however, on this occasion saved the city and its inhabitants from destruction, by encouraging all the *Medicean*, and the moderate party, to join him; so that all *Florence* was instantly in an uproar. This did not deter the gonfalonier, and those of his party, who put themselves in arms, and threatened sometimes to attack *Malatesta*, and some times the imperialists.

They are compelled by Malatesta and misery to capitulate.

A. D.
1531.
The terms. These were, that the *Florentines* should, in a few days, pay to the army eighty thousand ducats, on condition of its raising the siege; that the pope should agree to submit to the arbitration

eration of *Charles* the form of government under which the *Florentines* were to live, with a salvo, however, to the enjoyment of their liberties, and that he should pronounce sentence on that head within three months ; that all injuries done to the pope, his family, friends, and servants, should be forgiven ; and that *Malatesta* should remain with a guard of two thousand infantry in the city, till the declaration of *Charles* should arrive.

WHEN we consider the state of *Florence*, at the time when this capitulation was made, it cannot be said to have been ^{Not ob-} very disadvantageous to the *Florentines*, it being, in fact, ^{served by} the *pope* ; fame that they had so frequently offered before ; but had been rejected on account of the salvo to public liberty. But the *pope* was glad of a capitulation at any rate, because he knew well how to break it if his party was once admitted into *Florence*. The *Florentine* state had now exhausted all its wealth ; and great difficulties were found in raising money, both for the imperialists and for paying off their own troops. His holiness took advantage of this ; and his apostolical commissary, *Bartolemeo Valori*, confederated with *Malatesta*, who was now become the creature of the *pope*, from the extreme desire he had to return to *Perugia* ; and, by their own authority, they convoked, according to ancient custom, an assembly of the people in parliament, none of the magistracy daring to oppose him ; and in this parliament the popular constitution of *Florence* was abolished. Twelve citizens, partizans of the *Medici* family, were chosen to new model the constitution, which they restored to the form it had before the last revolution, when the *Medici* interest was expelled. This being done, their army was paid off ; but their officers defrauded the soldiers of the greatest part of the money, which they carried back with them to *Florence*, leaving the others disbanded and dispersed. As to the imperial troops, after they were paid off, they evacuated *Florence*, and all its territory, and marched to *Sienna*, there to new model the government, according to the will of their master. *Malatesta Baglioni* obtaining the *pope's* leave for his return to *Perugia*, immediately set off for that city ; and, without any regard to the capitulation, left *Florence* to the mercy of the *pope*.

His holiness had so far a regard for public decency, that ^{who acts} he did not chuse, without some slight shew at least of reason, ^{cruelly and} to break through that article of the capitulation, which stipulated a pardon for all his and his family's enemies. His creatures in *Florence* who held the government, pretended that no pardon had been promised to those who had been guilty of malversations in the state ; and under that infamous distinction they

they cruelly persecuted all the friends and instruments of the late popular government. Great numbers of them were imprisoned or banished; and to strike the public with the greater terror, six of the principal amongst them were beheaded. By those inhumanities the family of the *Medici*, being now superior to all opposition, became absolute in *Florence*, and their power encreased in proportion as the strength and riches of that city were diminished. Even the miseries of the people contributed to their greatness. The territory of *Florence* had for some years been either uncultivated, or the harvest had been cut down by their enemies. All their cattle and flocks had been devoured and destroyed likewise; so that the people being without the common necessities of life, were obliged to purchase them at exorbitant rates from other states, which finished the small remains of their substance.

Charles changes their government in favour of the Medici family.

CHARLES resided all this time in *Germany*, where he found his affairs so perplexed, that he was obliged to indulge the pope in all his requests. As soon as the capitulation of *Florence* was finished, it was sent to him by his holiness, together with the form and substance of the declaration he was to make concerning the *Florentine* government, and which was confirmed by *Charles*. Without taking the least notice of the salvo for liberty^a, or paying any regard to the capitulation, he acted in his imperial character, and as having a right to prescribe to the *Florentines* what form of government he pleased. He ordered, that the city should be governed by the same magistrates, and after the same manner by which it used to be governed in times when the *Medici* held it; and that *Alessandro*, who was the pontiff's nephew, and the head of his family, should be the head of the government, and, in default of issue, should be succeeded one after another by the children, descendants, and nearest of the same family. By the same declaration, *Florence* was restored to all her rights and privileges that had been granted, either by the emperor or his predecessors, with a proviso that they should be considered as forfeited, if the citizens should attempt any thing against the *Medici* family. To oblige the pope still farther, the imperialists restored all his friends in *Sienna* to their estates and authority in the government; and when they marched for *Piedmont*, they left in the city a garrison of three hundred Spanish foot, under the command of the duke of *Melfi*, a man very unfit for such a trust.

THE pope having thus gained from *Charles* all that he could demand, began to abate somewhat of that high vene-

^a *GUICCIARDINI*, book xx.

ration he had expressed for him before, and to be less care-*Coldness be-
ful of pleasing him.* The prodigious abuses of the papal *tween the
power in Germany* endangered the allegiance of that empire *pope and
to Charles;* and even the *Roman Catholic* princes and states *Charles,* there loudly called for a general council, as being the only remedy for the public distractions. The emperor was of the same opinion, and earnestly applied to the pope to convoke one. This could be no agreeable proposal to his holiness, who was conscious of his having been guilty of subordination, simony, perjury, treachery, usurpation, and every species of wickedness. He sent *Charles* many reasons why it was not proper at that time to convoke a general council; but gave him leave to promise, in his name, to the diet, that he would call one, provided it might be held in *Italy*, himself presiding at it; and that the *Lutherans* and the other sectaries should, in the mean time, return to the obedience of the church, and bind themselves to submit to the decisions of the council. *Charles* was sensible that those inadmissible conditions amounted to a refusal on the part of the pope of what he required; and his resentment manifested itself in an affair that nearly concerned his holiness.

THE time was now come for *Charles* to pronounce sentence *who de-
between the pope and the duke of Ferrara.* The differences *cides the
between them had been canvassed by the ablest lawyers in affair of
Italy;* and *Charles*, on the strength of their opinion, had de-*Modena* creed that *Modena* and *Reggio*^b rightfully and lawfully belonged *against
to that duke; and that, upon his paying to his holiness one
hundred thousand crowns, he should be confirmed in the in-
vestiture of Ferrara,* and the tribute required of him reduced to its old rate. This sentence was extremely mortifying to the pope, who complained that *Charles* had broken his promise of not pronouncing against him in any event. *Charles*, on the other hand, laid all the blame upon the pope's *nuncio*, the bishop of *Vafone*, who, presuming on the justice of his master's cause, had incessantly and arrogantly solicited *Charles* to pronounce sentence, and insolently pretended that he declined it, only to avoid doing justice to his holiness. The pope was far from being satisfied with this apology, and refused either to ratify the sentence, or to accept of the money, which was tendered to him by the duke. This did not prevent *Charles* from resigning *Modena*, which he had long held as a deposit, to the duke, whom his holiness wanted, by all means, to oppress.

^b *GUICCIARD.* book xx.

Francis
intrigues
against
Charles.

ALESSANDRO DE MEDICI was now invested with all his family power in *Florence*, which he held under an oath of allegiance to the emperor, whose natural daughter he was to marry. The implacable restless pontiff had secretly determined to alter the system of his political conduct. The French king, from motives foreign to this history, continued to be the inveterate enemy of *Charles*; but not being in a condition to enter into an open war with him, he had recourse to intrigues in *Germany*, where he gave the Protestants, and the enemies of the house of *Austria*, hopes that he would declare himself their protector, though at the same time he was publicly burning heretics in his own capital; but his great scheme was to detach the pope from the emperor. A secret correspondence for that purpose had been carried on between *Francis* and his holiness; and the former had even proposed a marriage between his second son and *Clement's* niece *Catherine*, the daughter of *Lorenzo de Medici*. His holiness was not proof against so dazzling an alliance, and, provided *Francis* was sincere in the proposal, he resolved to embrace it whatever it cost him. In the mean while he resolved to keep fair with *Charles*, to whom he advanced forty thousand crowns, towards the expences of his war with the *Turks*; and he sent another of his nephews, the cardinal *de Medici*, to attend him in *Germany* as apostolical legate. The troubles of the empire daily encreasing, and the infidels again threatening to invade it with a powerful army, *Charles* ordered the marquis *del Guasco* to march to *Germany*, with all the Spanish troops, and as many *Florentine* and other *Italian* horse and foot as he could take into his pay. All the apprehensions of invasion from the *Turks* soon vanishing, *Charles*, who was excessively bent upon returning to *Spain*, having compromised matters, in the best manner he could, with the Protestants, ordered the *Florentines*, and other *Italians* in his service, to march to *Hungary*. This they absolutely refused to do; and a downright mutiny ensued, though *Charles* had in person endeavoured to appease them. They all of them broke up their camp, and, to a man, returned towards *Italy*, destroying the houses and lands of the imperial subjects all the way they passed, in revenge, as they said, of the ravages the imperialists had committed in *Italy*.

A. D.

1532.

*Cardinal
de Medici
arrested.*

THE young cardinal *de Medici* was suspected to have been the secret instigator of this mutiny, and for that purpose had employed *Piermaria Rosso*, an *Italian* general. This suspicion was confirmed by the cardinal and *Piermaria* leaving *Charles*, who was now on his return to *Spain* by the way of *Italy*, and pesting after the mutineers. *Charles* reflected, that the cardinal

hal might be offended at the preference he had given to his cousin *Alessandro* in the government of *Florence*, and that it was possible he would put himself at the head of the mutineers, and attempt a revolution in that state. He therefore ordered both him and *Piermaria* to be arrested. It soon appeared, that the cardinal had acted from no motive but that of youthful levity; and he was immediately released by the emperor, who made an apology both to him and the pope for what had happened, and soon after released *Piermaria* likewise.

UPON the arrival of *Charles* in *Italy*, he had intelligence *Interviews* that the kings of *France* and *England* had been hindered only *between* by the retreat of the *Turks* out of *Germany*, from attacking *Charles* the duchy of *Milan*. He likewise had an intimation of the *and the* secret negotiation carrying on between the pope and the *pope*. *French* king. He therefore invited the pope to another personal interview at *Bologna*, to which his holiness readily agreed, that he might give *Charles* no pretext for remaining any considerable time in *Italy*. This new interview took place about the end of the year, and, like the former, it passed with all the exterior demonstrations of affection and friendship on both sides: but their interior sentiments were very different. *Charles* again insisted upon the pope convoking a general council, and upon a public league being formed amongst all the potentates and states of *Italy*, by which, each was to contribute a proportionable quota for the defence of the *Milanese*; in case it should be again attacked by *Francis*. He likewise proposed a marriage between the pope's niece *Catherine* and the duke of *Milan*, the better to break off the connexions between his holiness and the *French* king.

THE pope formed strong objections to all those proposals. *A congress* He was against the league, because he had certain intelligence that the *French* king, if farther exasperated, would join with the king of *England*. He repeated the objections he had urged before against the council, and he declined the marriage between *Sforza* and his niece, for fear of exasperating *Francis*. After various conferences between his holiness and the emperor, they agreed to refer the matter of the confederacy to be settled by commissioners appointed on both sides. Those on the part of *Charles* were *Covos*, the grand commentator of *Leon*; *Granvelle*, afterwards the celebrated cardinal of that name; and *Prata*: on the part of the pope appeared cardinal *de Medici*, *Jacopo Salviati*, *Guicciardin*. The instructions of the latter were to proceed with great caution, so as to conceal the true motives why the pope was averse to the league. They accordingly offered to renew the former confederacy, provided the *Venetians*, who by it were obliged only

only to the defence of the kingdom of *Naples*, and the duchy of *Milan*, could be brought to enter into it by extending their engagements to preserve the peace of *Italy* in general. They represented, at the same time, that any confederacy amongst the states of *Italy* must be very ineffectual for preserving its peace, or for defending them against the power of *France*, if the *Venetians* were not parties in it.

Meets with difficulties, *CHARLES* had no objection to the *Venetians* being invited into the confederacy; but insisted upon their guaranteeing the republic of *Genoa* as it then stood. The proposal was brought before the senate of *Venice*, and there fully debated, but rejected; the republic, at the same time, declaring that she was ready to fulfil her former engagements. Though *Charles* was exasperated at this refusal, he insisted, with the pope, upon the conferences being continued, and upon the practicability of such a league being formed, though the *Venetians* did not extend their engagements. He prevailed so far, that invitations were sent to all the states and princes of *Italy* to assist at the conferences; and each having private reasons for not disobliging *Charles*, they made no difficulty in attending, and in assenting, in general terms, to the proposed league. The settling the proportions of the contributions created, however, many difficulties. The duke of *Ferrara*, who was now considered as a powerful prince, complained that the pope and he were in a state of mutual distrust, and that it was plain his holiness would take the first opportunity of distressing him, because he had hitherto refused to abide by the imperial award; and upon the whole, it was unreasonable to expect he should contribute to defend the dominions of others, while he was in danger of losing his own. In short, that while he was obliged to maintain strong garrisons in *Modena* and *Reggio*, he was in no condition to pay towards maintaining those of *Milan* and *Genoa*.

THE representations of the duke had their weight with *Charles*, who insisted upon the pope conforming to the award he had pronounced. As this was a matter that so nearly touched the dignity of *Charles*, the pope did not absolutely refuse to comply with what he required; but demanded that the duke should acknowledge he held the places in dispute as fiefs of the holy see. As they had always been considered as fiefs of the empire, this demand could not be complied with, unless the consent of the *Germanick* body was obtained. *Charles*, however, continued to press the matter with his holiness, and required him to consent that he would not act offensively against any part of the duke's dominions during the continuance of the league; but all he could obtain was, that

the pope consented to a suspension of all hostilities for eight- ^{which end} teen months. This matter being compromised, the terms of *in a confederacy* were signed on the twenty-fourth of *Fe- deracy.* *bruary.*

THIS confederacy obliged the emperor, and all the potentates and states of *Naples*, the *Venetians* excepted, to defend *Italy*, and to furnish each a certain number of troops for that end. The emperor was to contribute in money every month thirty thousand ducats. The pope, for himself and the *Florentines*, twenty thousand; the duke of *Milan* ten thousand; the duke of *Ferrara* twelve thousand; the *Genoese* six thousand; the *Siennese* two thousand; and the *Lucque* one thousand. A certain sum was to be immediately deposited in case of a sudden attack; but it was not to be broken into, unless the danger was threatening. It was agreed to pay a small annuity to the generals who were in the service of the league, even in time of peace, provided they did not leave *Italy*; and that the *Swiss* should receive certain gratuities to keep them from joining the *French*. *Antony de Leva* was unanimously appointed captain-general of all the troops of the confederacy, and it was agreed that he should reside at *Milan*.

IT is observable, that the pope would not agree to the *Florentines* being named as contracting parties in this league, otherwise than as they had been in the former; nor could *Charles* object to the omission.

THIS great point being settled, the affair of the general *Differences* council next came under deliberation. But here *Charles* found *continue between the pope and Charles.* his holiness more intractable than he had been with regard to the league, to which his great objection of offending *Francis* had been partly removed, by suppressing all mention of the *Florentines* as principals. *Charles* insisted upon an immediate induction of the council, which the pope absolutely refused to comply with, unless it should be previously accepted by the kings of *England* and *France*, without whose consent it was impossible it could be attended with any good effect. He offered, however, to send nuncios to all the Christian powers to dispose them to compliance; but *Charles* could not bring him to promise that he would summon the council, even if they should not concur; so that, though the nuncios set out, there was little hopes of their succeeding.

WHILE those matters were under debate, the arrival of *Negocia-* two *French* cardinals at *Bologna* to treat of the marriage be- *tion and agreement between the pope and Francis.* *Charles* no room to doubt of the correspondence between him and the pontiff. The truth is, the match in every respect was so unequal, that neither *Charles* nor the pontiff believed that *Francis* in proposing it was in earnest; and the former

had ever mentioned it in that light to *Charles*, who seemed to disregard it. Upon the arrival, however, of the cardinals, *Charles* reproached *Clement* with underhand dealing; but he put his majesty in mind that he had mentioned the affair to him before, and that he still continued of opinion that *Francis* meant only to amuse him; but that it would not be decent for him to be the first to break off a negociation which did so much honour to his family. *Charles* required he would put the *French* king's sincerity to the test, by insisting upon the cardinals immediately receiving full powers from *France* to settle the contract of marriage. This demand was complied with, and the cardinals in a very few days received their commissions with full powers.

An interview proposed.

CHARLES was now convinced that if the pope had not made concessions to his prejudice, *Francis* would never have agreed to so extravagant a proposal; and he soon was certainly informed that an interview had been agreed upon between them at *Nizza*, a town belonging to *Savoy*. Had not *Charles* been so intent as he was upon his journey to *Spain*, he would have perhaps found means to have made his holiness repent of his conduct. But he was in haste to set out for *Spain*, with intention, as was thought, to have broken off the match between his natural daughter and *Alessandro de Medici*, if that between *Catherine* and the *French* king's son should take place. But his holiness, having now secured to his family the government of *Florence*, regarded the dictates of ambition, and rested secure in the protection of *France* against all the resentment of *Charles*. Some who wished his family well suggested, that by matching *Catherine* to the *French* prince, he gave the latter and his descendants a plausible handle for claiming *Florence* and its territory, in prejudice of the other branches of the house. But *Clement*, dazzled by the splendor of the match, was deaf to all remonstrances. Not being, however, willing entirely to break with *Charles*, he entered into a separate agreement with him, by which he promised to pronounce sentence against *Henry* and his wife *Anne Bullen*, and to enter into all reasonable measures against *England*, both parties engaging themselves not to conclude any new alliances without mutual consent. *Charles* found himself obliged to agree to those terms, only because they were the best he could obtain; and upon the faith of this convention, he gave orders for disbanding the army he had in *Italy*.

Accommodation of the pope with Charles.

CHARLES having embarked at *Genoa* for *Spain*, the pope made a merit with the *French* cardinals of the convention he had concluded. According to *Paulus Jovius*, the two cardinals had brought him a letter from the *French* king, recom-

recommending it to his holiness, by all means, to persuade *Charles* to dismiss his army; so that *Francis* had no reason for taking the convention amiss. It appears in fact, that *Francis* looked upon the dismissal of the imperial army as the most effectual service that could have been done him at that time. He pressed the pope to hasten their interview at *Nizza*, and promised neither to press him on the head of any fresh engagements, nor, as he had ineffectually done, upon the creation of new cardinals, nor to draw him into a war, nor even to solicit him to favour the king of *England* in the proceedings concerning his marriage.

IT is probable, that if the connexions between his holiness *Affairs of England* and the *French* king had sooner taken place, the latter might have prevailed upon *Henry* to have kept some measures with the pope. He had even taken advantage of some remaining qualms that *Henry* was touched with on the head of renouncing his former religion, to get him to consent to send a civil message to the pope, who, in that case, promised to form the process anew, and to pronounce the sentence between him and *Catherine* to be invalid. But the courier charged with this commission arrived two days later than the time assigned by the pope, who had, by that time, thundered out his excommunications against *Henry*. Notwithstanding this, his holiness being extremely loth to be deprived of so noble a province as *England* had always been to the holy see, entertained some secret hopes that *Francis* would find means to reconcile him and *Henry*; and this made him the more intent upon the interview. The place of it, however, was changed to *Marseilles*, at the request of the duke of *Savoy*, who was afraid of offending *Charles*, if the interview should be held in his dominions. This change of place was agreeable to both parties, as it did honour to *Francis*, and gave the pope an opportunity to boast of the prodigious pains he took, and labour he submitted to, in forming a league against the infidels, and in reducing *Henry* back to the pale of the church; for such were the pretexts he made use of for his voyage. His true motive, however, was discovered by his putting his niece *Catherine* on board the *French* gallies, which were commanded by the duke of *Albany*, who landed her at *Nizza*, and returned with the gallies to *Pisa*, where the pope embarked, on the fourth of *October*, for *Marseilles*, with visible demonstrations of his pleasure in undertaking the voyage, which was prosperous. Being landed at *Marseilles*, he entered that city in a triumphant manner, attended by a numerous cavalcade of cardinals. The *French* king, attended by his son the duke of *Orleans*, the future bridegroom, and his court, entered that city in like manner soon after, and

The pope goes to Marseilles, where his niece is married to the duke of Orleans. took up his lodging in the same palace with the pope. The interview was full of mutual expressions of friendship; and the king won the heart of his holiness by entreating him to Marseilles, where send for his niece to Marseilles, where, as soon as the *arbis niece is* rived, the marriage was celebrated and consummated. The festivity of the occasion did not admit of much public busines being transacted. It seems probable, however, that a private convention was entered into by the king and his holiness, for transferring to the duke of Orleans the duchy of Milan, as being the most effectual way not only to gratify the pope's private ambition, but to prevent any disputes amongst the children of Francis after his death. Francis had this acquisition so much at heart, that he performed his promise of not teasing the pope with any troublesome requests, excepting that of his creating three new cardinals, which his holiness, though with great reluctance, did; and, according to *Guicciardin*, the duke of Albany's brother was one of them. As to the affairs of *England*, Francis gave up all concern with them; and one day happening to come into the pope's bed-chamber, where he found some of *Henry's* agents behaving irreverently towards the pontiff, and threatening him with an appeal to a general council, he told his holiness that he had no objection to his proceeding against the *English* with the utmost rigour of ecclesiastical censures. After this, the greatest harmony, in every respect, reigned between the king and the pontiff, even to the incredible resolution they took of spiriting up the Protestants of *Germany* against *Charles*, in which they both concurred. Upon *Clement's* return to *Rome*, he took a severe revenge upon his enemies, and those of the house of *Medici*; and died soon after he had made his nephew *Alexander* master of *Florence*.

History of the Medici family. WE now take leave of *Florence* as a republic; and the remaining part of its history is blended with that of the other states and kingdoms of *Europe* that have been given in the course of this work. *Alexander de Medici*, after marrying *Margaret*, the natural daughter of *Charles V.* was by him made sovereign master of *Florence* in 1531; and though he pretended to govern by the advice of a council of citizens, yet he was guilty of the most tyrannical proceedings. The *Florentines*, however, had not forgotten that they had once been free; and *Lorenzo*, or *Laurenzin de Medici*, who was descended from a younger brother of *Cosmo* the father of his country, laid a plot to destroy him. He was assisted in this by the abhorrence in which the *Florentine* nobility in general held *Alexander*, who had invaded the beds of the most considerable amongst them. *Lorenzo* knowing his cousin's weakness in that respect, pretended that he would introduce into his apart-

apartment a beautiful lady; by which means getting admittance into *Alexander's* bed-chamber, he and his associates put him to death.

ALEXANDER was succeeded by *Cosmo*, the son of *and Cosmo de Medici*, whom we have already mentioned to have *mo*, who served so bravely in the *Spanish* and *French* armies, and who is made was so universally beloved, that he had the epithet of *the Po- great duke pular*. *Cosmo* was at *Trebia*, one of his lordships, when he of *Flo-* heard of *Alexander's* death; and though he was then but se- *rence*. *Venteen* years of age, he formed a scheme for succeeding him, but without discovering the least appearance of his intention. Leaving his youthful companions, he applied himself to *Vitelli*, whose father had been put to death at *Florence* by the enemies of the house of *Medici*, and who was at the head of a considerable body of troops. *Vitelli* readily promised him his assistance; and *Cosmo* repaired to *Florence*, where he concerted measures with cardinal *Cibò* and his mother, who was of the house of *Salviati*. The *Florentines*, on the death of *Alexander*, were divided amongst themselves on the form of government they should establish, and seemed inclinable to re-establish their ancient liberty. Upon this, *Cosmo*, though he had been received with great civility in the senate, ordered *Vitelli* to enter *Florence* with his troops, and to surround the senate-house, while the members were debating. This vigorous step reconciled all parties, and they submitted to *Cosmo* in the same manner as they had done to his predecessor. It was not long before a party was formed against him, at the head of which was cardinal *Salviati*, who had dissuaded him all he could from accepting of his new power. But *Cosmo*, having obtained the approbation of the emperor, and got possession of his predecessor's money, forced all the discontented to leave *Florence*, and to retire to *Bologna*, where they raised some troops under the command of *Peter Strozzi*, the son of *Philip*. *Cosmo* was so well served by *Vitelli*, and his other officers, that *Strozzi* and the exiled *Florentines* were every where routed. Numbers, and amongst them *Philip Strozzi*, were taken prisoners, and sent to *Florence*, where they were executed; but *Strozzi*, fearing to be put to the torture, killed himself. *Cosmo's* authority being thus established, he wanted to marry his predecessor's widow; but the emperor, her father, for reasons of state, gave her to the duke of *Parma*, by whom she had the famous *Alexander Farnese*, who succeeded his father. *Cosmo*, therefore, married *Éleanora de Toledo*, daughter to the duke of *Alva*, viceroy of *Naples*, and he ever after persevered in his attachment to the Imperialists. In consequence of this connection, *Cosmo's* power was so firmly established at *Florence*, that *Pius V.* bestowed upon him the

title of grand duke of *Tuscany*, and crowned him as such at *Rome* with his own hands; nor did the *Florentines* ever attempt to shake off his yoke. *Cosmo* was a zealous enemy of the reformation; and, in the year 1546, he furnished the pope's army, that was to march into *Germany* against the Protestants, with two hundred bombardiers. Some of the powers of *Europe* at first remonstrated against the pope's bestowing upon him the title of grand duke; but, at last, all of them acquiesced. When the *Siennese* revolted from *Charles V.* in 1552, on account of the severities practised by his governors, and his having built a fort to bridle that city, *Henry II.* of *France* supported the revolt with a powerful body of troops; but the Imperialists were assisted by *Cosmo*, and a sharp war broke out on that account. *Peter Strozzi* was the *French* general, and was guilty of many excesses against *Cosmo*'s subjects; but at last he was defeated by the count *de Martignaz*, who commanded for *Cosmo*. The *French* king, however, sending fresh reinforcements to *Sienna*, the inhabitants continued to make a vigorous defence, while the pope, the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Ferrara*, interceded in their favour; but all their resistance was ineffectual. A private treaty had been made at *Leghorn* between *Charles* and *Cosmo*, by which the former agreed, upon the reduction of *Sienna*, to give it up to the latter, by way of indemnification for the great expences which he and the house of *Medici* had been at in the service of the house of *Austria*. This rendered *Cosmo* very active against the *Siennese*, who would have made a better defence, had they not demolished the castle that had been built within their city by the emperor. The imperial general was *Don Garcia*, son to the viceroy of *Naples*, and brother to *Cosmo*'s wife; and the *Siennese* continued so obstinate, that the viceroy himself was about to have taken the command, when he died in *Florence*. *Cosmo*'s troops, however, blockaded *Sienna* so closely, that it was reduced to the utmost necessity, and at last obliged to surrender to the emperor, whom the *Siennese* received not, as formerly, in quality of their protector, but as their absolute sovereign. *Charles* did not reign long enough to make good his bargain with *Cosmo*; but his son and successor, *Philip II.* punctually performed it the first year of his reign, by resigning to him all his right and title to the *Siennese*, in consideration of the attachment of the house of *Medici* to that of *Austria*, and to indemnify *Cosmo* for the expences of the war. This rendered him the most powerful prince in *Italy*, and he employed all his force and interest in supporting the house of *Austria*. Amongst other marks of his regard for that family, he instituted the order of the knights of *St. Stephen*. The original design of those knights was to serve

serve against the piratical states of *Barbary*, who, about the year 1554, infested the coasts of *Italy*. *Philip II. of Spain*, having, about the year 1562, transferred all the district of *Sienna* to *Cosmo*, excepting that chain of garrisons which is now called *Strao de gli Presidi*, lying upon the coasts of *Tuscany*, the knights of St. *Stephen*, who were by that time a regular institution, were employed to defend them, and allowed a noble palace and church for their residence at *Pisa*, which they still possess, though the order is now greatly decayed. *Cosmo*, during his life-time, escaped many dangerous conspiracies, which were formed against his life by the *Florentines*, who could not forget that they were once free, and that under him they were slaves with gilded chains. His first wife, already mentioned, was highly serviceable to him at the court of *Spain*, and contributed greatly to the glory of his fortunes; but though he had many children, it cannot be said that he was happy in his progeny, as appears from the following incident, which may be met with in *Keyster's Travels*, and is countenanced by the relation of other creditable authors.

THE names of two of *Cosmo's* sons were *John* and *Garcia*, *Tragical* or *Garcia*. The former, when young, was made a cardinal, ^{account of} *Cosmo's* through his father's interest; but never could conciliate to *Garcia*, ^{sons.} himself the affection or friendship of his brother *Garcia*, who was known to be of a furious vindictive disposition. One day the two brothers, while at hunting, found themselves alone in following the chace, far removed from all their attendants; and *Garcia* took that opportunity of quarrelling with his brother, whom he stabbed to the heart with his dagger. He then rejoined his company, without discovering in his countenance or manner the smallest emotion, as if anything extraordinary had happened. The cardinal's horse, however, returning without his rider, the company, by tracing back the prints of his hoofs, discovered the place where *John* lay murdered. His body being carried to *Florence*, the grand duke, his father, ordered that the circumstance of his being murdered should be concealed; and gave out, that his son died of an apoplectic fit, while he was hunting. He then ordered the dead body to be conveyed into an inner apartment, and sending for *Garcia*, to whose malignant disposition he was no stranger, he taxed him with the murder. The youth denied it at first with great warmth, and in the strongest manner; but being introduced into the room where the body lay, it is said to have bled (very possibly by chance) at his approach. He then threw himself at his father's feet, and confessed the charge. The father, who had resolved on the part he was to act, solemnly desired his son to prepare for death; adding, that

that he ought to account it a happiness that he was about to lose that life, of which his crime had rendered him unworthy, by no other hand than that of him who gave it. He then plucked out of its sheath the dagger with which *Garcia* had murdered the cardinal, and which still hung by his side, and plunging it into his bosom, he fell dead by his brother's body. This dreadful catastrophe happened in 1562, when the cardinal was no more than eighteen, and *Garcia* fifteen years of age. The father ordered the facts to be concealed; and all, but they from whom it could not be concealed, believed that the two brothers died of a pestilential distemper, which then raged in *Florence*. To give this report authenticity, both bodies were buried with great pomp, and a funeral oration was pronounced over that of *Garcia*. The tragedy, however, proved fatal to the mother, who was so affected with the death of her two sons, that she survived them but a few days. As to *Cosmo* himself, in all other respects but his family afflictions, he was the most fortunate prince of his age; and, after living in the greatest glory and happiness, he died in 1574, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, and the fifty-fifth of his age.

Character of Cosmo. BUT neither the personal glory, success, nor happiness of *Cosmo*, nor his fortune in war, nor his high alliances, have rendered his memory so distinguished as the prodigious encouragement he gave to the study and practice of all the fine arts, which received from him not only patronage, but perfection. In him all the fine taste, the unbounded generosity, and the discerning spirit of the *Medici* family, seemed to center. The immense buildings he began and completed, his incredible collections of statues, ancient and modern, paintings, jewels, plate, precious stones from all quarters of the earth, instruments of every kind, armour, and of every rarity that can be named, would be incredible, had not all travellers in *Europe*, of any curiosity, seen them; and did not great part of them still remain at *Florence*. In short, we need not fear to pronounce, that no prince of his revenue ever equalled him as a patron of learning and the arts, unless perhaps we except his ancestor the great *Cosmo*, the father of his country. But we are to reflect, that in the time of *Cosmo*, the first great duke, the arts had arrived at the highest pitch of taste, magnificence, and perfection, all which was owing to him: and, indeed, it would be not too bold to say, that he raised them higher than they had been since the *Augustan* age. If the benefactions of some of the caliphs of *Egypt*, and of *Lewis XIV.* towards the liberal arts, is compared to that of *Cosmo*, he must have the preference, not only because their power and ability exceeded his, but because true architecture, painting, and sculpture, were unknown to the *Asiatic* caliphs, and

and because all that *Lewis* expended did not prevent their declining from the perfection in which they were left by *Cosmo*.

WE have, in speaking of the first *Cosmo*, conjectured that *Page 302.* he and his family probably knew certain channels of commerce, which had possibly been lost by the discovery of *America*; nor is it absurd to believe, that part of the immense sums expended by the great duke *Cosmo* were furnished by *Philip II.* whose prodigious returns of treasure, from the discovery of *America*, were perhaps greater than any *European* prince ever was master of.

COSMO, the first great duke, was succeeded by his son *He is succeeded by Francis I.* who married *Joanna*, or *Jane*, daughter of the emperor *Ferdinand I.* by whom he had eleven children; but *bis son* the males all died young, and the females were incapable of *Francis*; succession. His daughter, *Maria de Medici*, became queen of *France* by marrying *Henry IV.* Her public history is well known, as well as that of her father, which may be met with in other parts of this work. The misfortunes which beset her, by her disagreement with her son, were in a great measure owing to two *Flarentine* favourites, whom she carried with her into *France*, the *marechal d'Ancre* and his wife. Upon the death of the great duchess *Jane*, who was daughter, sister, aunt, and niece to emperors, *Francis* fell in love with a *Venetian* lady of the house of *Capello*, who was the widow of a gentleman of the house of *Salviati*. Having declared his intention to marry her, the senate, out of regard to her father's family, declared her the daughter of their republic, and made her a present of a ducal crown. *Francis* lived nine years with this lady, who is celebrated for her beauty; but little of importance happened to *Florence*, or to *Tuscany*, under his government. He died in 1587, and was succeeded by his brother *Ferdinand I.* who was a cardinal; but resigned his *and be by* hat when he was fifty-two years of age. He married the *bis brother* princess *Christina*, daughter to *Charles II.* duke of *Lorrain*. *Ferdinand* had by her almost as numerous a progeny as his brother; but only two of his sons survived him, of whom the elder, *Cosmo*, was his successor; and the younger, *Charles*, came to the highest preferments in the church. The most distinguished occurrence in the reign of *Ferdinand* was the vast magnificence with which he celebrated the nuptials between his niece *Mary* and the *French* king in 1600, who had sent him a prouration for that purpose. No expences were spared on this occasion; and the representation of one comedy is said to have cost him sixty thousand crowns. He died in the year 1609, and was succeeded by his son *Cosmo II.* who married *Magdalene of Austria*, sister to the emperor *Ferdinand II.* *Cosmo II. succeeds.* By

By her he had three daughters, and four sons; of whom the eldest, *Ferdinand*, succeeded him; and the two next were cardinals. Under this prince, who, like his immediate predecessors, applied himself entirely to domestic affairs, and governed his people with great lenity, the *Florentines* were happy, and so powerful, that *Cosmo*, without laying any additional tax upon his subjects, in the year 1667, sent an army of twenty thousand men to the assistance of the duke of *Mantua* against the duke of *Savoy*. This quarrel being made up by the interposition of other princes, *Cosmo* gave way to his natural disposition, which was for peace and tranquillity; and he died in the year 1621. He imitated his predecessors in their love for the fine arts, and greatly promoted the building of the chapel of *San Lorenzo*, begun in 1604, where the great dukes of *Tuscany* are buried in a mausoleum, which is accounted the most splendid of any in the world, and is said to have cost some millions sterling. *Cosmo II.* was succeeded by *Ferdinand II.* and was a prince of a more active disposition than any of his three immediate predecessors. The disputes about the succession to *Mantua* reviving, he interposed with his uncle the emperor *Ferdinand II.* and procured the suspension of the ban of the empire, which was about to have been pronounced against the duke of *Nevers*, who had strong pretensions upon that succession in right of blood. We shall, in the History of *Parma*, see with what spirit he supported his brother-in-law, duke *Edward*. He married *Victoire de la Rovere*, daughter to the last duke of *Urbino*, by whom he had two sons, *Cosmo III.* and *Francis-Maria*, afterwards a cardinal, and died in the year 1670.

Cosmo III. in the year 1661, married *Margaret-Louisa of Orleans*, daughter to *Gaston duke of Orleans*, brother to *Lewis XIII.* Alliances with the court of *France*, which was at that time in the height of its splendour, were courted by all the inferior *Roman catholic* princes in *Europe*, as it intitled them to the friendship of the house of *Bourban*. *Cosmo*, however, could not have made a more unfortunate match, as a husband: he was intirely under the direction of his mother, the grand dutchess dowager, one of the most severe and austere ladies in all *Italy*; while, on the other hand, her daughter-in-law, having been bred up in all the gaiety and licentiousness of the *French* court, and attended by a numerous retinue of servants of the same cast, paid very little regard to the remonstrances of her mother-in-law upon the levity of her behaviour; and even presumed, upon the greatness of her birth, to give law to the duke her husband. There seems, however, to have been nothing criminal in the conduct of the young grand dutchess, but her disagreement with the manners of her

husband and her mother-in-law, which had spread the gloom of devotion and formality over all the *Florentine* court. She resembled him, however, in one particular, that she encouraged men of sense and genius. While she was at *Florence*, she heard that the famous abbot *Siri*, who was a monk of *St. Benedict*, in the abbey of *St. George* at *Venice*, had been banished that city, on a strict prosecution, only for having spoken slightly of the republic. The abbot, repairing to *Florence*, was presented to the grand dutchess, and she recommended him to his most Christian majesty, who made him his historiographer. But her love of learning, however, could not procure agreement between her husband and her, they being, in other respects, directly the reverse of each other in temper and disposition. The great dutchess dowager, continuing still to have the ascendancy over her son, persuaded him to interpose his authority, to prevail with his wife to conform herself to the *Italian* manners; but neither love nor authority made any impression upon the dutchess: and though she had brought the duke two sons, *Ferdinand* and *John-Gaston*, and a princess, *Mary-Magdalen*, afterwards married to *John-Wil- liam* of *Neubourg*, elector *Palatine*, daily quarrels happened between her and the great duke; till, at last, they separated, and she returned to *Paris*, where she was allowed an appointment agreeable to her rank, and which she enjoyed to the day of her death. Though this separation gave disgust to the pride of his most Christian majesty, yet he had at that time political reasons for not resenting it otherwise than by sending instructions to the marquis *du Pré*, his ambassador at *Florence*, to apply to the great duke, and to endeavour to effect a reconciliation, as also to insist upon three points. The first was, that the grand duke should, by inviting her to return to *Florence*, take back his wife; the second, that he should pay her debts, which, it seems, she had contracted to a large amount; and thirdly, that, when she should return, she should have the same power in the management of public affairs that the duke allowed to his mother. *Cosmo* answered, with great firmness, that, as to the first request, he was ready *His answer* at any time to receive his wife, if she should please to return *to him*; but that her separating from him being entirely the *French* result of her own choice, and without his participation, he *ambassador* would make no advances towards inviting her to return. As *dor.* to the second article, he answered, that, while she lived with him, he had always maintained her according to her birth and station; and that, since their separation, he had ordered her appointments to be punctually paid her, and therefore did not think himself obliged to discharge those debts which she had contracted through extravagance and want of economy.

As

As to the last article, he said, that, as soon as his wife had given as strong proofs of her attachment to his interest as his mother had done, she should enjoy the same authority in public affairs.

THE marquis endeavoured to shake *Cosmo*'s resolution on those heads, by proposing, on the part of his master, another match between his eldest son and another princess of the blood of *France*, in order to renew the good correspondence between his crown and the house of *Medici*; but the duke, who was heartily disgusted with *French* princesses, civilly declined the honour of the alliance, under pretence that his son was too young to think of marrying. Notwithstanding this, the young prince soon after married the princess *Violante Béatrice of Bavaria*, a family that was then intirely in the imperial interest, the elector himself being that very year general of the emperor's army upon the *Upper Rhine*; and prince *Clement of Bavaria*, his brother, who had been chosen the year before elector of *Cologne*, having rejected all terms of accommodation with his most Christian majesty. The match of the grand prince into the house of *Bavaria*, together with the league of *Augsbourg*, in which *Cosmo* became a party, discouraged his most Christian majesty from any farther advances towards the court of *Florence*; and in the year 1697, when the reputation of the *French* monarchy and arms began to decline, his eldest son having no issue, he married, on the 2d of July, his second son *John-Gaston*, who succeeded him, to the princess *Anna-Maria-Francisca of Saxe-Lawenbourg*, widow of *Philip-William* count-palatine of the *Rhine*. This lady, besides the splendour of her birth, had great pretensions to her father's dominions, and was, in her own right, actually possessed of a vast fortune. Her father, *Julius-Francis of Saxe-Lawenbourg*, had died September 29, 1699; but his succession was disputed with his daughter by the houses of *Saxony* and *Anholt-Brunswic*; the first, in right of a reciprocal family-compact between the elector of *Saxony* and the last duke; and the latter, in right of blood and alliances; while both pretended that a female descendant was incapable of succeeding to that duchy. *John-Gaston* brought the affair before the imperial courts of judicature, and took a journey to *Germany*, where he not only carried on the process, but managed the great estates that fell to his wife in *Bohemia*, by the indisputed rights of heritage from her father. As to the law-process, several precedents were produced, to prove that the estates in question were inheritable by women as well as men; but the forms of the imperial courts retarding the decision, he returned, after a long stay in *Germany*, to *Florence*.

NEITHER of the two sons of *Cosmo III.* having male issue, *Obtains* and there being but little probability of their having any, the *the title of* great duke's brother, *Francis-Maria of Medici*, being of a *royal high-vigorous constitution*, some years after, was applied to by the *ncs.* court of *Vienna* to resign the purple, to which he had been raised by pope *Innocent XI.* in 1686, to qualify himself for marriage. It was generally thought that the imperial court would have bestowed upon him one of the archduchess's daughters, sisters to the emperor *Joseph*; and it is certain, that the house of *Medici* was so much in favour at the court of *Vienna*, that, in the year 1699, the reigning great duke of *Tuscany* obtained from the emperor the title of *Royal Highness*, the same having been before conferred on the duke of *Lorrain*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the new title conferred on the *His attack-* grand duke, it was not immediately allowed of by the powers *ment to the* of *Europe*. The count of *Lamberg*, the imperial ambassador, pope. was the first who, by his master's order, conferred it on *Cosmo*, in answering the compliments made him by the marquis *Vi-* *telli*, who had been sent ambassador to *Rome* from the great duke for that purpose. In the jubilee-year, 1700, *Cosmo III.* went to pay his devotions at *Rome*, where he was received by his holiness *Innocent XII.* with such compliments and carefles as astonished all the world. Every day they were seen walking with one another in the utmost familiarity; and they agreed, that all kind of ceremony should be dropt between them. It is necessary to explain the reason for this, and of some ridiculous incidents that followed.

COSMO III. in his own person, kept up the greatest *His devo-* shew of devotion of any prince in *Europe*. In his court and *tion.* attendance his œconomy was next to parsimonious; but he repaired every night to the church of the *Annonciada* in *Florence*, and assisted at the litanies, which were there sung with the best music in *Italy*. He was at great pains to bring religious persons to his court, and to recommend them to the pope, who generally bestowed upon them some ecclesiastical preferment. By his interest, cardinal *Morigia* was raised to the purple; and another religious was made archbishop of *Ragusa*, on the merit of wearing a long beard. Those assiduities had endeared him so much to his holiness, that the latter, while he was at *Rome*, not only gave him the title of royal highnes, but prevailed with all the cardinals and foreign ministers, whom he could influence, to do the same: some, however, of the latter stood out, and others made great difficulties; but at last, by the pope's unwearied application, all objections were got over, and the matter was at last considered as being regulated. This important point being gained, the

the pope and the grand duke became more intimate together than ever; but the people of *Rome* were inexpressibly astonished at seeing his royal highness appear abroad in the habit and dignity of a canon of *St. Peter's* church. It happened on the following occasion.

He is made EVERY one knows, or has heard of the holy handkerchief, a canon of which is preserved in the church of *St. Peter* at *Rome*, and *St. Peter's*, which is said to be impressed with the picture of our Saviour's face, as he was going to his crucifixion. The veneration in which this relick is held is such, that when it is exposed, which is only on very solemn occasions, the people can behold it only at a great distance, and none have the privilege of exhibiting it but the canons of *St. Peter's*. *Cosmo*, however, was smitten with so extravagant a fit of devotion, that he employed all his interest with his holiness to have a nearer view of, and to touch, the handkerchief; but was informed, that he could not be gratified, because of the anathemas and fulminations that lie against every man who shall mount the tribunal of the holy relicks, or presume to touch them, unless he is a canon of *St. Peter's*: he was even told by his holiness, that it was an indulgence the pontifical power itself could not grant. After great consultation, however, his holiness fell upon an expedient that gratified his friend in his darling passion. The grand duke being then a widower, the pope ordained and declared him a canon of *St. Peter's*; and his royal highness, in a purple habit, and a surplice on his shoulders, having assisted at the brief which declared him a priest, was conducted to the tribunal, where he had the pleasure of touching and handling the holy handkerchief, with the other relicks; and he bestowed his benediction, at the same time, upon seventy thousand spectators then present. But this was not the only piece of religious popery that his royal highness was guilty of on this occasion. Upon his holiness presenting him with a few toys and relicks, the duke gave two hundred pistoles to the bearers, and sent the pope presents to the amount of a large sum in jewels and money. Happening to pray before an altar in a church where his holiness arrived, he crawled upon his knees to the pontifical chair; and when the pope desired him to rise, "Permit, said he, the grand duke of *Tuscany* to adore the vicar of *Christ* with that veneration which is due to him."

His adventures at Rome. His royal highness, however, during his residence at *Rome*, went only by the name of count *Pitigliano*, which exposed him sometimes to unforeseen adventures. While he was one day on his knees in church, a lady, whose husband had been banished out of *Tuscany*, placed herself by him, and applied to him, as count *Pitigliano*, for his good offices with the great duke

duke to repeal the sentence of her husband's banishment, which he very obligingly promised her. At another time a courtesan threw herself at his feet, and, pretending to be penitent, the great duke gave her five hundred crowns to enable her to enter into a monastery. Notwithstanding those weaknesses, which it is hard to determine whether they were real or affected, *Cosmo* was far from being void of spirit or policy: he had at that time, besides devotion, many important affairs to manage at the court of *Rome*. The ill state of the king of *Spain*'s health, and the treaty of partition of his dominions that had been made, laid the grand duke under great difficulties; and it was natural, upon the approaching event of his catholic majesty's death, for him to consult with his holiness upon the measures he was to pursue for securing, if possible, the succession to his dominions in his own family. With this view, he applied to obtain from his holiness his assent to his brother's resigning his cardinal's hat, and to bestow it upon his son *Gaston*. He had likewise several quarrels with the *Genoese* and the *Lucquese*. The former had come to a resolution to make *la Spezia* a free port, which could not be done without vast prejudice to *Leghorn*; so that his royal highness negotiated not only with his holiness, but with all the princes in *Italy*, to prevent the project. He was embroiled with the latter on the following occasion. Two natives of *Lucca* had been condemned for their crimes to the gallies; but were rescued out of the prison of *Pietra Santa*, belonging to the great duke, by their friends and relations; for which his royal highness demanded satisfaction from the *Lucquese* magistracy, who very readily agreed to give all the offenders up to justice, if they could be taken. They found means, however, to make their escape, and the *Lucquese* made their apologies to the court of *Florence*. But they were far from satisfying the great duke. He had intelligence that the malefactors escaped by connivance, and that forty of them had taken refuge in a castle belonging to *Lucca*. He demanded, that they should be delivered up to him; and the *Lucquese* refusing to comply, he ordered all the natives of *Lucca* in his dominions to be immediately arrested, and put under confinement. Upon this, the *Lucquese* raised troops, and sent for assistance to their allies the *Genoese*, which was immediately granted them. Both those differences, however, were made up; the first by the mediation of the dukes of *Modena* and *Parma*, and the second by the submission of the *Lucquese*.

UPON the death of the king of *Spain*, and the succession of the duke of *Anjou* to that crown, the grand duke of *Tuscany* secretly resolved to take part with *France*; but so as to give no umbrage, if possible, to the imperialists. His motives were, *His difficulties.*

that the emperor, upon the extinction of the house of *Medici* without male issue, might seize upon the succession, as being a fief of the empire; while he might have a chance, as indeed afterwards happened, of treating with the court of *Spain*, and rendering his dukedom an independent sovereignty. He was, however, under some difficulties with regard to his brother, who was protector both of the Imperial and *Spanish* interests at *Rome*, and held very rich livings in the kingdom of *Naples* and in *Sicily*. But a branch of the house of *Bourbon* now succeeding to the crown of *Spain*, and that succession being disputed by the emperor, the cardinal could no longer continue the protector of both nations, and must declare himself for one or the other. The pope affected a strict neutrality in the dispute; but as there was little room to doubt that he favoured the *French* interest, the great duke made no scruple of paying a visit, in his own galley, to the duke of *Anjou*, who now assumed the title of king of *Spain*, when he came to *Leghorn*. This visit amazed all *Europe*, because, till then, his royal highness had been always deemed to be attached to the imperial interest, and its strongest partizan in all *Italy*. The young king was not instructed how to receive him; and his royal highness was not a little disgusted when his majesty did not, during all the time of the interview, desire him to be covered; a privilege made use of by many grantees of *Spain*, even without their king's permission. But his brother, the cardinal, having a great reluctance to part with the rich livings he held under the emperor, had a much more difficult task to manage. It would not be very instructive to the reader, to inform him of all the doublings and shifting of his eminency on this occasion. It is sufficient to say, that he practised every art to keep himself well with both parties, and by the vast power he had in the confistory, as well as by the influence he had over his brother, he was long courted by

Cardinal de Medici both; and, at last, the *French* king secretly fixed him in his *embrace* if he should lose that of the empire and of *Hungary*. But, the *French* even after the cardinal had come to this resolution, he frequented, as much as ever, the assemblies which the imperial ambassador's lady, the countess *de Lamberg*, held at her palace; while the cardinal *Fanson*, the *French* minister at *Rome*, pressing him to declare himself, he ordered the Imperial and *Spanish* arms over his palace to be covered from the public view, which they were for two months. Notwithstanding his profound dissimulation, he was more than suspected by the countess, who, by way of raillery, expressed her concern at the umbrage which the *French* court might take at his frequenting her assemblies; and upon his emi-

eminency replying, that the livings he held from his Catholic majesty were too valuable to be thrown to the cocks, she sarcastically told him, that he did right in imitating the princes of his family, who owed, originally, their greatness to their economy. He was forced at last to throw off the mask ; and the scaffolding being taken down above his gate, the arms of *France* and *Spain* appeared ; but, to the no small mortification of the *Spaniards*, those of *France* had the right hand. It was thought, at this time, that the match between the cardinal and the archduchess was far advanced ; but being now dropt by his declaring for *France*, count *Lamberg* published a kind of a protest that, as the succession to the *Spanish* monarchy had devolved upon the house of *Austria*, nothing done by the cardinal *de Medici* ought to prejudice the rights of that family. The moderation of the cardinal was such, that, instead of resenting this protest, he retired to his brother's court at *Florence* ; and indeed the whole policy of the house of *Medici*, at this memorable juncture, turned upon giving as little offence as possible to either of the contending parties ; and in this they succeeded so well, that they were involved in none of the disputes of those times ; but maintained a respectable neutrality with all parties ; so that the remaining history of the life of *Cosmo III.* relates only to his private affairs.

By the great economy he observed in his court and palace *Great expense* he had amassed so much money, that he was looked upon to be the richest prince in Christendom ; but his parsimony subjected him to many affronts from the *Florentines*, who did not fail sometimes to reproach him with the original meanness of his family : his friends, however, excused him, on account of his being obliged to maintain a court for his son, and another for his brother, and because of the vast sums he expended upon learning and learned men. The vast encouragement he gave to the famous *Magliabecchi*, with the vast erudition and oddities of that extraordinary person, is well known to all *Europe* ; and it was through *Cosmo's* interest that the learned cardinal *Norris* was brought out of an obscure monastery and advanced to the purple. When young he had made a visit to the *English* court, in the reign of *Charles II.* but though he always professed a great friendship for the family of *Stuart*, yet we do not find that he was very liberal in contributing towards the efforts made for replacing king *James* on the throne of *Great-Britain*, though often applied to for that purpose by the cardinal *d'Este*, and the other friends of that family ; nay, by the pope himself, for whom he had so great a veneration. He affected, however, to be the head and patron of all the *Roman Catholics* in *Great Britain* ; and

he exerted all his interest with foreign courts in their service. Being a complete politician, his success in this was incredible; and it was primarily owing to him that the Papists met with such indulgences as they did, even after the accession of George I. to the crown of Great-Britain. His great study was chemistry; and his friends could not oblige him more than by sending for medicines prepared in his laboratory by himself. He entertained at his court the best physicians he could find, and they were consulted all over Europe; and being courted by all the European princes in his time, he may be said to have been in every respect happy, but in the melancholy prospect of his son, from whom he had no hopes of issue, being the last of his family. This consideration rendered him indifferent as to all the stipulations preceding the quadruple alliance in 1718, by the fifth article of which, the duchies of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, were to be accounted for ever as male fiefs of the empire, and were to descend, in default of male heirs, to the queen of *Spain*'s eldest son. As the consent of the empire was necessary, the emperor was to use his utmost endeavours to obtain it. *Leghorn* was to remain a free port, and the king of *Spain* was to yield to his son the town *Porto Longone*, with what he possessed in the island of *Elba*, as soon as the prince of *Spain* should be in possession of *Tuscany*. None of these duchies was to be possessed by a prince who should, at the same time, be king of *Spain*; nor was the king of *Spain* ever to take upon himself the guardianship of that prince. To alleviate any chagrin which the great duke might conceive at this article, it was agreed, that it never was to be allowed, during the lives of the possessors of *Tuscany* and *Parma*, that any forces of any country whatsoever, whether their own or hired, should, either by the emperor, the kings of *France* or *Spain*, or even by the prince appointed to the succession, be introduced into any garrison, city, port, or town of those duchies. It is not, however, easy to reconcile this with the remaining part of the article; viz. that, for security of the succession, six thousand *Swiss* were to be put into *Leghorn*, *Porto Ferraro*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*.

*Revoluti-
ons in the
succession of
Tuscany.*

COSMO III. did not long survive this destination of his dominions, for he died the most aged prince in Christendom in 1723. He was succeeded by his son *Gaston*, whose character and manner of life greatly resembled that of his father. The reader, in the history of *Parma*, will learn the various events which attended the conclusion of the quadruple alliance, which was exclaimed against by all *Italy*; and, amongst others, the grand duke *Gaston* presented memorials against it at the congress of *Cambray*. By the treaty between the emperor

peror and Spain, who ran into one another's arms in the year 1725, upon king George I. having declined accepting the sole mediation at Cambray, the emperor granted (without the consent of the empire) the investiture of the dukedoms of *Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia*, to the queen of Spain's eldest son, in case these dukedoms should be vacant for want of heirs; the determination of king George and the regent of France in the treaty of London, that they are masculine fiefs of the empire, being taken for granted. Those stipulations were enforced by the treaty of Seville in 1728, by the ninth article of which, six thousand of his Catholic majesty's troops were immediately to be introduced to garrison *Leghorn, Porto Ferraro, Parma, and Placentia*, to secure that possession to Don Carlos; and, by the following article, the contracting powers were to use the most effectual means for persuading the dukes of *Tuscany* and *Parma* to admit of the garrisons, which, however, were to do nothing to the prejudice of the reigning princes, but to pay them all the honours due to sovereigns in their own dominions. This treaty was guaranteed to Don Carlos by Spain, Great-Britain, France, and the states-general; but was complained of by the court of Vienna, as being inconsistent with, or rather a breach of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance; but in the year 1731 the great duke, who had conceived an invincible aversion to the house of *Austria*, together with his sister, not only ratified all the stipulations with regard to the succession to his dominions, but in consequence of this new treaty, Don Carlos was invited to *Florence*, there to be educated. Even the emperor at last agreed to the introduction of Spanish troops into the duchy of *Tuscany*; and this secured the succession of Don Carlos. It is certain, however, that her Catholic majesty, by this time, had projected the conquest of *Naples* and *Sicily* for her eldest son.

THE reader, in the history of *Parma*, will see the progress of the war, which terminated in the emperor's losing *Naples* and *Sicily*; and in his son-in-law, the duke of *Lorrain* (the present emperor) being named to the succession of *Tuscany*; while his duchy of *Lorrain* was annexed to the monarchy of *France*. The great duke of *Tuscany*, while those matters were in agitation, was so much decayed in person and intellects, that he took little or no concern in them; and did not even make any remonstrances against the imperial court, who ordered a body of troops to move towards his dominions, in the beginning of the winter of 1736, to oblige the Spaniards to evacuate his dominions, which they accordingly did. *Death of the great duke.* He died in July 1737, and the duke of *Lorrain* immediately took possession of his dominions. The queen of Spain, notwithstanding

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withstanding her eldest son was then king of *Naples* and *Sicily*, could not bear the thoughts of so noble an acquisition as that of the great duchy of *Tuscany* being torn from her family, and endeavoured to engage, but without any effect, the court of *Great-Britain* to assist her in recovering it for her son the duke of *Parma*, by offering to engage her husband to relinquish all pretensions to *Gibraltar* and *Port-mahon*; and to give the *British* nation satisfaction with regard to the *American* differences subsisting between its government and *Spain*.

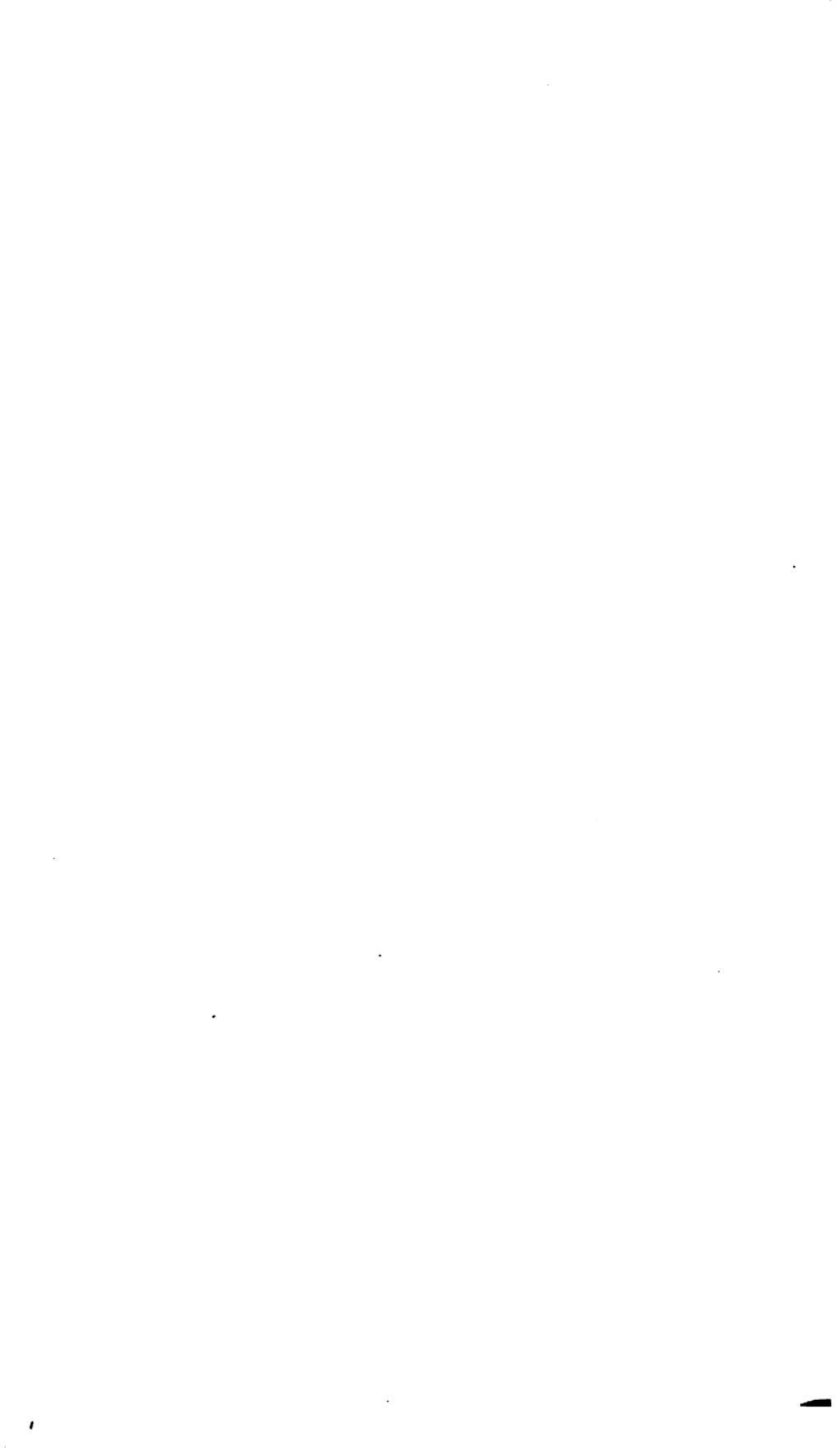
BUT as no power in *Europe* could be jealous of that duke being master of *Tuscany*, and as such an engagement might have occasioned a fresh war, her proposal was rejected by the *British* court. Since the accession of the duke of *Lorrain*, now emperor of *Germany*, to the great duchy of *Tuscany*, the *Florentines* have made no figure in the affairs of *Italy*; but the court of *Vienna* has taken some steps towards rendering it, in time, a very comfortable appenage for the younger branches of the *Lorrain*, or rather the *Austrian* family. In the year 1753 it was resolved, that for the future the entire military force of the great duchy, should consist of only three regiments of foot, and one of dragoons of five hundred men. To support this establishment, a *French* company offered to farm the revenues of the duchy. But his imperial majesty rejected the proposal, and fixed upon another company, composed of his own subjects, to manage the revenues under the direction of *M. Richard*, a gentleman of *Lorrain*. By this new institution, the finances of the duchy were divided into twenty shares, one half of which his imperial majesty reserved to himself. By those, and other frugal measures, the emperor was enabled to erect a college for the improvement of agriculture at *Florence*; a science to which the *Florentines* are peculiarly adapted; and in the year 1755, he raised another regiment of dragoons, and regimented his militia. The duchy is now governed by a council of regency, a military board, and other officers of state, who have made many excellent regulations, by which, during the war now raging in *Germany*, his imperial majesty has been enabled to draw many useful recruits from the grand duchy of *Tuscany*, which have done him great service in his armies.

A. D.
1762.



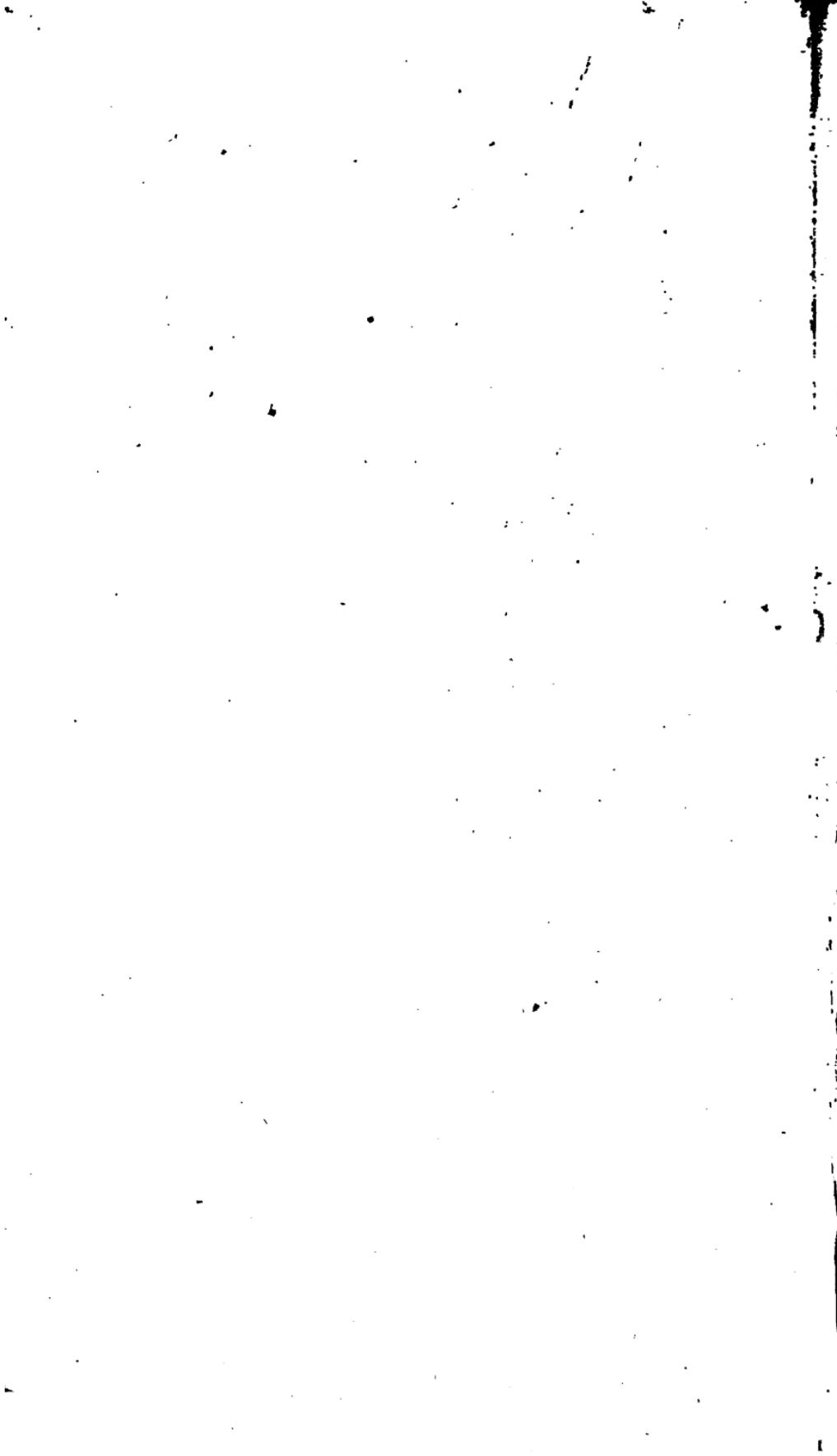
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